

19476
A
GENERAL HISTORY

O F

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION of the ROMANS

UNDER

JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO THE

LATE REVOLUTION

IN MDC LXXXVIII.

INCLUDING

The HISTORIES of the NEIGHBOURING PEOPLE and STATES,
so far as they are Connected with that of ENGLAND.

To which are added,

FIVE DISSERTATIONS;

- I. Upon the DARK and FABULOUS AGES of the BRITISH HISTORY; in which will be contained the EARLIEST ACCOUNTS we have of the HISTORY, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, LAWS, &c. of the ANCIENT BRITONS; and an Examination of CREDIT due to the ENGLISH and other WRITERS, who have treated of those Times.
- II. Upon the great REVOLUTION of the ENGLISH GOVERNMENT under EGBERT, about the Year 828, and its concurrent Causes.
- III. Upon the INDEPENDENCY of the CROWN of SCOTLAND.
- IV. Concerning the NORMAN ENGRAFTMENTS upon the ENGLISH LAWS and GOVERNMENT.
- V. Concerning the ALIENATION and ACCESSION of PROPERTY, with the great EFFECTS they have had upon our CONSTITUTION since the Reign of HENRY VII.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq;

Hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli,
Si volumus Patriæ, si nobis vivere cari.

HORAT.

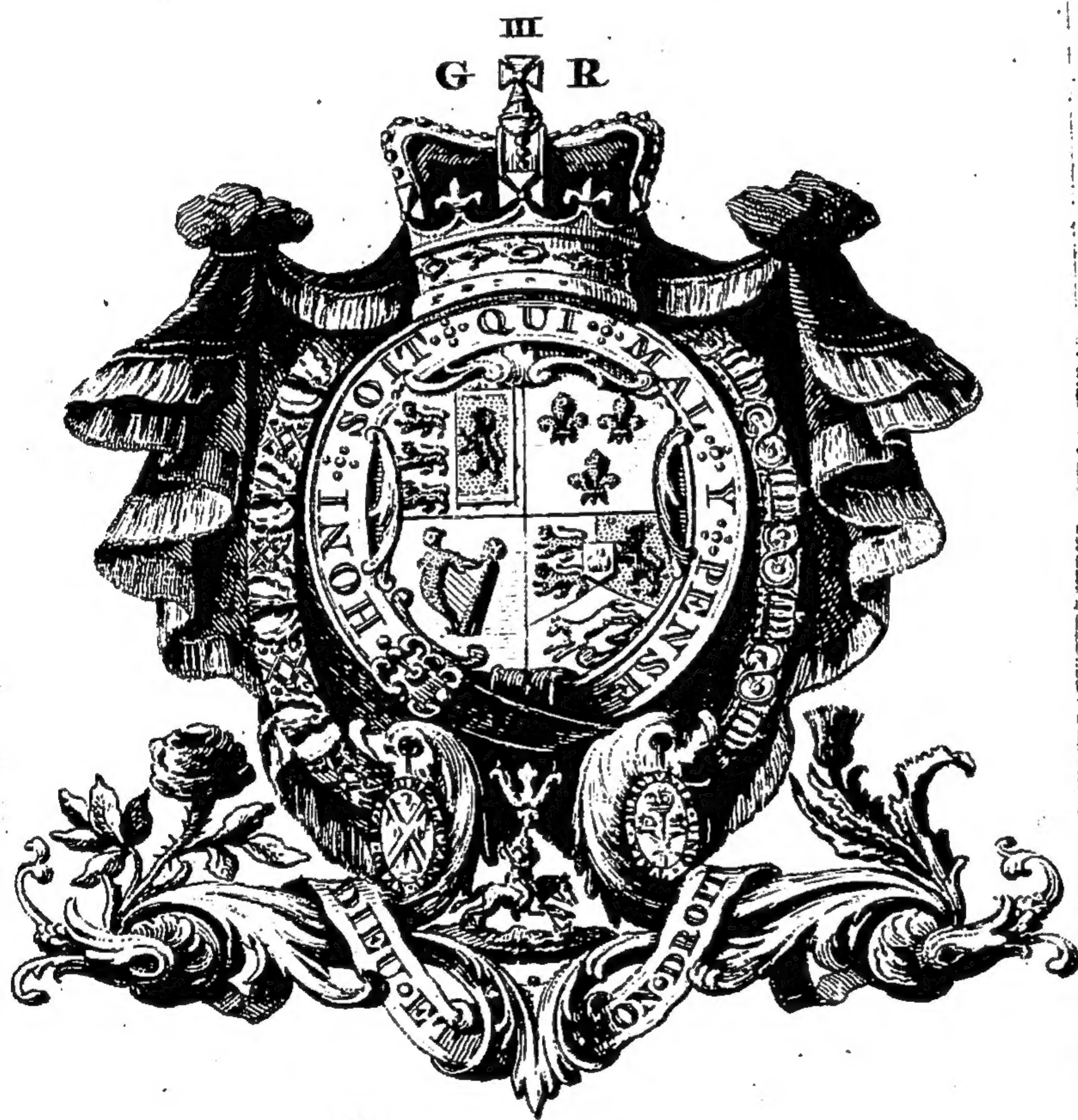
VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed by DANIEL BROWNE,

For T. WALLER, at the Crown and Mitre, opposite to Fetter-lane, in Fleet-street.

MDCCLXIV.



P R E F A C E.

COULD I flatter myself that the merit of the following performance has as much outgone the expectation of the public, as the reception it has met with has outgone mine, I should be less apprehensive of any censure for arrogance in what I have farther to say.

We daily observe, in common life, that men are subject to unaccountable affections. A manner, a face, an air, often excites and fixes aversion, or moves and impels inclination; but these affections are not more actuated by objects and persons among the living, than by the characters and representations of the dead. One, let him be ever so dispassionate, cannot help receiving personal prejudices and prepossessions, independent of all political considerations, in revolving history, especially that of his own country. In this case, opinion serves only to distract, and decision to mislead, an historian. He ought to consult facts alone; and, from these, to pronounce upon the merits or demerits of characters and actions. For this reason, the historian, of all authors, ought to be the most free of influence from any species of mankind; because the greatest, the best, the most learned, are not exempted from prepossessions, which often gather strength by pride, or continue through misinformation.

Thus much I thought fit to premise, that my meaning might not be misunderstood, when I inform the reader, that the following history comes into the world, protected by no patronage of the great, recommended by no authority of the learned; yet has it met with encouragement from both, without its author being reduced to the mournful necessity of application to either. Where benevolence is joined to greatness, and humanity to learning, a writer is spared the blush of an abject courtship, in receiving that approbation which the others are proud to bestow. Such was the character of patrons in those ages and countries where learning and arts have flourished; and, from such patrons, every writer ought to think himself happy, in receiving either assistance or information.

Learning, like commerce, now is diffused through many channels. It is not now in the power of any overgrown Leviathan of state, or any great dealer in knowledge, to engross, by his own credit, the attention, or to direct the judgment, of a whole people. The man who can bear to be subjected either to illiterate greatness, or to lettered pride, never can please his countrymen; because, if he is a man, he never can please himself. If he has merit, the public will rescue him from the necessity of cringing for precarious patronage. If he has not merit, it is not in the power of the great to make his labours live beyond a venal, temporary subscription, for which he must mingle with the perquisited varlets of his patrons; and all he can get, by the friendship of the learned, is, the character of an humble, fawning plagiarist.

He is the most incurable of fools, or the most mercenary of men, who shall attempt a history of this kind without a view of speaking the truth, and without placing his chief dependance upon his own industry in collecting,

lecting, and abilities in using, the proper materials. “Nullius jurare in verba magistri,” is a chief, though little-attended-to, qualification in an historian; but, in modern histories, regard to great names has almost stifled truth. Very absurd would it be in me, to attempt a new history of what has been so often attempted before, if I did not think myself as well qualified for the task as any preceding historian of the same times, with the advantages of their labours before me; and, if I am, what prejudice can accrue to me, in performing the duty of a faithful writer, by transmitting truth?

Facts must rest upon authority; characters never should, unless agreeable to facts. The English nation has the good fortune to have its history transmitted by authors, superior, in many important respects, to the prejudices, and, consequently, to the learning, of their ages; but unhappily they were fettered by considerations inconsistent with the truth of history. Their dependence upon, or deference to, papal or ecclesiastical power, has often made them give epithets to actions, and characters to persons, the reverse of what, by their own accounts, they appear to have deserved. Thus they have done as if a dramatic writer should, in the conduct of his play, contradict the characters given to the persons prefixed to the drama.

This general error continued so long, that it became inveterate. Prepossessions for great names gathered strength by the progression of ages; and the priests of the reformation could not bear with any alteration of those characters, which had been rendered venerable by the priests of Rome. The reason is plain. Most or all of them had been benefactors or enemies to the church; and therefore I hope I shall not be thought too bold, in saying, that, however faithfully churchmen might record their actions, they were but very indifferent judges of their merits or demerits. When I say this, I blame not the religion, but the trade, of churchmen; nor, to careful observers, is the distinction new.

Why the laymen, who succeeded churchmen in the province of history, did not strike out of this tract, may be easily accounted for upon a like principle. They were themselves generally either great men, or the dependants of the great, and their political tenets much more dangerous to truth, than the religious dependencies of former historians had been to liberty. By the one, her cause was hurt; by the other, it was only disguised.

The reigns from the reformation down to the revolution were all of such a complexion, that a true knowledge of the constitution was inconsistent with the views of government; and even the days of the immortal queen Elizabeth were not void of measures against the rights of the people, which the ignorance of the people alone could have made them bear with. In the days of Charles I, there were several gentlemen in the opposition to his government, who could have done justice to the English nation, by a full and impartial history of their country: but arms, instead of books, soon filled their hands. They then forgot the true maxims of the constitution, and were as careful as even the most bigotted churchmen had ever been, in keeping the people from the true knowledge of their natural and positive rights.

Under the two following reigns, it had been dangerous for a writer to have attempted a fair and impartial history of England. The castrations which Bacon’s discourses suffered in the year 1682, and the many prosecutions carried on, in that reign, against the liberty of the press, are so many melancholy proofs of this. Dr. Brady’s history was a shameful attempt to support the schemes of his patron king James II; and Mr. Tyrrel’s an ill-judged one, to weaken the principles of hereditary right.

Rapin's history appeared at a time, when the principles on which he wrote were useful to a party, who therefore powerfully recommended it from the press, of which they were then masters. To this, and to the ridiculous prepossession that a foreigner was best fitted to write the English history, was owing the reception it met with from the public. But I should be wanting to truth, if I did not declare, that the additions made to it, by the translator into English, has rendered it a more useful book than it came from the hands of its author; yet I think in no sense it can be called a History of England, its inaccuracy being so general, and its author's want of genius so apparent.

What is principally aimed at, in the following work, is to give a general view of our fundamental liberties and constitutions, and to describe the great scenes of action, with the characters of its chief performers, in as warm and animating a manner as possible, without deviating from truth. The common observation, that an historical stile ought to be plain and simple, has in it no justice, if, by plainness and simplicity, is meant, that it ought not to animate and affect. The greatest of the ancients, whose manner I have chiefly studied, write as much to the heart as to the head. Livy is poetical even to a fault; and the characters introduced by Sallust, are so many illustrious confutations of the maxim, That history ought to confine herself purely to the simple narrative of truth. The stile of Tacitus, the most divine of heathen writers, has every delicate touch which beautiful imagination and correct judgment can bestow. The majesty of history requires ornaments; but they must be judiciously disposed. Rude ages, pleased only with ornaments, neglected the fine proportions, and the exquisite disposition, which gave gracefulness to the performance: they multiplied them, and therefore destroyed their effect. Hence ornament banished beauty; and hence the Gothic trifling, which infected every art, and history among others.

In Britain, learning revived before taste; nor have the specimens, which the English have given of historical writings, been even yet sufficient to set the public right in this respect. As to particulars, I must refer my reader to the sheet of proposals which preceded the publication of this history.

This volume, as it comes to the reader's hand, must be owned to admit of many improvements, which I hope to supply in the dissertations to be given in the second volume.

That upon the dark and fabulous ages, will, I believe, exhibit a more exact view of the British antiquities, not only in the days of the Romans, but during their government here, and immediately after their leaving the island, than has yet appeared in public. An attempt shall be made, from the most credible authors and monuments of antiquity, to settle the laws, the learning, original, and manners of the first inhabitants, and to discover the sources of those fables which have disgraced their story.

In the dissertation upon the revolution under Egbert, I shall give the reader a view of the political constitutions of the Saxons, particularly of whatever regards their rights of succession in the government; the liberties they thought themselves entitled to, by the rights of nature, and those of their ancestors; with a general state of the power and policy of the heptarchy, at the time of this revolution taking place.

The dissertation upon the independency of the crown of Scotland can never be thought immaterial to the history of a people, who have lavished so much blood and treasure to abolish it. In it, I shall, from the best authorities, examine the several deeds upon which English princes and writers have founded their claim of superiority; and, in the course of the whole, I shall have occasion to lay open an amazing scene of forgeries on both
sides,

sides, and to throw lights upon a part of history, which has been hitherto but little understood.

In the dissertation upon the engraftments which the Normans made on the English laws and government, I shall have an opportunity of balancing accounts between the two people; and of shewing in what respects the nation has been a gainer or a loser by either. This dissertation will contain a comparison between the municipal laws of the Saxons and Normans, with a full account of the feudal systems of both people. Particular care will be taken to exhibit to the public a full view of the courts of law under the Saxons, and all the variations from their system which the succeeding government introduced.

The last dissertation, which is upon the great alteration and accession of property, with their effects, since the time of Henry VII, will contain an exact view of the state, power, and revenues of our American colonies, from the time of the English settling there, to the period at which this history closes. Care likewise will be had, above all things, to mark the progress of the English commerce through its several gradations; and to trace the true sources of the necessity of that great alteration of property which was then introduced, and which, in effect, completed the durable fabric of our constitution as it now exists.

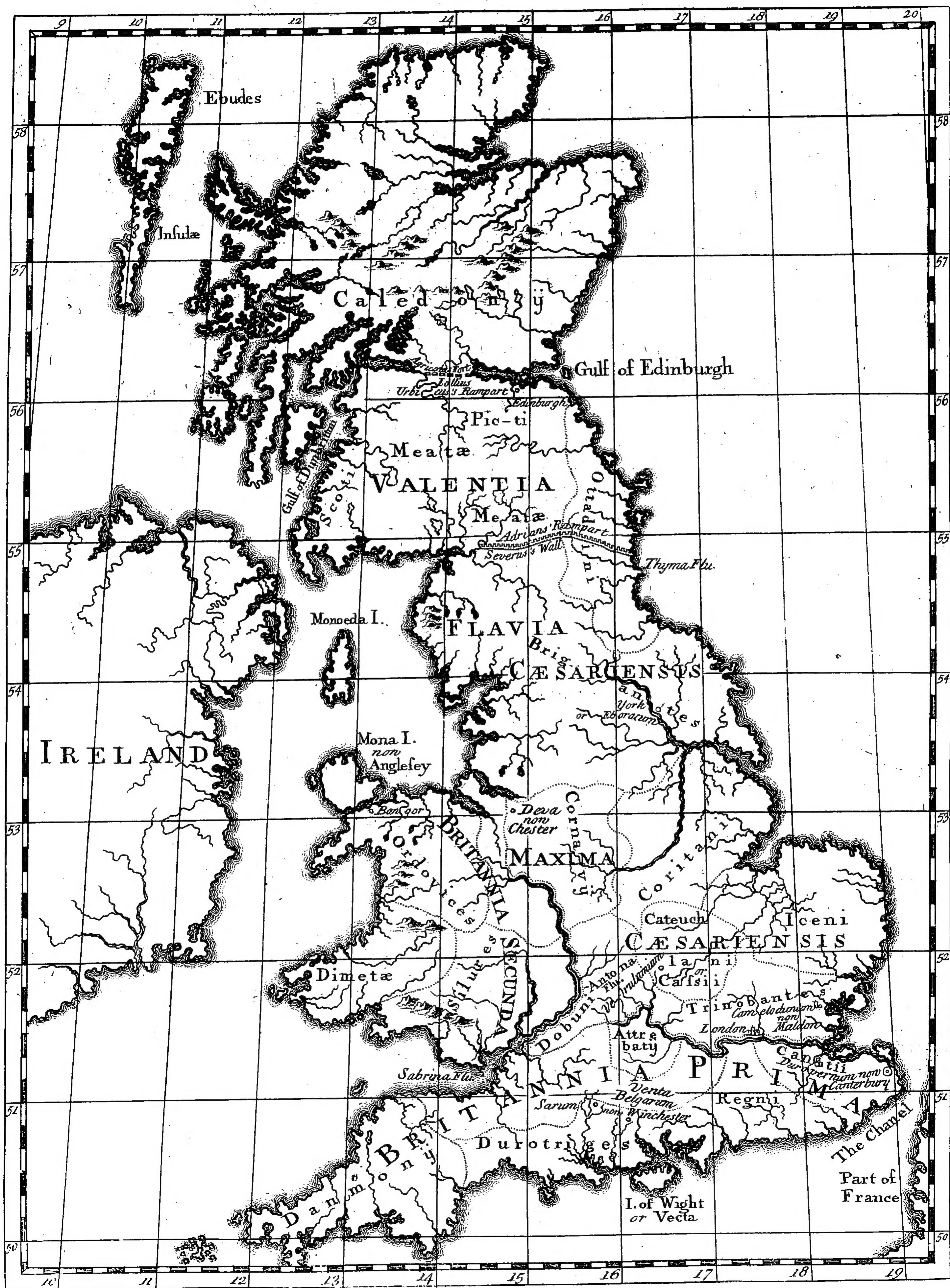
If, from the specimen of my abilities given in this volume, the public should think me capable of going through this laborious undertaking, I have little reason for doubting that they who are most capable will communicate their several lights, to give the whole some degree of perfection. I shall be grateful for such assistances; nor shall I ever imagine, that the most finished work I can produce cannot admit of improvement.

I shall conclude with hoping for the continuance of the public favour, till it shall be discovered that I write upon any other principles than those of our happy constitution in church and state, or with any other view than that of exhibiting to the public a faithful and exact history.

W. GUTHRIE.

A G E N E-

BRITANNIA ROMANA



A

GENERAL HISTORY

O F

ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

From the Invasion of the ROMANS under JULIUS CÆSAR, to their
finally leaving the Island.

Before Christ
54-
The state of
Britain before
it was invaded
by the Ro-
mans.

WHILE Caius Julius Cæsar com-
manded the Roman armies in
Gaul, the Britons were go-
vernèd by several princes, each
of whom ruled over a certain portion
of territory; but they all seem to have
had a dependance upon one in time of
public danger. This political confederacy,
which was afterwards dissolved by the in-
trigues and practices of the Romans with
the several princes, proved a better security
to the freedom of our ancestors, than ei-
ther the innocence of their manners, or the
situation of their country.

Cæsar did not begin, till it was late in
life, to make that great figure which at once
rendered him the delight and the terror of
mankind. His emulation of Alexander,
who had filled the world with his victories
at an age when the name of Cæsar was
scarcely known, made him, as we are told,
resolve to crowd all the glory he could into
the remaining part of his life. The conti-
nent was too narrow a scene for his ambi-
tion. He was as jealous of his glory as of
his power; and either fond of leaving a
distinction of character peculiar to himself,
by stretching his conquests beyond the then
known limits of the earth, or watchful to
improve every opportunity to secure that
greatness, he had already projected, he me-
ditated an attempt upon Britain. It is pro-

bable that this design did not arise from any
incident which happened in the course of his
wars with the Gauls, but was the result of
long deliberation. He had already raised
one Comius, whom he understood to have
great influence over the Britons, to the
principality of the (1) Attrebatii in Gaul,
the ancestors, perhaps, of a people of the
same denomination in Britain. He had
learned that a prince of the Deviatiei in
Gaul, had presided over part of Britain; and
there are strong reasons for believing that
Cæsar had thoughts of renewing the like
dependance of the Britons upon some crea-
ture of his own, and that this Comius
was employed by him to debauch the
people from their allegiance to their native
princes.

The Romans always took care to have
some other pretext for making war, beside
the lust of conquest. Cæsar's was that he
understood the Britons had assisted his ene-
mies in almost all the Gallic wars. So cri-
minal seemed it in the eyes of Rome, for one
people to aid another in their attempts to
preserve that independency which is the
free gift of nature. The Britons were con-
nected with the Gauls by the ties of blood,
commercial intercourse, alliance, and, which
ought to be more than all, a concern for
their own fate when they beheld that of the
Gauls: therefore their assisting their allies

Before Christ
54-

Cæsar's views
and designs.

His pretences
for invading
Britain.

(1) There was a people of that name in Britain, and another in Gaul; the former inhabiting Berkshire, and I believe part of Middlesex; the latter the country about Arras. "The Attrebatii, says Camden, as in France, so likewise in Britain, border upon the Belgæ.—It ought to be taken for granted (since Cæsar informs us that the foreigners which came out of Gallia Belgica, inhabited the sea coasts of Britain, and still retained the names of their own countries) that our Attrebatii removed hither from among the Attrebatii in Gaul; who, according to Ptolomy, possessed the maritime parts of Gaul upon the Seine, viz. that very country which may be said, in a manner, to lie opposite to our Attrebatii." Gibson's Ed. p. 159.

B. C. 54.

The measures
he took pre-
vious to the
invasion.

was both generous and justifiable. (1) But other and later writers have assigned a more ignoble motive for this enterprize. Whatever may be in this, Cæsar having resolved upon the expedition, first summoned together the merchants of Gaul who carried on a traffic with the Britons (2), the only persons almost in Gaul who knew any part of the island, that he might inform himself of its extent, inhabitants, harbours, and other circumstances for facilitating the success of his invasion. The merchants were either unwilling to suffer the Romans to be acquainted with particulars, the knowledge of which might deprive them of a beneficial commerce; or were really ignorant themselves, through the regulations of their trade, which perhaps being restrained to particular ports, gave them no opportunity of general information: so that all the intelligence Cæsar had from them, appears to have been very lame and ineffectual for his purpose. Upon this disappointment he dispatched C. Volusenus, one of his officers, to cruise upon the British coasts in a galley, that he might get what information he could; ordering him at the same time to rejoin him as soon as possible. Mean while he himself advanced towards the coasts of the Morini, the nearest shore to that of Britain. Here he appoints a general rendezvous of the vessels lying in the neighbouring harbours, and the fleet he had rigged out the year before against the (3) Veneti.

His prepara-
tions.

The Britons
offer to treat
and to submit.

While Cæsar was on his march, the Britons were informed, by the merchants, of the design to invade them. As they were willing to avert the miseries of war, and the prospect of chains from their country as long as possible, by means of every prudent submission, several principalities sent deputies to Cæsar, who, according to him, promised to give him hostages, that they would have a due regard for the Roman government. This kind of submission was far from agreeing with Cæsar's views; and that great man, upon this occasion, stooped to a meanness unbecoming his character. His design appears plainly to have been to amuse them by (4) magnificent promises

and fair words. He encouraged them to continue in the same favourable sentiments for Rome. He then sent them back, and along with them Comius, whom he intrusted with the charge of managing the several states, and bringing them over to the Roman interest, with a commission at the same time to acquaint them, (5) that he would soon pay them a visit in person.

B. C. 54.

Cæsar's arts to
amuse them.

It appears also that the vigilance of the Britons got the better of the precaution of the Romans; for Volusenus, after a five day's cruise, without daring to set his foot on shore, returned to Cæsar with the imperfect accounts he had been able to pick up. But a lucky incident just happening at this time, of the Morini submitting to give hostages for their good behaviour, Cæsar was now at perfect liberty to pursue his great and favourite design. For this purpose he got together (6) fourscore transports, which he judged to be sufficient for carrying over two legions; and put his questor, with his other principal officers, on board the few galleys he had. He then ordered his horse to go on board eighteen other transports, which lay wind-bound about eight miles from the place of the general embarkation, and sent the rest of his army into quarters, under the command of two of his deputies; leaving the port from whence he failed to be kept by a garrison, commanded by P. Sulpicius.

He assembles a
fleet of trans-
ports.

The wind proving fair, his impatience to be gone was so great, that it seems to have led him into an inexcusable oversight; for he put his foot on board immediately, ordering his horse to follow him in the eighteen other transports, with all expedition. But the embarkation of cavalry proved to be a service of a more tedious and difficult nature, than this great master of military discipline imagined. He set sail with the infantry about midnight; and about ten o'clock next day, before the cavalry could get on board his other transports, he was lying off of the British shore, which he perceived to be bold, high, and covered with an army ready to dispute his landing.

Sails for
Britain.

Makes the
British shore.

From this readiness of the Britons to receive their invaders, we may easily judge,

(1) Suetonius, in his life of Cæsar, says, that his motive for invading Britain was the largeness of the British pearls, which he used to poize in his hands. Take the words of the original: *Britannium petiisse spe margeritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem interdum suâ manu exegisse pondus.* But there are several insinuations in Cicero's letters, intimating that Cæsar, and the Romans under him, had mighty expectations from the mines of silver they were to find in Britain, but that they were disappointed. Cicero was, at this time, on extreme good terms with Cæsar, and we can't suppose that he aggravated any thing in this respect: he is likewise writing to his most intimate friends, therefore there is the less art or design in what he says. *Etiâ illud jam cognitum, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insulâ neque ullam spem prædæ nisi ex Mancipiis.* "One thing we are already certain of, that there is not a grain weight of silver in that island, nor the least prospect of plunder, but from the slaves that may be brought away." *Ep. Ad At. 16. l. 4.* A Quinto Fratres & a Cæsare accepi A. D. 9. Kalend. Novemb. Literas, confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla prædâ, imperata tamen pecunia, datas a littoribus Britannicæ. "I received letters from Cæsar and my brother Quintus, dated from the British shores, the 23d of October; they have done their business in Britain, got no plunder, but yet they have ordered the payment of some money." Mons. Mongault, the French translator, has mistaken the meaning of this passage.

(2) This is to me very surprizing; a prince of the Gauls had not only reigned over part of Britain, but Cæsar had along with him a person (Comius of Arras) who, he tells us, was in the highest credit with the Britons.

(3) The inhabitants of Vannes in Brittany.

(4) Liberaliter Pollicitus. Cæsar.

(5) *Seque celeriter eo venturum nunciet.* Cæsar.

(6) Mr. Horsey takes the hint of comparing this passage with another in Cæsar, where he says, that three hundred soldiers were set ashore, upon their return to Gaul, out of two of the transports, and were set upon by the Morini: Now, reasons he, if two transports carried three hundred soldiers, eighty must have carried twelve thousand; therefore Cæsar must have had so many legionary soldiers when he first invaded Britain. But we are to remember, that Cæsar had lost twelve of his ships in the expedition; so that he carried back no more than sixty-eight ships. The proportion therefore is; if two ships carried three hundred, then sixty-eight ships carried ten thousand two hundred, the number of his army, unless we suppose he lost eighteen hundred men in the expedition. Upon the whole, I don't conceive this computation to be founded upon a true critical principle, as we cannot determine whether all the ships were nearly of the same burthen.

that

B. C. 54.
Is opposed by
the Britons.

Comius sent
by Cæsar, im-
prison'd by
the Britons.

that they were not wanting to themselves in every necessary precaution. Their information seems to have been early and exact. A very few days had passed betwixt the return of their deputies, and the arrival of the Romans. The former brought with them Comius, a person whom we may easily suppose, from the character of his patron who employed him, to have been a perfect master of every art of persuasion and intrigue. But the spirit of liberty is not easily imposed upon. The Britons seem to have possessed that spirit. Subjection, though disguised under the specious pretexts of alliance or friendship, or any of the deceits with which the Romans knew how to gild the chains of those they intended to enslave, could not amuse them so far as not to shew a becoming resentment, and at the same time to provide for their own safety.

They prepare
against an in-
vasion.

Comius had no sooner delivered his commission, than the Britons threw him into prison, either condemning his conduct as treason against that public liberty which, as an ally, if not a (1) subject, he perhaps was sworn to maintain; or, which is more probable, delivering it in such glossing terms as were inconsistent with (2) the dispositions which they knew were making to invade them. They then put themselves in a proper posture to resist their formidable invaders, and drew down towards the coasts where they knew the enemy was to land. There is no doubt they arrived there time enough to observe all the motions of the Roman ships; and it appears that they were in readiness to dispute their landing wherever they attempted it. Cæsar, upon examining the place that was nearest for landing his forces, probably under the cliffs of Dover towards the South-foreland, found that the land formed a kind of bay, by locking the sea on all sides, excepting the entrance; the banks rising so perpendicularly, that the enemy's darts from the eminences entirely commanded the landing-places. This consideration made him resolve to lie off at anchor till three of the same afternoon, by which time he expected the other transports. Mean while he called his officers to a council of war. He laid before them the intelligence he had received from Volusenus, and put them in mind that (3) celerity of working, and the address of managing their ships so as to be ever quick, and ready to favour every uncertain motion, was indispensable to the nature of sea service, and the present situation of their affairs. Upon the breaking up of the council, the signal was given for weighing anchor; and falling down with the tide and wind about eight miles, they

stood off of a level open shore, which appears to have been Richborough in Kent.

B. C. 54.

The Britons, soon aware of his design, prepared to follow him. For this purpose they dispatched their horses and chariots to be in readiness to dispute his landing, till the infantry should come up to support them. Cæsar resolving to land here, found himself under difficulties which, perhaps, had been unsurmountable to any genius but that of Cæsar. The embarking and landing troops in fight of an enemy, were services this great man had never experienced. His ships were high-decked, and drew too much water to come close to the shore. This put the Romans under a double difficulty, being obliged to leap overboard, with all their heavy armour, into the sea; while they were to dispute their landing with resolute, unencumbered enemies, who had firm footing, were acquainted with the ground, made the best use of their javelins, and pushed on their war-horses trained to dangerous service. In short, the resistance made by the Britons upon this occasion, struck with terror the bravest army, of the bravest people, that ever the world beheld. Their former courage and alacrity forsook them; (4) by Cæsar's own confession, they shrunk from the attack, and the spirit of the Britons then proved a match for that of Rome.

Where he
meets with a
strong resist-
ance.

But the all-prevailing fortune of Cæsar, or rather his surprizing presence of mind, which still grew with danger, upon this occasion, preserved his glory, and saved his army. For finding it impracticable for his men to make the shore against so obstinate a resistance, he ordered his gallies to bear a little off from the transports, so as to attack the Britons in flank, with slings, engines, and all their other destructive missiles. This expedient partly succeeded; the unusual form of the vessels, the motion of the oars, and the execution of the discharges, struck the Britons with a panic, the effect of which was first a full halt, and then a kind of retreat. But this panic was soon over, and the Romans appeared very backward to leap ashore. Upon which the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, advancing his eagle, after an invocation that what he was about might prove glorious for his legion; "Leap down, soldiers, cried he with a loud voice, unless you have a mind to betray your eagle to the enemy: for my part, I will discharge what I owe to my country and my general." The shame and infamy that attended any corps among the Romans which lost their military ensign, proved stronger than all their former dread of danger. The

Cæsar falls
down to Rich-
borough in
Kent.

(1) Some writers, not quite contrary to probability, believe him to have been a Briton.
(2) This appears from Cæsar's own words, where we do not find that he had any claim upon the liberty of the Britons, or that he threatened them with an invasion.—Huic imperat quas possit adeat civitates; horteturque ut P. R. fidem sequantur—seque celeriter eo venturum nuntiet. There is no reason to believe that a person of the prudence which Cæsar describes Comius to have been master of, would exceed his commission on so delicate an occasion as this was; and if so, as the Britons certainly knew of Cæsar's designs and preparations, they had a right, supposing him even to have been independent of them, to treat him as a spy.
(3) Cæsar.
(4) Quibus rebus nostri perterriti, atque hujus omnino generis pugnae imperiti non eadem alacritate ac studio, quo in pedestribus præliis uti consueverant, utebantur. Cæsar. I cannot but take notice here of a ridiculous jealousy which the old commentators had for the great names of antiquity. Scaliger, and some of the more modern critics, took it into their heads that Cæsar was too modest in speaking of his own soldiers in this passage, therefore they have boldly interpolated the word (omnes), reading, non omnes eadem alacritate usi. See Clarke ad locum.

B. C. 54.

But at last
lands.

standard-bearer, after leaping into the waves, pushed forward with his ensign towards the enemy; his fellow-soldiers followed him, each animating and pressing the other along, till all that legion leaving their ships, set an example to the others; and the whole, in a body, advanced against the Britons.

The conflict became now more equal, and more obstinate than before. The Romans depended upon their impenetrable discipline, their long experience of victory, and the eternal fortune of Cæsar; while the Britons, animated by the love of liberty, their knowledge of the ground, the advantage of their situation, and the strength of their numbers, attacked their enemies as they landed, and acted with such courage, as made the war offensive on their side, by plunging their horses into the water to assail the Romans: while others, from the open downs, by darting their javelins, made an indiscriminate slaughter of friends and foes. Cæsar, in this doubtful state of the battle, had recourse to an expedient of the same nature with that he had already executed, but with fuller success. The shallowness of the water where this encounter happened prevented his galleys from bearing up as before; upon which he ordered the boats belonging to the galleys, and their pinnaces, to be filled with soldiers, and to ply wherever they found the Romans hardest pressed. This appears to have had so good an effect, that the Romans were enabled to advance till they came to dry land; and there, after forming themselves, they charged and routed the Britons.

With diffi-
culty defeats
the Britons
after landing.Remarks upon
Cæsar's rela-
tion of this
expedition.

Had not Cæsar been writing a history of the Romans, or rather of his own exploits, when he came to this passage, he would have taken notice, that probably the Britons had, all the foregoing night, been under arms; that they had made a long march, and sustained a desperate attack, before they retreated; but he seems to have written under as much difficulty as his soldiers fought. The reason he gives why he made no better use of his victory, by pursuing the Britons, is because his horse had not been able to make the island. But can we imagine that his horse could have here been of any service? Can we suppose it practicable for him to have landed cavalry, where his foot

found such almost unsurmountable difficulties, time enough (now that the day was (1) far spent) to have made the advantage decisive? Yet this he seems to lament with this peculiarity of expression: "That in this circumstance alone Cæsar fell short of his former fortune (2)."

As every incident relating to this memorable expedition ought to be interesting to Britons, we cannot avoid giving an instance of the courage with which the Romans fought on this occasion in the person of M. Cassius Scæva. (3) This soldier getting into a boat, with four of his companions, landed upon a rock, possessed by a body of Britons. The combat proving unequal, he was abandoned by his fellow-soldiers, who taking advantage of the retiring tide, returned to their ship; but the Roman making use of the weapons his four companions had left behind them, maintained his post, and, by the singularity of his obstinacy, attracted the eyes of both armies. At last, after a prodigious slaughter of the enemy, who poured in upon him, having his thigh pierced with a javelin, his face battered by a stone, his helmet beaten or cut to pieces, his shield pierced full of holes, after a full retreat, he threw himself into the water, and swam to his ship. This courage was less admirable in a Roman soldier, than his submission to the rules of military discipline. Scæva's excess of the former appears to have made him transgress the latter. Instead of claiming reward, he petitioned for pardon; which his general not only gave him, but accompanied it with a centurion's command.

The bravery
of a Roman
soldier.

(4) It was no wonder if the Britons, after experiencing such amazing proofs of Roman courage and discipline, attempted, by submission, to avert the calamities that threatened their country. No sooner had they recovered from the consternation the ill success of their arms had occasioned, than they again sent deputies to Cæsar, offering him hostages, with an ambiguous promise that they would do what he should command. At the same time they thought it prudent to release Comius, and to throw the blame of his imprisonment upon the populace, for which they asked pardon, as being ignorant of (5) the public character he bore.

The Britons
offer hostages
to Cæsar.They release
Comius, and
excuse their
procedure.

(1) It must have been four o'clock when he first came before Richborough.

(2) Rapin tells us, that Cæsar says, the want of horse was the only thing which hindered the victory from being complete. After what I have observed, it would have been ridiculous in Cæsar to have said so; but he does not say it, nay he does not insinuate it. He says that he could not pursue them, because his horse had not been able to land. His words are, *Neque longius prosequi potuerunt, quod equites cursum tenere atque insulam capere non potuerant*. A learned Englishman has fallen into the same, but a greater mistake; for he says that, "Cæsar himself seems to think, that if, in this attempt, he could but have had the assistance of his horse, to have pursued one victory, which he in part obtained, that single push might have been sufficient to reduce the whole island." See Horfeley's *Brit. Rom.* p. 6.

(3) Valerius Maximus. Plutarch.

(4) Dr. Halley, in a paper, numb. 193, of the *Philosophical Transactions*, fixes the eclipse, which happened, according to Tacitus, at the death of Augustus, sixty-eight years after this expedition, which, according to Cæsar and the best authorities, happened in the consulate of Pompey and Crassus, or in the year of Rome 699. The *Fasti Consulares* indeed places it in the year 698; but this makes no difference with the doctor's computation, as the difference is constant, and both agree that sixty-eight years intervened betwixt this descent and the death of Augustus, which happening fourteen years after the Christian Æra, places the time of the expedition in the fifty-fourth compleat; or in the fifty-fifth year current before the birth of Christ. Cæsar tells us that the summer was pretty far advanced before he set sail, and that the night of the fourth day after his landing it was full-moon: this full-moon was probably on the thirtieth of August; for there was this year two full-moons in August, one on the first day, a little after noon, and could not therefore be the full-moon mentioned by Cæsar to have happened in the night; the other happened a little after midnight of the thirtieth; now the fourth day before, fixes the day of Cæsar's arrival in Britain, viz. August the twenty-sixth; and, from the journal of his voyage, it must have been about five o'clock before any part of his army could land.

(5) This is the true meaning of Cæsar's expression, *Et propter imprudentiam ut ignoscatur, petiverunt*. *Imprudentia* does not signify fury, or folly, as Mr. Rapin, and our other English historians, have interpreted it; but an ignorance of what was due to a public character, or an ignorance that Comius was invested with such a character by Cæsar.

B. C. 54.

They are reproached by Cæsar.

Reflection on this.

Cæsar pardons their ignorance, requires their hostages. The Britons temporize.

Ask Cæsar's protection.

Cæsar's transports arrive, and are driven back.

He loses several of his ships.

Cæsar, perhaps glad of the proffered submission, either unwilling again to provoke so dangerous an enemy, or politically disguising his resentment, complained of their having opposed him by arms, after having sued for peace by their deputies on the continent. How shameful was this reproach! By Cæsar's own account, he himself was the aggressor, the faithless aggressor; and the Britons had done no more than nature and justice to themselves, their country, and their posterity required. He however seemed to pardon their ignorance of the law of nations, and demanded hostages.

The Britons, sensible that a little temporizing might rid them of so dangerous a guest, agreed to his demands; but probably without any intention of exactly complying with them. They sent him some hostages, but excused themselves from sending all he desired, under pretence that they must be brought from distant places of the island; promising, however, in a few days to give him entire satisfaction. In the mean time they dismissed their army, and, in a general assembly of their princes, (1) recommended their states to Cæsar's protection.

The fourth day after Cæsar's landing in Britain, the transports he had left for bringing over his cavalry set sail from Gaul with a fine breeze; but, on the British coast, they met with a most terrible storm, which dispersed them, drove some of them back, and others to the western parts of the island; where the latter having anchored, and finding that they shipped a great deal of water, were obliged to get under sail again, though the night was tempestuous, and make the best of their way for the continent. (2). It happened to be that night a spring tide, occasioned by the full of the moon; this commonly happening at such times, was a circumstance unknown to the Romans who were with Cæsar. They had hawled their galleys ashore; these were instantly filled with the tide, and their transports, which lay at anchor, were terribly battered at the same time. The calamity was great, and irremediable; many of the ships were wrecked, and others so much shattered, that they were rendered unfit for service. The distress of the Romans was the greater, as they were without resource, and had the prospect of being cut off from returning to Gaul without having erected any magazines in Britain.

It will appear, from the sequel, that the Romans were far from observing the terms which the Britons had accepted of, though they had been extorted by themselves, who had no right to require them, and submitted to through a laudable unwillingness to subject their country to the miseries of war, and their countrymen to the chains of insolent conquest. But the distress of the Romans, in the wreck of their fleet, and the consternation they were under, offered now a favourable

opportunity for retrieving their fortunes. The princes of Britain held several meetings, to concert the proper means for effecting this great end. They found that the Romans were but a handful; but being perfectly sensible of their superiority in military discipline, and other arts of war, they wisely agreed to cut them off, as occasion should offer, by harassing their foragers, intercepting their convoys, and by other acts of hostility, which might protract the war, till the inclemency of the season and climate should finish what the sword and famine had left undone. In the mean time, they resolved to withdraw from the Roman camp, and to call their people out of the open country, concluding that the fate of their present enemies would deter all future attempts upon their country.

It was impossible to impose upon the vigilance and discernment of Cæsar; the misfortune that had befallen his ships, his want of provision, and the delay of sending the hostages, made him suspect they would look upon this as a favourable opportunity for revolting; but he was far from imagining that they were in such readiness to strike a blow: however, that he might be prepared against all events, he took care, with that expedition so peculiar to his character, to provide corn, to draw to his camp those necessities which the continent afforded; but, above all, to repair his shattered navy; the last he effected by breaking up twelve of his ships, the materials of which repaired the rest.

The corn was, by this time, mostly carried off the fields; but a particular field happening to be yet unreaped, the seventh legion being out a foraging, thought proper to save the Britons the labour, and fell to reaping, to carry it off to their own camp. The Britons, upon this, attacked them, from the woods (where they had lain concealed) at a great disadvantage. In the mean time, the advanced guard of the Roman camp, observing a dust, informed Cæsar, who, taking the readiest of his own soldiers, those who lay upon the advanced guards before the camp, and ordering others to replace their posts, and the rest of his army to follow him instantly, flew to the assistance of the seventh legion. He arrived just time enough to prevent their being intirely cut off. He found that the furious onset of the British chariots had prevented his men from forming: they had, however, thrown themselves into a compacted body, hard pressed by the darts of the enemy, who, by this time, had quitted their chariots, and were charging them on foot, with so much courage, that the Romans were upon the point of taking to flight, when their general arrived with succour. The presence of Cæsar, with this reinforcement, revived the courage of his despairing legion; and the Britons did not think proper, upon the principle which they had resolved to proceed by of harassing

B. C. 54. The Britons take advantage of it.

Their policy.

Cæsar's precaution.

The Britons attack his foragers.

(1) Et se civitatesque suas Cæsari commendarunt. Cæsar.

(2) We are told by Ecdæ, from Orosius, and by other writers, that these transports with the cavalry were mostly, if not wholly, lost.

B. C. 54.

the enemy, and wearying them out, to provoke a general engagement.

Cæsar retreats to his camp, though he had rescued his forragers.

Reflection hereupon.

By the manner in which that great man relates this conflict, it appears, that here he was not attended with his usual fortune: for (1) he who never thought that aught was done while aught was left undone, was glad to retreat back to his camp with the broken remains of the foraging legion; and the hero who, upon all other occasions, never fought but with almost decisive advantage, upon this, was glad to compound for scarcely honourable safety. What the number of the Britons were upon this occasion, Cæsar does not acquaint us; but had they been much superior to those of the Romans, we have reason to believe, from the regard which that great man always pays to his own glory, by a scrupulously exact detail of the superiority of his enemies, that he would not have left his countrymen and posterity in the dark as to this particular.

As to his countrymen, it is evident, from their writings, they took it for granted that Cæsar was beat. But the lustre of his actions and character have so dazzled the weaker eyes of succeeding ages, that they seem never to have beheld Cæsar through any other medium than that of perpetual conquest and glory.

But if conquest ought to be warranted by the justice of the cause, and glory built upon moderation in success, no man ever had a smaller claim to both than Cæsar (from his own words) appears to have had upon this occasion. (2) Our ancestors had not carried the arts of agriculture farther than to serve for the necessary support of life. Cæsar tells us, that they had submitted to live quietly with the Romans. He tells us farther, that their leading men had offered to obey his directions, and that they actually held an assembly in order to deliberate upon the proper means of fulfilling their faith. But he does not tell us, that he had required the Britons to furnish him with provision, and that they had been unfaithful in that respect; or that they had submitted to immediate plunder, to future famine, and to worse miseries than human life, from fair conquest, can be attended with. Yet, while we find them thus religiously deliberating how to perform their engagements, the Romans are ravaging their country (3); nay, the legion we have just seen defeated, was attacked in the most pro-

voking ravage of inveterate enmity; that of cutting down standing corn, and carrying it off from the proprietors, who must, thereby, have been exposed to inevitable famine. The Britons therefore did not attack their invaders, till the latter had broken every tie of hospitality, friendship, or alliance.

The inclemency of the weather for some days confined the Romans to their camp, prevented either party from coming to action, and Cæsar thought fit to recall all his forragers out of the fields. In the mean time the Britons, having experienced that Romans were not invincible, dispatched messengers through all their states, to rouse in their countrymen a sense of liberty, and a spirit of resentment. (4) The Romans under Cæsar, were remarkable for the richness of their armour and equipages. This had some effect with the more ignoble part of our ancestors. The prospect of reward enforcing that of gratifying their revenge, and of recovering their liberty, in a little time they formed a considerable army.

But Cæsar taking advantage of the few (5) horses Comius had carried over in his retinue to Britain, drew his army out in a line before his camp, and received the attack of his undisciplined foes with such intrepidity, that the latter fell into disorder.

Cæsar attacked by the Britons.

The Romans upon this charged them in their turn, and the Britons retreated. Cæsar seems to magnify this conflict into a victory, telling us, that his men pursued and killed a great number of the Britons: and at the same time, though his men were out of camp but part of one day, he concludes his relation with this magnificent expression; “(6) That his soldiers, before they returned to the camp, beat down and burnt all the British dwellings far and near.” But that this was very little more than a skirmish, will appear to any one who considers Cæsar’s own words; for he tells us, that he expected “(7) the Britons could not suffer much, though they were defeated;” and if so, it was by all means their business to keep the Romans perpetually upon the alarm, to harass them by frequent assaults, but never to come to any decisive action with an enemy which must soon, had they continued where they were, have been ruined by the inclemency of the weather, and the scarcity of provisions.

Who are repelled.

Reflection on this action.

Cæsar appears pretty plainly to have been sensible of this; for he admitted a deputation from the Britons, to treat of the terms

Cæsar admits deputies from the Britons.

(1) Nil actum putat dum quid super esset agendum. Lucan.

(2) Cæsar tells us, that most of the inland people sowed no corn; Strabo, that others of them knew neither gardening nor any part of husbandry; Diodorus Siculus, that they inn their corn in the ear, and thresh out no more at a time than may serve for one day.

(3) Frumentum ex agris quotidie conferebant. Cæsar. “They daily brought in corn from the fields.” Nam quod omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumenti una pars erat reliqua; suspicati hostes huc nostros esse venturos noctu in silvis delituerunt. Tum dispersos, depositis armis, in metendo occupatos subito adorti. Ibid. “The corn in the other parts being reaped, one field was still standing. The enemy, suspecting that our men would come thither, concealed themselves by night in the woods. They then set upon our soldiers, who were now dispersed, unarmed, and busied in cutting down the corn.”

(4) Milites habebat tam cultos ut argento et auro politis armis ornaret: simul et ad speciem et quo tenaciores eorum in prælio essent metu damni. Sueton. in Vita J. C. cap. 67. “His soldiers were so neat, that their arms were adorned with polished gold and silver: this he did both to make a shew, and that they might, in consideration of their value, make them fight the more bravely, to preserve them in battle.”

(5) Not above thirty. Hottoman thinks three hundred. But thirty was sufficient for mounting all the general officers, and carrying them along the line of battle; which was all the use Cæsar put them to.

(6) Deinde omnibus longe lateque edificiis adstrictis incensisque, se in castra receperunt. Cæsar.

(7) Si essent hostes pulsi, celeritate periculum effugerent. Ibid.

B. C. 54.

of peace, the very day on which this conflict happened. He found himself under extreme difficulties, and that there was an absolute necessity for him to be gone; but still the shew of victory and success, was a tribute due to the majesty of Rome, and the fortune of Cæsar. We know neither what were the terms the Britons offered, nor what they accepted. All we know is, that Cæsar, being in the utmost hurry to return, (1) ordered them to send over to Gaul a double number of hostages; but he does not tell us, that the Britons agreed to do this; nay, he lets us understand, afterwards, that they never complied with his order. And indeed, how can we imagine that they ever agreed to a demand which carried with it such an appearance of subjection, since they must have been quite blind had they not perceived the distress he was in?

Cæsar returns to Gaul.

Some of his forces attacked by the Morini.

The latter repelled with loss.

Reflection.

The autumnal equinox, which was now at hand, was very terrible to the Roman navigation in those seas; wherefore Cæsar laid hold of the first fair opportunity of sailing, which he did about midnight, and arrived safe in Gaul with all his transports excepting two. These were carried to a port distant from those where the others landed. (2) After about three hundred of the troops had got on shore, the Morini, prompted, as Cæsar says, by the hopes of plunder, ordered them to deliver up their arms, or expect to be cut to pieces. The Romans, seeing them at first but a handful, threw themselves into a hollow, and kept the enemy off; but the latter increasing to about six thousand, Cæsar was informed of the distress of his troops, and detached his cavalry to their relief. It was four hours before they could come up; and the three hundred all this time were performing wonders, killing a great many of the enemy with very little loss to themselves. But when the Roman horse came up, the Morini threw away their arms, took to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter. Though this skirmish has no immediate relation to our chief design, yet it may not be improper to observe, that as the main body of Cæsar's army was not above three hours march distant from the spot of the assault, it is improbable that the Morini would have attacked the Ro-

mans, had they not considered them as the shattered remains of a baffled, inglorious expedition.

B. C. 54.

When Cæsar was in his winter quarters, two cities only, of all the Britons, sent him the hostages he demanded. He does not name those cities; and it is highly probable, that they were in the interest of Comius, and influenced by him to this submission; and therefore we are not to look upon this act as a mark of general submission. Yet, notwithstanding the inefficacy and fruitless expence attending this expedition, the credit of Cæsar was so great at Rome, that the senate ordered a thanksgiving of twenty days.

Two cities only of the Britons send hostages to Cæsar.

The business of ambition occasioned Cæsar's going to Italy in the winter; but that he might repair the loss sustained in the foregoing year, he gave orders to his lieutenants, before he set out, to provide a proper fleet of transports for a second invasion of Britain. He had found the disadvantage of high-built ships for that service, and therefore ordered his new naval armament to consist of vessels lower built, and flatter bottomed, than those used in the Mediterranean, and contrived to be worked by oars. This was the fabric best adapted for embarking, lading, and, above all, for the convenience of landing upon that shallow coast where he again meditated his descent. He ordered the materials to be brought from Spain, the great magazine of naval stores.

He sets out for Italy.

Gives orders to prepare a fleet for a second invasion of Britain.

While these preparations were making by the Romans, the Britons were expecting, and providing against the storm. For this purpose they had recourse to that political confederacy we have already taken notice of, and united under one chief, chosen from among their generals, and the most distinguished for military accomplishments. It is extremely probable, that the intrigues of Comius and the influence of the Romans on this occasion, created a dispute about this preheminance among the princes of the Cassii (3) and the Trinobantes (4), one of the most powerful states in Britain; the former were commanded by Cassibelan (5), a general of great reputation and approved valour; the latter by Imanuentius, who appears to have fallen in the struggle. But his son Mandubratius (6), escaping his fa-

The method pursued by the Britons to withstand it.

Conjecture.

(1) This is the plain fact from Cæsar, whose words are, *His Cæsar numerum obsidum quem antea imperaverat duplicavit; eosque in continentem adduci iussit; quod propinqua die equinoctii, infirmis navibus hiemi navigationem subficiendam non putabat.* "To them Cæsar doubled the number of hostages he had demanded before, and ordered them to be carried over to the continent, because the very next day being the equinox, he did not think proper to expose his shattered ships to a winter's voyage."

(2) *Expositi milites circiter CCC.* Cæsar.

(3) The inhabitants of Hertfordshire, perhaps extending to part of Middlesex.

(4) The inhabitants of Middlesex.

(5) Cæsar does not speak of Cassibelan being chosen general till after the refitting of his fleet; but it is highly probable (and there is nothing to contradict it in Cæsar's words) that this choice was made about the time of Cæsar's leaving Gaul. Nay, the words of Cæsar seem to confirm my conjecture. *Nostro adventu permoti Britanni hunc toti bello imperioque præfecerant.* "The Britons, alarmed at our approach, gave him the command of the war, and the management of the government."

(6) This Mandubratius makes a considerable figure in Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, and that of his followers; they will have him to be the Scæva I have already taken notice of; later authors have called him Androgorius and Androgeus. Our historians are at a loss to know how Mandubratius seems to be transformed into Androgorius, or Androgeus, and none of them, that I know of, have assigned any reason for it. I fancy the reason is very obvious to any body who reflects, that the initial words of the two names, in the British and the Greek, signify the same thing. The reason why I place the quarrel betwixt Imanuentius and Cassibelan, as happening in the interval betwixt Cæsar's two expeditions, is because, had Cæsar had Mandubratius along with him in the first expedition, he would certainly have mentioned him, and have made great use of him for gaining a party in favour of the Romans in Britain; especially as we here find his father's subjects extremely desirous of his succeeding to his paternal inheritance.

B. C. 53.
Mandubra-
tius, a British
prince, flies
to Cæsar.

Cæsar's ships
in readiness.

He embarks
for Britain.

ther's fate, fled to Cæsar, and putting himself under his protection, sacrificed his duty to his resentment. Fortified with this casual accession of Interest among the Britons, Cæsar prepared for his second expedition against their island. He found that the incredible industry of his soldiers and workmen, notwithstanding a great scarcity of materials, had provided six hundred such ships as already described, with twenty-eight galleys, all fit to put to sea in a few days. After making suitable acknowledgements to his men for their diligence, he appointed the rendezvous for his navy at the harbour of Ittius, probably Bologne, the most commodious for his embarkation, and distant only ten leagues from the British shore. The management of this was left to his officers, while he applied himself to compose the differences among the princes in Gaul, lest any incident, arising from their animosities, should interrupt or divert him from the great scheme of the conquest of Britain. He then marched to the rendezvous, where he found that forty of his ships had been shattered, and obliged to put back, in a storm, as they were failing to join the main fleet; but that the others were all of them compleatly rigged, and ready to sail. Some new incidents retarded his embarkation for about a month; and then he appointed Labienus, with three legions, and two thousand horse, to keep possession of the harbour; to supply him with provision; to give him timely information of all the occurrences in Gaul; then he embarked with five legions, and a proportionable number of horse, about sun-set, with a southern gale. About midnight he found himself becalmed, and by break of day carried to the left of Britain; but, upon the turn of the tide, he employed his oars, and made the same place where he had landed upon his first descent. The galleys, in this navigation, had much the better of the heavy transports; but the spirit and application of the Romans seldom failed to repair every disadvantage of nature and fortune. Cæsar's soldiers worked the transports so strongly with their oars, that they kept up with the galleys themselves; and about noon the whole fleet lay off of the British coast.

Here Cæsar found the shore all solitary, a scene very different from that which presented itself to the Romans at their first invasion. The Britons beheld the seas covered with a prodigious fleet, compared to the handful of ships that invaded them before, and from which they suffered so much. Their reflecting on this circumstance increased their former terror, seeing themselves on the point of being attacked by much larger numbers, whose resentment they might well imagine would be greatly heightened, by their obstinacy in not complying

with the demands of the haughty invader. These considerations, however, were far from daunting Cassibelan, whom they had chosen the general of their confederacy. All the effect they had was, to abate a little of that impetuous forwardness with which they received the Romans upon their first visit; but perhaps this precaution proceeded not so much from fear as counsel. They had had a great advantage in their last resistance, from the height of the Roman ships; but they might now consider, that the Romans could land with ease, and fight with safety upon the dry beach. Cassibelan, therefore, thought proper to draw his forces off from the shore, and to watch every advantage that might be offered, either from the ignorance or security of the enemy. He had seen, the last year, how serviceable it was to the Britons to act on the defensive, and seems to have resolved on the same conduct. Cæsar being informed of this, by some prisoners he had taken upon his landing, chose a convenient place for encamping, which seems to have been upon Barham-downs. He then set out with the main body of his army about midnight, having first left ten cohorts, which make five thousand men, and three hundred horse, under the command of Q. Atrius, to guard his ships from any attack of the Britons. After marching twelve miles northwards towards the place where he understood the enemy was encamped, he discovered them very advantageously posted; they lay upon a rising ground, with a river in their front, a wood in their rear, and their army consisted of horse and chariots. From this disposition it appears, that they had no thoughts of coming to a general engagement with the Romans, but to obstruct their march. An engagement ensued, in which Cæsar's horse forced their way over the river, and the Britons retreated to the wood in their rear. The Romans pursued them, but found a warmer service there than they had imagined⁽¹⁾.

Within this wood was raised a fortress, which served for a retiring-place to the Britons in former civil wars. The entrance into it was barricaded by a great number of trees, felled for that purpose; and both nature and their own labour had contributed greatly to render the whole a strong, but barbarous fortification. It appears, from the manner in which Cæsar recounts this action, that the (2) Britons repulsed his cavalry as they were attempting to force a passage into this place, and that scattered parties harassed them from the woods. But the seventh legion had recourse to that celebrated piece of military discipline, the (3) Testudo, which had taken so many places fortified by the rules of art, and defended by the bravest troops in other countries. An attack in this form, especially

(1) This river probably was the Stour, and the wood was near Canterbury.

(2) His words are, *Crebris arboribus succis omnes introitus erant præclusi; ipsi ex silvis rari propugnabant, nostrosque intra munitiones ingredi prohibebant.* "All entrance to this place was shut up by trees which had been felled. The Britons opposed our men in scattered bodies out of the wood, and prevented their entering the fortifications."

(3) This was performed by the soldiers joining all their shields together, and thereby forming a kind of a shell, or pent-house, above their heads. In this form they mounted the agger, or mound, which they had thrown up; and being protected against the ordinary missiles of the enemy, attacked them with irresistible force.

B. C. 53.

The Romans
assault and
carry the
trenches of
the Britons.

when, as they were here favoured by a mound they threw up, was generally as irresistible by the assaulted, as it was safe for the assailants. The Romans mounted the British intrenchments, and the Britons retired, without their enemies daring to pursue them; so greatly did Cæsar differ from his general character, whenever he had to do with Britons; that he thought proper to fortify himself in a camp of his own for that night.

Cæsar's ship-
ping greatly
damaged by a
storm.

Next morning he divided his men into three bodies, to harass the retiring foe; but the last of those bodies was not out of sight, when Cæsar received accounts from Q. Atrius, that, the night before, a violent storm had driven his ships from their moorings upon the beach, destroyed their rigging, and that the whole fleet had suffered great damage. Cæsar, upon this information, countermanded the march of his troops, and returning to his ships, was himself an eye-witness of all the ravage which had been described to him; and, upon examination, found that about forty of his vessels were irreparably damaged; but that the rest might, with a great deal of labour, be refitted. He immediately ordered all the carpenters in his army to work, and sent to the continent for a fresh supply, with a command to Labienus, that he should fit out as many ships as he could with the hands he had in his legions; at the same time he ordered the remaining ships to be drawn ashore close up to the camp (1), the trenches of which were extended quite round them. This service being performed, with incredible labour, by his soldiers, who, for ten days, wrought without intermission even a-nights, the whole fortification was made strong and compleat; and Cæsar, leaving the same guard as before with his navy, set out to the station he had left.

The Britons
rally their
forces.

The Britons, in the mean time, had made good use of the difficulties he was under to rally their forces. Their rendezvous was at the wood already mentioned, under the command of Cassibelan.

They harass
Cæsar with
their horse
and chariots.

Cæsar having finished his fortification, marched back with his army towards the wood where he had left the Britons; but they were terribly harassed, in their march, by the British horse and chariots. He tells us, that his men forced them to retreat

into woods, and that several of them were killed in pursuit of the Britons; but his expressions upon this occasion have all the air of the conscious disability he was under of subduing the Britons. By his own relation it appears, that their flight was no other than a retreat to draw the Romans into an ambuscade in the wood, where they found themselves too much exposed to pursue their seeming advantage; instead of pursuing, they fell to fortifying themselves in the best manner they could as soon as they came to the ground of their encampment. But the active Cassibelan allowed them very little respite; after waiting in the wood some time, till he saw whether Cæsar would advance, he on a sudden rush'd out of his covert, and attacked the Romans, busied in raising intrenchments to secure themselves. Their advanced guards could not stand the fury of the British charge. Cæsar sent the two first cohorts, which lay opposite to one another, as the guards of two legions, to support them; but the prodigious execution made by the Britons so terrified them, that they durst not proceed, but made a full halt before they had joined. The Britons, upon this, broke through them with inconceivable rapidity, without any loss; and, if the words of Cæsar carry any meaning, they wheeled quite round, till both parties being supplied with a fresh reinforcement, the one from the wood, and the other from the camp, the battle was renewed. (2) It was here the tribune Laberius Durus fell. As to the event, he, who was best able to account for it, leaves us in the dark, being satisfied with coldly telling us, that, "upon his sup-
" porting his men with more troops, the
" Britons were checked."

The Romans
fortify them-
selves.Cassibelan at-
tacks them in
their work.Laberius Du-
rus, a Roman
tribune, slain.

The laboured apology which that great man makes for this day's action, scarcely leaves room to doubt that he was fairly defeated, though at the head of an army which had already conquered a great part of Europe, and soon after gave law to the whole Roman empire. He lays the blame of his not having success upon the great disadvantage which his legionary soldiers were under from their heavy armour, their being obliged to keep by their ensigns, and their danger of being cut off, should they have pursued in detached bodies. But was this

Remark.

(1) This appears to have been done upon the shore near Deal and Sandon. "Just upon this shore are ridges for a long way together, like so many rampires, which some suppose that the wind has swept up together. But I fancy it was that fence (or rather station, or a sort of ship-camp) which Cæsar was ten days, and as many nights in making, to draw into it his shattered ships, and so secure them both against storms, and also against the Britons.—For I am told, that the inhabitants call this rampire, Rome's work, that is, the work of the Romans." Camden's Britan. Gib. Ed. p. 248. This was a prodigious work; nor do I remember any thing parallel to it in antient times, excepting a work of the very same nature, described by Homer, raised round the Grecian camp and navy, which appears in like manner to have been drawn ashore; and was so stupendous as to excite, according to Homer, the jealousy of Jupiter. As Cæsar, no doubt, took the hint of this fortification from Homer, I will, from the excellent translation, give the words of the latter when he describes it, since it in some measure supplies the omission of Cæsar in not describing it himself.

"Then, to secure the camp and naval pow'rs,
"They rais'd embattled walls, with lofty tow'rs;
"From space to space, were ample gates around,
"For passing chariots; and a trench profound,
"Of large extent, and deep in earth below;
"Strong piles, infixt, stood adverse to the foe."

Mr. Pope's Iliad, l. 7.

(2) "Below Chil-ham, or Julius-ham, is a green barrow, said to be the burying-place of one Jul. Labar, many ages since.—For my own part, imagining all along that there might be something of real antiquity couched under that name, I am almost persuaded that Laberius Durus, the tribune, slain by the Britons in their march from the camp we spoke of, was buried here, and that from him the barrow was called Jul. Labar." Camb. Gib. Ed. p. 238.

B. C. 53. a disadvantage peculiar to this engagement? Were not the Romans under the same upon other occasions, not only with the Britons, but with the Gauls, and Germans? As to his horse, he plainly confesses, that separately they were over-matched by the Britons; because when the latter in their chariots found means, by retiring, to draw the Romans on to a pursuit, they on a sudden quitted their chariots, attacked on foot, and then the conflict was unequal, the Romans fighting at great disadvantage.

Cæsar, at the same time, gives a testimony of Cassibelan's abilities as a warrior; he tells us, that the Britons had particular stations to which they retreated, and which afforded them a continual supply of fresh men, who never fought in a body, but single, or in parties; and that, by these means, the Roman discipline proved but of little service to their army.

Unwilling as we are to indulge conjecture, it may yet be proper to consider the situation of our British hero, after the late important action; the facts we shall build upon, shall be such as we learn from Cæsar himself; the reasoning drawn from those facts is offered with diffidence, but we hope warranted by events.

Cassibelan was chosen in the nature of a chief, to repel a common and an imminent danger. His command, which was temporary and determinable, put him at the head of many nations, whom nothing but the prospect of immediate and general calamity could have united. Dissention, too often the effect of liberty, ever jealous, and ever suspicious of great merit, and great power, had, before Cæsar's coming, kept the states of Britain in almost perpetual wars with one another; and either the ambition, or virtues of Cassibelan had made him the principal object of the common enmity; nothing, therefore, but inevitable necessity could have compelled them to have given him that glorious proof of their acknowledging his superiority, by choosing him the general of the confederacy. He had made a noble use of his power. But does not reason, experience, and Cæsar's own relation, lead us to believe, that their confidence in a man, thus feared, though thus esteemed, diminished in proportion as their dread of the Romans abated? Possibly they might think that they had more to fear from the resentment of Cassibelan, fortified by such an accession of character and power, than from the ambition of Rome.

Cæsar had in his camp Mandubratius, a prince of great interest with the most power-

ful people in Britain, and whose friendship to Rome was cemented with the blood of a father slain by Cassibelan. What great advantages might not Cæsar draw from such dispositions, and such a concurrence of circumstances? But it was beneath that great man to own that he derived success from so mean a cause as that of fomenting divisions, and improving jealousies among his enemies; yet, if we are not mistaken, it may be gathered from Cæsar's own words, that this conduct was the source of all his future success in Britain.

The next day after the late action, the Romans perceived a remarkable abatement in the vigour of the Britons. They did not now spring forward to the charge, or drive upon the cavalry with that furious career as before. They appeared in a few scattered parties upon the distant rising grounds; but without coming to blows. About noon Cæsar sent out three legions, and all his horse, amounting to, in the whole, about twenty thousand men, to forage, under the command of his lieutenant Trebonius. This formidable detachment, however, was suddenly attacked by the Britons. They fell upon the horse, and penetrated to the Roman ensigns, as far as to the legionary forces; but the Romans had, by the experience of the former day, learned to support their horse with their infantry, and the Britons being attacked in a compacted body, were obliged to give way to their united efforts with considerable loss. The reason which Cæsar assigns for his obtaining this victory is, that his horse, when supported by the foot, pressed so closely upon the Britons, that they never suffered them to rally, halt, or leap from their chariots; but, in the very next sentence, he gives us a fact which may well account for the defeat of the Britons upon this occasion.

The spirit of jealousy, perhaps improved by Roman arts, began now to work strongly upon the confederates in Cassibelan's army, and after this action, they fled from him, as from the Romans. He soon found himself deserted by his troops, and probably his army reduced to his own natural-born subjects. The Trinobantes, whom the fear of Cassibelan had kept in the interest of their country, thought they had now a favourable opportunity of returning to their allegiance under young Mandubratius, and thereby of checking the aspiring fortune of Cassibelan. With this view they struck into the Roman alliance, and submitted to their protection; or rather concluded a (1) kind of neutrality. They were afterwards followed in this by

B. C. 53.

The Britons attack the Roman foragers.

They are repelled.

A conjecture upon the defection of the Trinobantes.

(1) It is highly probable that Cæsar, by this treaty, obliged himself to observe a strict neutrality on the part of the Romans; and that the Trinobantes, and the other people who entered into this alliance, were not only to be free from the calamities of war, but that Cæsar was not so much as to march through any part of their dominions. This seems to be pretty plain from the following considerations: 1. The territories of Cassibelan, who was at the head of the war, and the principal object of the Roman army, lay to the north of the Thames. 2. It is probable that this treaty was concluded while he lay to the south of the same river. 3. Cæsar passed the Thames towards Kingston, which was very inconvenient as well as dangerous: therefore, had not this been a treaty such as I have described it, he might have passed it, either on foot or in boats, with great ease and safety, about Putney or farther down; which would have been nearer to Cassibelan's capital, if it was Verulamium. 4. Cassibelan's fortifying that particular ford, while there were many fords below equally passible upon the confines of the Trinobantes, is a proof that he thought himself safe from all that quarter. 5. Had the Trinobantes been Cæsar's enemies when he passed the Thames, he would have passed it nearer London, which, at this time, we must suppose to have been a considerable city, since it is mentioned as a very considerable city of Britain by Tacitus; and the reduction of that would have rendered the conquest of Cassibelan's territories easy.

B. C. 53.
And of other
British na-
tions.

the Cenomagni (1), Segontiaci (2), Ancalites (3), Bibroci (4), and the Cassii (5). This defection from the common cause turned the scale against Cassibelan. He was now unable to act upon the offensive, and therefore retreated to preserve his own territory.

(6) Though Cæsar does not particularly describe the time when this treaty was concluded; yet we understand, from him, that it happened while he was advancing against Cassibelan. By it, Cæsar had restored Mandubratius to his paternal command, and, at the request of the Trinobantes, became his protector against Cassibelan, upon condition that they should send him hostages for the performance of their engagements, and furnish him with provision for his army. The British confederacy being thus broken, and Cassibelan unable to keep the field with any large body sufficient to oppose the Romans in a general action, Cæsar advanced to the banks of the Thames, (7) towards Coway-stakes, as is most probable, where that river is fordable on foot, and even there with great danger and difficulty. Cassibelan being now thoroughly sensible of his own situation, and foreseeing the storm that was ready to fall, had taken measures to guard against it. Cæsar marching directly to the only place, upon the confines of Cassibelan's dominions, where the Thames was fordable, is a full proof that he had some traiterous Britons for his guides. He there perceived the strand lined with the enemy's forces. Beside the difficulties of the passage, Cassibelan had taken care to fortify the banks of the river with stakes sharpened, and others of the same nature were fixed in its bed under the surface of the water. Cæsar having discovered all this, first sent his cavalry, and supported them with his legions. It is more than probable, that the former quitted their horses when they made this passage, otherwise they must have been staked upon the pallisadoes; but however that might have been, the Romans plunging at once up to their necks into the river, gained the opposite bank, and forced the Britons to a retreat.

Cassibelan now found it in vain to resist

the fortune of Rome. He acted however with spirit, though not with despair. He retained about four thousand of his chariots, after dismissing his other forces. With these he harassed the Romans, cut off their stragglers and detached parties, observed the march of the main body, gave them frequent alarms, and ordered the cattle and inhabitants in the fields, through which he knew the Romans were to march, to retire into the woods, that the enemy might be thereby deprived of all means of subsisting upon the ravages of his country. This conduct rendered Cæsar very cautious how he advanced, and determined him to keep his men, as much as he could, in a body; yet still plundering and burning all the country that lay in their way. But his soldiers were so fatigued with their painful service and march, that Cæsar hints the damage the Britons received thereby, to have been but inconsiderable.

This was but a low, pilfering war, unworthy the high views of Cæsar; he therefore determined to attack the enemy in his vitals. The Britons had informed him that Cassibelan's capital lay not far off from (8) his then quarters, amidst the natural fortifications of woods and fens; that Cassibelan had made this the retreat of his subjects and their herds; and that it was strengthened by some additional works of art, such as a retrenchment and a ditch. To this town, as the Britons termed such places, Cæsar advanced with his legions, assaulted it in two different quarters, and carried it after a short resistance. The Britons retreated through an opposite gate, and the Romans pursued them, making a considerable slaughter, a good number of prisoners, with a large booty of live cattle.

But Cassibelan in the mean time was carrying on a design, which, if it had taken effect, must have greatly distressed, if not absolutely have ruined the invaders of his country. Cæsar, as we have seen, had left his navy entrenched with its guard in Kent, and was now with the main body of the Romans upwards of eighty miles distant from thence. Cassibelan thought this a fa-

B. C. 53.
The conduct
of Cassibelan.

Upon condi-
tion of hos-
tages, Cæsar
grants the
Roman pro-
tection to the
deserters of
their coun-
try's cause.
Cæsar ad-
vances against
Cassibelan.

Difficulties he
had to sur-
mount.

Cæsar takes
the capital of
Cassibelan.

Cassibelan's
scheme to de-
stroy, or at
least to distress,
the Romans.

(1) The People of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire.

(2) Uncertain who.

(3) Perhaps the same with the Atrebates.

(4) Hundred of Bray, in Berkshire.

(5) Hundred of Cashew, in Hertfordshire. Camden.

(6) Interim Trinobantes, &c.

(7) I do not see any reason for disagreeing with the received opinion, that this was the place where Cæsar passed the Thames. Bede, speaking of this passage, says, that the remains of the stakes driven into the channel of the river, were sunk them fast in the ground. His words are, *Ripamque fluminis ac pene totum sub aqua vadum acutissimis sudibus præstruxerat; quarum vestigia sudium ibidem usque hodie visuntur, & videtur inspectantibus quod singulæ earum ad modum humani femoris grossæ & circumfusæ plumbo immobiliter erant in profundo fluminis infixæ.* Hist. Eccl. c. 2.

(8) I know how hard it is to combat an opinion which has long prevailed. That this capital of Cassibelan's was Verulam, is agreed upon by most, if not all our historians. I shall not pretend to fix where it lay, only I think the following considerations seem to leave it a little doubtful whether it was Verulam or not. Verulam does not lie above twenty miles from the place where Cæsar forded the Thames. Now, when we attend to Cæsar's words, they imply, that he had advanced a great way up the country before he entertained a thought of attacking this capital. He speaks "of Cassibelan's watching his marches with his four thousand chariots," (*itinera nostra servabat;*) "of his driving the cattle off whole countries through which the Romans passed," (*his regionibus quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat, pecora atque homines ex agris in sylvas compellebat;*) "of his legionary soldiers being oppressed with their toils and marches, and of their being obliged to keep close to the army, and able to do no more than burn and lay waste the country as they went along." I say, whoever attends to all these expressions, will be surprized that Cæsar should apply them to a march of about twenty miles. Add to all this, that it may be gathered from Cæsar's expressions, that the Cenomagni, and the other people who submitted to him about this time, did not do it till they had seen the effect of his treaty with the Trinobantes, which must have taken up a longer time than that of so short a march. Trinobantibus defensio (says he) atque ab omni militum injuria prohibitis; "The Trinobantes being protected and secured from all the miseries of war." Then it was, as he tells us, the other people who informed him where Cassibelan's capital lay, submitted.

B. C. 53.

vourable opportunity for destroying their navy; and accordingly, as general of the confederacy, sent orders to Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax (four Kentish princes, who still continued faithful to him) to draw together their forces with all expedition, and suddenly to attempt storming the enemy's naval entrenchments. This was a service more difficult than, perhaps, Cassibelan himself, or any of those princes, were aware of. Cæsar had foreseen, and provided fortifications sufficient to defeat all such attempts. The Romans repelled them in a folly, with great loss on the side of the Britons, whose commander in chief in this expedition (Cingetorix) was made prisoner.

It proves abortive by the precautions of Cæsar.

Cassibelan was struck by this disappointment, the desolation of his own territories; the ill success of his arms; but, above all, by the shameful revolt of the states from the interest of their country. He undoubtedly considered that, as Cæsar would not winter in Britain, his countrymen, upon his return to the continent, would shake off the terror of the Roman arms, and discover the tendency of their practices in disuniting them from the great confederacy, and fomenting their civil divisions. These are the considerations which, it is natural to think, led Cassibelan to treat with Cæsar. Cæsar, on the other hand, appears to have considered that the summer was far spent, and the enemy might easily find means to prolong the campaign to winter. In which case, as he was under an absolute necessity of returning to Gaul, now in danger of revolting, he must leave all his allies in Britain to the mercy of Cassibelan, and he himself have returned to the continent, not only with the imputation of an unfinished conquest, but, which was repugnant to the first principles of Roman policy, of deluding his allies by his assurances, and then sacrificing them to his safety.

Reflection.

When these reasons for mutual peace are candidly examined, and when it is considered that we have every circumstance of this relation from Cæsar himself, it will be found that they weigh as strongly, at least, upon his side, as upon that of the Britons. He tells us, that Cassibelan sent ambassadors to treat with him by Comius of Arras; but, from the tenor of the story, and his own suggestions, every impartial reader will be easily brought to suspect that Comius, as a kind of neutral person, had been secretly employed by Cæsar to bring about this treaty, in order to save appearances.

As this must have been a private transaction between Comius and Cæsar, that great man was under no necessity of telling this circumstance, and under no danger of its being discovered. (1) The foundation of the treaty was, that the Britons should give him hostages. He then regulated the tribute that was to be paid by Britain; but he does not inform us what this tribute was, or in what proportion it was to be levied;

B. C. 53.

whether, as I should be inclined to think, it was to be paid by the Trinobantes, and the other people who had more early submitted to his arms, as a consideration for protecting them from the resentment of Cassibelan; or if it was to be levied equally all over Britain. If the first, then all his enterprises ended in debauching a few states of Britain from the common cause of liberty; and this treaty between him and Cassibelan was upon a very equal footing. In short, it appears that a general pacification was effected, through the mediation of Comius of Arras, for the performance of which Cæsar received hostages. In this pacification the Trinobantes, and their prince Mandubratius, were parties; and Cassibelan engaged with Cæsar that they should remain unmolested after he left the island. This, from Cæsar's own words, is the naked state of the case; nor do we find that, by this pacification, Cassibelan was at all affected in any other manner. The Money was not to be paid by Cassibelan alone, whom we cannot suppose to have made himself answerable for the payment of it, because, upon Cæsar's quitting the island, the confederacy in which he commanded, determined, and Cassibelan was then to be looked upon only as an independent prince. This imposed tribute was undoubtedly designed as an acknowledgment of superiority, rather than a matter of advantage; and if Mandubratius and his allies engaged to pay it, it was the same thing both to Cassibelan and to Cæsar. Upon the whole, therefore, of this enterprize, I am extremely apt to believe, that Cassibelan did not thereby become an actual tributary to the Romans, and that this treaty by connivance was worded in loose general terms, by which Cassibelan was to preserve a real independency, and the Romans a seeming superiority.

When the treaty was concluded, Cæsar marched back to his ships, which he found refitted. He here plumes himself upon his fortune, in having none of his ships, while his soldiers were on board, lost in this expedition: but his loss in shipping was very considerable upon the whole; for when he had launched his vessels from off their dry docks, he found that they were insufficient for transporting all his army, with his prisoners, at one time; therefore he resolved to transport them at two embarkations. The first arrived safe in Gaul; but the ships that carried them, together with the sixty which Labienus had built in Gaul, were so roughly handled by a storm, in their return to Britain, that most of them were driven back to the continent. This misfortune obliged him to stow his army as close as possible in the vessels that remained, and about nine at night, in a profound calm, he weighed anchor for Gaul, which he reached by break of day.

Thus ended Cæsar's two expeditions; expeditions equally barren of glory to him-

(1) *Obsides imperat; et quid in singulos annos vestigalis populo Romano Britannia ponderet, constituit.* Cæsar.

self,

B. C. 53.

self, and of utility to his country (1). The merit he could justly claim, was his being the first Roman who discovered Britain. The prisoners he carried from thence served as improvements to the Roman luxury. Their uncouth figures were exhibited upon the (2) Latin scene; and their robust bodies employed to carry the sedans of their haughty masters; while he himself, as a lasting monument of his expedition, dedicated to the Venus of his family a corslet embroidered with British pearls, possibly as a tribute due to that goddess, from the spoils of a people, who, by tradition, derived their origin from her, in common with himself.

Pliny.

Cæsar dedicates to Venus a corslet of British pearls.

(3) The Roman and all other historians observe a profound silence with regard to the performance of the terms which Cæsar rather imposed, than agreed upon with the Britons. We find no legion, no cohort, no fort, no magistrate left in Britain, as was usual in other places that had ever in the least smarted under the Roman fasces.

The civil wars that, immediately after the death of Cæsar, rent the Roman state, might indeed have prevented either party from reducing the Britons by force to an exact performance of their treaty with Cæsar; but I think it is pretty plain, that Britain was not looked upon, even at that time, as tributary to Rome, since we find no demand made by any party for her furnishing her quota of either men or money, as was the case of all the other tributaries or allies of Rome. Nay, in all the different partitions, made between the death of Julius Cæsar,

and the accession of Octavius Augustus Cæsar to the undivided Roman empire, we find no mention made of Britain.

B. C. 29.

Augustus Cæsar had as much ambition as his uncle, the famous dictator; but was much inferior to him in genius: his ambition, however, was more regular. Julius wanted to extend, but Augustus to strengthen, the Roman dominion. For this purpose he rather cultivated friendship, than demanded subjection from the Britons; but this was the effect of force more than of choice, since we find, by the (4) poet of his court, that he actually prepared to invade them. The high compliments which this great writer gives his patron upon that expedition, are evident proofs of what great importance this design was at that time accounted. Augustus, of all princes, was the coolest in projecting, and the most determined in executing. At the time of this intended invasion he possessed the whole power of the Roman empire without a rival; a greater power than I believe ever was held, in tranquility, by any mortal; yet he thought proper to lay his expedition aside.

The great power of Augustus.

(5) The greatest of Roman historians tells us, that Augustus pretended to leave Britain in peace from a principle of policy; this, with Tiberius, had the force of a precept. He makes no mention of any motive this prince had for not proceeding upon an expedition against Britain; but his silence is supplied by Dion Cassius, an author of inferior credit. He tells us, that Augustus designed three several visits to Britain, in order to enforce the payment of (6) the tribute imposed

His designs upon Britain.

(1) D. Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quanquam prospera pugna terruerat incolas, ac littore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris non tradidisse. Tacitus J. Agricola Vita.

(2) ——— utque
Purpurea intexti tollunt aulæa Britanni.

“ ——— How Britons rear
“ The purple tapestry, where themselves appear.” Virgil.

(3) Dio tells us, that, for many years after the last expedition of Cæsar, the Britons were governed by their own laws. Tacitus says, that Cæsar did not conquer Britain, but shewed it to the Romans. Horace intimates, that Britain was subdued by Roman arms:

Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus Via.

“ Or chain’d in solemn pomp, through Rome
“ The Briton, yet untam’d, may come.”

Propertius says,

Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus.

“ Thee, unsubdu’d by Rome, the Briton waits.”

Lucan is clearly of opinion, that Cæsar was beaten:

Territa quæsitis ostendunt terga Britannis.

“ And, trembling, fled from Britons whom he fought.”

As these are authorities of writers who lived very near the time of this expedition, their testimony is much more to the purpose than that of a thousand sycophants, who afterwards sought to pay their courts to the emperors, by extolling the valour of Cæsar. For a specimen of this we need but look into Velleius Paterculus, who, contrary to the express testimony of Cæsar, says, “ that he twice passed through Britain;” Bis penetrata Britannia.

(4) Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos.

“ Propitious on thy hero smile,
“ While fame he courts in Britain’s distant isle.” Horace.

(5) Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britannia etiam in pace. Vit. Agric. cap. 13. Consilium id Divus Augustus vocabat. Tac. Vit. Ag.

(6) The pretence of this tribute was always the handle for the Roman invasions, even so late as the times of Arthur. Our historians here generally mention the British coins, particularly those of Kymbeline or Cynobelin, inscribed T. A. S. C. I. A. which, according to Mr. Camden’s information, signify tribute in the old British. As coins are the truest documents of history, the authority of some of those pieces which are seen in the cabinets of our virtuosi, deserves well to be examined. We are told expressly by Julius Cæsar, that when he invaded Britain the inhabitants had no minted money, but that they made use of brass, or rings of iron, of a determined weight, instead of money; Utuntur, aut ære aut annulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo. For my own part, I think it is a thing beyond all question, as the Britons had a considerable trade with the continent before Cæsar’s attempt, that they had money likewise, but I believe not of their own coining; which is all that Cæsar means. This is expressly confirmed by Cicero, before quoted in imperata tamen pecunia, (see note 1, p. 2) and can never be understood as if Cæsar had exacted from them a certain quantity of imported rough brass, or of rude iron rings. Rapin very expressly tells us, “ That Tenantius, successor of Cassibelanus, sent the same emperor rich presents, which were laid up in the capitol; that Cunobelinus, his successor, following his example, kept fair with the Romans; nay, that he ordered money to be coined, some pieces of which are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious, “ with five letters of his name, C. u. n. o. b. or C. a. m. the three first of Camelodunum, his capital city, on one side; “ and on the reverse, a man sitting and coining money, with these letters, T. A. S. C. I. A.” This is a very round assertion in a matter which greatly concerns the honour of our ancestors. I have already taken notice that the states of Britain, excepting in time of war, were independent of one another; and that, upon the departure of Cæsar, Cassibelan’s authority over the rest ceased. An historian, therefore, ought to be very cautious of confounding the states of Britain at that time, and to observe the proper distinctions between the times of war and peace; he ought likewise to be very tender of admitting any thing into his history from Geoffrey of Monmouth, because no certain rule can be laid down to distinguish between the true

B. C. 13.
at different,
and what,
times.

Why he laid
aside his first,

his second,

and his third.

imposed by the dictator. The first was about twenty years before the Christian Æra, when he seemed to be so much in earnest, that he advanced as far as Gaul, in order to invade Britain; but after he had proceeded thus far, he had accounts of a dangerous insurrection in Pannonia, which obliged him to lay aside his design. Seven years after, he resumed his resolution of reducing Britain, but soon dropped it: for the Britons, who now began to hold more frequent correspondence with Rome, being informed of his intentions, sent him a deputation, which made matters easy. However, whether the terms agreed upon were so indefinite, that either party was at liberty to put what constructions upon the treaty they pleased; or whether Augustus could not brook to be called master of the world, while so great a people was independent of his dominion, he again thought of passing over to reduce Britain; but, from a fresh account of the commotions in Spain, he suspended his design. From all those different motions of this great man, and the trifling excuses made in his behalf, it is easy to perceive, that the conquest of Britain was his favourite scheme, and that nothing but the small probability of success could have diverted him from attempting it.

We are now to look upon the Britons as in the summit of their glory, independent

of the power, but cultivating the friendship, of Rome. The English writers tell us, that, upon Cæsar's leaving this island, Mandubratius, conscious of the unpopularity he had so justly incurred, by the part he had acted, and finding the hatred of his countrymen too strong for him to resist while he continued in Britain, again (1) followed the fortunes of Cæsar; and that Cassibelan, as is natural to be imagined, took a severe revenge upon those who had so shamefully joined with the invaders of their country.

Cassibelan was succeeded (as we are told by some authors) by his nephew Tenantius; but, if I mistake not, this must be meant only as to his paternal dominions, and not as to the sovereignty of the confederacy; and Mandubratius, probably, was succeeded by Cynobelin, who, like his father, greatly affected the favour, if not the protection, of Rome. The Britons began now to be smitten with the love of the Roman arts; their frequent treaties with Augustus had given them some idea of the power and policy of Rome; and several ambassadors to his court from the British princes, in the names of their masters, consecrated (2) votive presents in the capitol. A tariff was established between Augustus and those princes, which was, in effect, more beneficial for both parties, than if an abject tri-

B. C. 13.
Geoffrey of
Monmouth.
Holingshed.

Mandubratius
follows the
fortunes of
Cæsar.

The Britons
inclined to the
Roman arts.

Farther rea-
sons for assert-
ing the inde-
pendency of
Britain in the
time of Au-
gustus.

and the false in his relation. Now, the time here mentioned by Rapin, was in time of peace; so that, supposing all he says to be true (though all rests only on conjecture) it amounts to no more than that one prince was so much romanized as to pay this tribute. But if we were to require a proof of Cynobelin's succeeding Cassibelan, and found that it rested entirely upon the authority of Geoffrey, who tells us, that Cynobelin succeeded Tenantius, who was the successor of Cassibelan who drove Androgeus to Rome; I say, when we find the whole rest only upon the credit of a noted romancer, what opinion can we have of its truth? That Cynobelin succeeded to the government of the Trinobantes is undoubted; as it is, that he was upon very good terms with Augustus and his successor. But if he succeeded (as we have reason to believe he did) in right of Mandubratius, who was the creature of Rome, admitting that he even paid tribute to the Romans, it cannot at all affect the independency of the Britons in general; for it can never be pretended that he had any superiority over the rest, even though we should go so far as to admit him to have been the successor of Cassibelan. Therefore those pieces of tribute-money confirm the conjecture I before hinted in note, p. 12, that the tribute demanded by Cæsar was the price of protection paid by the Trinobantes and their prince, as we find no coins pretended to be British, but what were coined in that state. But I am apt, upon the whole, to believe, that those pieces were actually imported by the Romans from Gaul, or coined by themselves here. Cicero is very express that we had no mines at that time, from which the bullion for this coinage could be drawn; and it was both an easy and a natural expedient for the Romans to fall upon, to prove their claim of tribute, upon which alone they founded their pretence of superiority. Besides, the conceits upon these coins, of horses, boars, wheels, double heads, ears of corn, &c. are so much in the Roman taste, that there is little room to doubt from what mint they came. I cannot conclude this note better than by the following excellent quotation from bishop Nicholson's Historical Library, which is exact to my purpose: "The money used here, in Cæsar's time, was no-
" thing more than iron rings, and shapeless pieces of brass; nor does it well appear that ever afterwards their kings brought
" in any of another sort. Camden, says he, could not learn, that after their retirement into Wales, they had any such
" thing among them, none of the learned men of that principality having yet been able to produce so much as one piece of
" British coin, found either in Wales, or any where else. And, it is likely, that a royalty of this nature (of so great be-
" nefit to their subjects, as well as honour to themselves) would not have been laid aside by the Cambrian princes, if for-
" merly enjoyed by any of their ancestors. J. Leland tells us, he never (in all his travels throughout the whole kingdom of
" England) could meet with one British coin, among the many thousands of those of the Romans found in this nation; and
" the reason (he says) was, because (as he proves out of Gildas) the Romans would not allow any of our metal to be
" stamped with any other image or superscription, save only that of Cæsar's, that is, some of their own emperors. How-
" ever, we now have several ancient coins in our public and private libraries, which are generally reputed to be British,
" though it is very hard to determine in what age of the world they were minted. My late very learned and ingenious
" friend, Mr. Lwhyd, believed that, before the coming in of the Romans, they had gold coins of their own; because
" there have been frequently found (both in England and Wales) thick pieces of that metal, hollowed on one side, with
" variety of unintelligible marks and characters upon them. These (said he) cannot be ascribed either to the Romans,
" Saxons, or Danes; and therefore it is reasonable we should conclude them to be British. And the reason why he
" thought they were coined before the Romans came, is this: if the Britons had learned the art from them, they would,
" though never so inartificially, have endeavoured to imitate their manner of coining, and, in all likelihood, have added
" letters, and the heads of their kings or heroes; a fair and probable opinion against the express testimony of Julius Cæsar,
" who could hardly be imposed on in this part of the account he gives of our isle. Camden rather thinks that, after the
" arrival of the Romans, the Britons first began to imitate them in their coining of both gold and copper. But his stories
" of Cynobelin and queen Brundvica, are much of a piece with those of Dr. Plot's Prasutagus; all of them liable to
" very just and (to me) unanswerable objections. For my part, I am of opinion, that never any of the British kings did
" coin money, but that even their tribute-money (like the dane-gelt and peter-pence afterwards) was the ordinary current
" coin which was brought in, or minted here, by the Romans themselves, as long as this island continued a province." Historical Lib. p. 35.

(1) Androgeus abandoned the land clearly, and continued still at Rome, because he knew the Britons hated him for the treason he had committed in aiding Julius Cæsar against Cassibelan. Holingshed.

(2) Strabo tells us, that some petty princes made oblations in the capitol, and rendered almost the whole island intimate and familiar to the Romans, so that they paid all imposts very contentedly, as, says he, they do, at this day, for such commodities as were conveyed, to and fro, between Gaul and Britain. These were ivory, bridles, chains, amber and glass vessels, and such common sort of ware, and therefore needed no garrison in the island; for it would require, at least, one legion, and some horse, if tribute was to be raised, and that would hardly defray the charges of the forces: for the imposts must necessarily be lessened, if a tribute was imposed; and when violent courses are once taken, danger is never far off.—This is an express testimony that no tribute was exacted, in the time of Augustus, from the Britons.

bute

Anno Domini 40. bute had been imposed by the one, and paid by the other. The industry of the Britons had now opened a larger branch of commerce with Gaul, which was immediately subject to Augustus; he, therefore, imposed certain duties upon those commodities, which were either exported from Gaul to Britain, or imported from thence into Gaul. The Britons submitted to pay those duties, though they were perhaps new, and amounting to more than the demanded tribute. But no expence was too dear for their liberty. They, by this means, kept their country without a governor or garrison, while it became more polished and accessible to their Roman allies. Augustus was not without inquietudes at this independency of the Britons, the only free people in the then known world; but he thought proper to dissemble his uneasiness. The resort of the Britons to his court, their embassies, and the imposts they submitted to pay, were, in (1) the language of his court, so many marks of their subjection; and he himself was so fully convinced of the impracticability of reducing them, that Britain was not included within the bounds which he, with his own hand, chalked out to the Roman empire, in a paper he left with his successor Tiberius, who looked upon it as his political testament, and as admitting of no variation.

Tacitus.

Tacitus.

Our island continued upon the same independent footing during all the reign of Tiberius. This prince, equally eminent for personal vices, and political virtues, followed the counsel of his great predecessor, in not attempting the conquest of Britain. The Britons, on their part, deserved his friendship, by sending back in safety the soldiers belonging to Germanicus, who were wrecked upon the island. Tiberius regarded, as a virtue in the Britons, this humanity, which, in others, he would have considered as a duty.

Tacitus.

Diffention between Cynobelin and his son Adminius; the latter flies to Caligula,

Cynobelin had a son, whose name was Adminius; a diffention happened between his father and him; and it is certain, that the son being expelled Britain, fled with a (2) handful of men to C. Caligula, the successor of Tiberius in the empire, who was, at that time, in the Belgic Gaul, intending (3) to advance and plunder Gaul and Germany.

Caligula was noted for vanity, inconstancy, and cruelty, therefore it was no difficult matter for this Briton to persuade him, that the conquest of his country would, through his interest, be cheap and certain. The emperor caught at the bait, and laid hold of that opportunity of sending the most pompous letters to Rome, in the same strain

and invites him to invade Britain.

(1) Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare; præsens divus habebitur
Augustus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio, gravibusque Persis. Horace.

(2) Nihil autem amplius quam Adminio Cynobelini Britannorum regis filio, qui pulsus a patre, cum exigua manu transfugerat, in deditionem accepto: quasi universa tradita insula, magnificus Romam litteras misit: monitis speculatoribus ut in Vita Cal. c. 44.

(3) Agitasse C. Cæsarem de intranda Britannia fatis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis pœnitentia, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Vit. Agric. cap. 13.

(4) The ruins of it are sometimes seen on the coasts of Holland, at low water; and it is called by the people thereabouts, Britenhuis; where they often find stones with inscriptions, one of which was, C. C. P. F. and is interpreted by them (I know not how truly) Caius Caligula Pharum Fecit. Camd. Gib. Ed. p. 54.

as if he had received an absolute surrender of the whole island. The messenger sent with those dispatches was charged not to alight till he came into the very forum and the senate-house, and not to deliver them but in a full assembly of the senate, met in the temple of Mars, and into the hands of the consul. This ridiculous commission was followed by as ridiculous a parade of military madness. He ordered some German prisoners to be lodged in a wood, and to give an alarm to the army, as if an enemy was at hand; then facing about, he advanced against the prisoners, put them in fetters, and exhibited them as taken in a conflict. The frantic emperor then marched his army down to the shore of Belgium, directly opposite to that of Norfolk, where he drew them up as if he had been prepared to embark for Britain. It is more than probable that this was his actual intention, when he was informed that the Britons had lined their shores with a good army ready to dispute his landing. This forwardness daunted him so much, that he thought proper to have a triumph at a cheaper rate than he could purchase from those determined islanders; for he went on board a galley, and launching a little way into the sea, as if intending for Britain, returned with all the pomp of victory and conquest. Then, after a formal speech, as if they had been to proceed upon some important expedition, he ordered his soldiers, upon a signal given, to fill their helmets with shells upon the shore, which he termed the spoils of the ocean, and which he afterwards carried to, and exposed at, Rome, as trophies of real conquest. In this, to the disgrace of human nature, his frenzy was humoured; and, after liberally rewarding his men, he sent letters to the senate, impudently demanding a triumph for his important conquest. The senate, degenerate as it was, made some difficulty to gratify so impudent a demand. This would certainly have drawn down the resentment of the tyrant, to the utter extinction of that body, had not his own domestics found means to precipitate his fate.

Anno Domini 42.

Caligula's frenzy.

It may not be improper here to inform the reader, that Caligula, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of this ridiculous expedition, erected, upon the spot where his army was drawn up, a watch-tower, in which there was a light affixed, for the benefit of mariners upon those seas. The ruins of this tower, though swallowed up by the encroaching sea, may be still seen, at low water, upon the coast of Holland (4).

He builds a tower, as a trophy of his subjecting the ocean.

The Romans, by this time, were per-

“ Jove thunders—men believe and bow,
“ But Cæsar is a god below;
“ While Britons by his arms are broke,
“ And haughty Persians bend beneath his yoke.”

A. D. 42.
The consequence of an intercourse between the Romans and Britons.

fectly well acquainted with the shores, harbours, commerce, and even some inland parts of Britain; while the Britons, by frequent intercourse, began to import foreign luxuries, which debauched them from their abhorrence of servitude. This proved their ruin; for the Romans had thereby an opportunity of fomenting divisions and animosities in Britain, and of breaking that harmony in their constitution, which proved always the surest defence in times of public danger. For, as the intercourse grew more frequent between Britain and Rome, the Britons thereby improved in civil arts, but sunk in their aversion to the Romans. Their passion for liberty was weakened, in proportion as the manners of Rome prevailed; and no sooner did they lose that invincible jealousy of her power, which was at once the glory and safety of their ancestors, than pride, faction, sedition, and luxury began to infect their manners. Politeness recommended servitude, learning introduced indolence, and dissention paved the way for conquest. Rome knew too well how to second with her arms her insidious ambition; the Britons awoke from their illusion when it was too late; and they found their liberties lost just at the crisis when they began to recover their virtue. We, therefore, now come to an age full of blood, confusion, and tumult; begun in civil dissention, continued in domestic distractions, and ending in foreign servitude.

Claudius, the successor of Caligula, was bred both to arms and arts, and being without any passion, but for some peculiar character of glory, (1) thought of the conquest of Britain, as an action which must raise his fame above that of the immortal Julius.

We have already seen how Adminius, a son of Cynobelin, had fled to the Romans, though the particulars of his desertion have not come to our knowledge; yet it left such impressions in Britain, that, upon the death of the old prince, his two sons, Togodumnus and Caractacus, were substituted in his place. As the exiled prince was probably the eldest of the three, it is no wonder, in that degenerating state of British liberty, if he retained in the island a strong party, which took every opportunity of improving

faction and disturbances against the government. One Bericus appears to have been a leader of the malecontents; but being baffled in his endeavours to raise a rebellion, he fled to (2) Claudius at Rome, where Adminius probably lived in the rank of a sovereign prince.

As traitors are ever the most dangerous enemies to their country, Bericus immediately thought of gratifying his revenge and ambition, by prompting the emperor, already but too susceptible of his designs, to the conquest of Britain. For this purpose he laid before him her state in such colours, as presented a flattering, yet dangerous prospect of glory and power. He, doubtless, did not fail to put him in mind of the alteration of the manners of his countrymen since the days of the great dictator, their divisions, and the softening of their spirits, now reconcileable to Roman glory. Upon the whole, he discovered all the nakedness of his mother, and pointed her out as a fair object, ready to submit to, nay courting the force of, the ravisher.

While this traitor was but too successfully soliciting at Rome his infamous purposes, the British princes shewed how little they were either afraid of, or thought themselves subjected to, that court. They knew that Claudius had received and entertained their fugitive subjects, and, with a noble and independent spirit, sent an embassy as from one sovereign power to another, complaining of the reception and countenance given the rebels, and demanding that they should be given up to the justice of their country. We may well suppose this step was not taken with any hopes of success, but that the Romans might be disabused if they imagined the Britons entertained the smallest sentiment of their being tributary, or subjected, to Rome. As this, however, was a claim never yielded up by that court, Claudius was far from giving this embassy a favourable reception; and renewing his pretensions (either from the fresh submissions of Adminius, whom he, perhaps, pretended the lawful heir to his father, or upon the footing of the old demand, or upon both) he made a formal demand of tribute upon the Britons.

The British princes, with a becoming indignation at the treatment of their embassa-

A. D. 42.
Dio.
Divisions among the Britons.
Whence arising.

Bericus flies to Rome.

Instigates the emperor Claudius to invade Britain.

Dio, Suetonius.

The behaviour of the British princes with regard to the fugitive Bericus.

Claudius demands tribute of the Britons.

Dio.

(1) Britanniam potissimum elegit, neque tentatam ulli post divum Julium. Sueton. in vita Claudii, cap. 17.—Britanniæ intulit bellum, quam nullus Romanorum, post Julium Cæsarem attigerat. Tacitus, lib. vii. cap. 13.

(2) We have, in Camden, a Greek medal of undoubted authority, which seems to confirm this conjecture. It contains on one side, the head of Britannicus, the son of Claudius; and on the reverse, part of a ship with its rostrum, with an inscription in Greek, signifying the metropolis of king Etiminius. As Britain was a kind of naval conquest, it is more than probable that this trophy referred to the exploits of Claudius here, and that this Etiminius was Adminius the son of Cynobelin. While I am upon this subject, I cannot omit a very important discovery, made, or pretended to be made, from a more perfect copy of this medal. As I never saw the original medal, I shall satisfy myself with giving the fact from the author of Nero Cæsar, printed in the year 1624, a work containing a great deal of good sense and curious learning. "Among Camden's Roman copper coins, touching our country, there is one in honour of Britannicus, the son of Claudius Cæsar, which has nothing legible upon it but, METROPOLIS ETIMINII BA. that BA. (in short writing) standing for Basileos, or King; the chief city of king Etiminius, the name of the city fretted out, and quite worn away with age. But Octavius Strada, a gentleman of knightly degree under the emperor Rodolphus the second, with the honourable title of being his antiquary, has published one of these invaluable medals much more entire; a most fortunate jewel to Britain, better worth, being but copper, than opaz, gold, or paragon-stones; nor simply a single piece of money, but itself an entire treasure. For, without the least alteration of characters, METROPOLIS ETIMINII BALO, being the visible remains of the circumferential inscription upon the reverse, a most easy distinction, by supplying of points decayed, reads, METROPOLIS ETIMINII BA. LO. that is to say, METROPOLIS ETIMINII BASILEOS LONDINVM. For in the very letter L, and much more in the syllable LO, all men (though but slightly conversant in antiquities) will readily confess, that till after the name of the king, the name of the place in Britain did not commence. The mother-city, or principal chief town, of king Etiminius, London." Nero Cæsar, p. 133, 134, 135.

A. D. 43.
They resent this, and refuse to admit of any being due from them to Rome.

Dio.

Prohibit all intercourse with Romans.

Claudius sends Aulus Plautius with some forces to Britain.

Dio.

The soldiers under Plautius mutiny.

Claudius dispatches Narcissus, his freed-man, to those troops, who is received with contempt.

Dio.

dors, and the insolence of the demand, gave this message a reception as little favourable as theirs had met at Rome, and positively refused to pay a tribute so injurious to their own glory and the memory of their ancestors; reflecting, at the same time, upon the use the Romans had made of the commerce which had been opened betwixt the two people, and of the construction they had put upon the customs paid by the Britons, as if they had been acknowledgments of superiority, absolutely prohibited all intercourse with Romans.

Claudius, affecting justice and moderation, did not proceed to any hostilities till the British princes had given him this pretext, which, however unjust in reality, was plausible to appearance. The first step he took, was to command Aulus Plautius, a citizen of great reputation and virtue, to transport part of the forces he then commanded in Gaul, over to Britain, with orders, that if he met with any resistance, meriting triumphal honours by subduing it, he should write to the emperor, who would, in person, come and partake both of the danger and the honour.

Plautius, with all the reputation he had, found the soldiers under him relished this service very ill; in short, they did little less than positively refuse to leave Gaul, in order to enter upon a war, which, as they termed it, lay without the limits of the earth. Claudius being informed of this mutiny, sent Narcissus, a creature of his own, bred up in all the infamous craft of courts, once a slave, but now freed, to prevail with them to obey the emperor's orders. But this minister, though armed with power, was destitute of authority. The soldiers, with indignation, saw one, whom they could not be brought to look upon in any other light than that of a slave, mount the tribunal which was sacred to generals, whose danger and services had been in common with their own; for no sooner did he begin to deliver his commission, than they set up a general cry of *Io saturnalia*, the celebrated festival in which slaves assume the garb and guise of their masters: humourously intimating that season was then come, since a slave spoke in the character of his lord. This incident might have been attended with a dangerous consequence to the Roman interest, had it not been for a generous turn of mind the army took. (1) They spontaneously submitted to do for an approved general, what they had refused to an imperial favourite. Their

courage conquered their reluctance; and Plautius improved this lucky turn, by hastening their departure for Britain, that they might have no leisure for reflection or repentance. That the expedition under his command might meet with as few difficulties or disappointments as possible, he divided his forces into three bodies, embarking at three different ports, that, if one failed, another might land upon the British shore; appointing, as it is to be presumed, a general rendezvous for the whole. This embarkation, at first, met with contrary winds, which drove back the transports; but the wind veering, and a phenomenon (perhaps the *Aurora Borealis*) appearing in the heavens, shooting a gleam of light from east to west, its unusual appearance made them esteem it a favourable prodigy. This giving them fresh courage, together with a supply of light, when that of the other luminaries failed, they again set sail, and (2) landed safely upon the British shore.

The Britons, either not expecting him to land where he did, detained by domestic dissensions, or designing to weary him out, took no care to oppose his descent; so that he found the shores solitary, and the country defenceless. They thought, says Dio, to deal by Plautius as they had done by Cæsar, to harass him, prolong the time, and force him to return without performing any service, either to himself, or his country; (3) but Plautius had, doubtless, better information, and more encouragement from the disposition of the people, than Cæsar had. He spent some time in seeking the enemy, whose safety consisted in their union; but whether through mistaken policy, or mutual jealousy, he met with them in different bodies (4), and, by separate defeats, effected universal subjection. The first he attacked was (5) Caractacus, whom he defeated; and Togodumnus soon after shared the fate of his brother. This circumstance, together with an expression dropt from my author, gives some ground for believing, that their father Cynobelin had found means to establish in his family an hereditary title to the dominions of which he died possessed, in prejudice of the people's right. The government then, says Dio, was not in the hands of the people, but in those of their princes. It is probable Caractacus and his brother succeeded to different portions of their father's territories, and that their power was founded upon the ruin of the people's liberty, over whom they ruled.

A. D. 43.
The soldiers, by a sudden turn, resolve to follow their general.

He improves the incident, and, dividing his forces, embarks at three different places.

A phenomenon encourages the Romans,

and they land in Britain,

and meet with no opposition;

find and defeat the Britons in separate bodies.

(1) This incident has been grossly misrepresented by several of our historians, who did not perceive the true meaning of the historian.

(2) Mr. Horfly seems to think, that they all landed on the Kentish coast; part of them probably about Richborough, and the rest to the south of it.

(3) Mr. Horfly says, that the woods and fens, to which the enemy retired, and where the Romans first came up to them, seem to have been on the north side of the Thames. His reasons are these: Dion's expressions imply, that he had advanced a good way before he encountered the enemy; and particularly, that the army was north from the Thames. The two sons of Cynobelin, whose territories were north of that river, were the first he engaged and subdued. The Bodunni, subject to the Catuellani, at that time surrendered upon his defeat; and both these people are generally agreed to have been situated a good way north of the Thames.—I therefore take the country about Verulamium to have been the seat of this war, and possibly Verulamium itself might be the place where a garrison was left by the general; so that the Romans, upon this defeat, advanced as far, without opposition, as Julius Cæsar had carried on his conquest.

(4) *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.* Tacitus.

(5) Rapin, or his translator, following former English historians, have inverted the order of those defeats by saying, that the Roman general attacked Togodumnus first, and then Caractacus.

A. D. 43.

A. D. 43.

Plautius subduces the Bodunni.

He leaves them garrisons in their country.

Marches in search of other Britons retired and encamped behind the Severn.

The Germans in the army of Plautius swim the river, and gain the opposite side.

Here Vespasian first distinguishes himself.

Dio.

The (1) Catuellani, by some thought to be the Cassii, the subjects of old Cassibelan, held the (2) Bodunni at this time in their subjection; and the latter preferring a foreign to a domestic yoke, took the first opportunity of submitting to the Romans. Their submission gave Plautius both a firmer footing in the island, and better opportunities of improving the civil animosities of the Britons to his master's advantage. He immediately left a garrison in their country, and advanced against the other Britons, who held out, and who, in consequence of their first scheme to prolong the war, had retired beyond the (3) Severn, as it is generally thought, where they lay carelessly encamped, as if secure of not being attacked; but Plautius had German soldiers, who were accustomed to swim in their arms over the most rapid streams; these he ordered to attack the enemy, which they did with amazing intrepidity, and made themselves masters of the opposite bank. It is more than probable this was all the view that Plautius had in this attempt; and Dio, without assigning for it any reason, tells us, that they did not hurt the Britons themselves, but only galled their horses. Later writers tell us, it was to render useless the chariots of the Britons, which were so formidable to the Romans. Perhaps another reason might be assigned; they had swum over a broad deep river to attack the enemy, and it is likely they had left behind them some part of their armour, possibly their shields, which render'd them unfit for close engagement.

It was upon this occasion that Flavius Vespasianus (afterwards famous for his excellent administration of the Roman empire, but more famous for leaving behind him such a son and successor as the blameless Titus) first distinguished himself. Plautius, in order to improve the successful attempt of his Germans, dispatched him, together with his brother Sabinus, to support the Germans, which they did, gaining, at the same time, some advantage over the nearest troops of the Britons.

But these two actions appear far from having been decisive, in whatever colours the Roman writers may represent them. We need but consider the naked fact, as laid down by themselves, to conclude, that the Britons in reality suffered both Parties to pass the river, that they might afterwards engage them with greater advantages on

their own side; for, the day following, the Britons, who had maintained their ground against the utmost efforts of all the Romans, entered upon a general engagement. The Roman writers, as usual when the superiority of their countrymen is not indispensible, leave us in the dark, as to the particulars of this battle; but we may well conclude it to have been glorious for the Britons, since we learn that the Romans were upon the point of being all cut to pieces. The Latin historians do not tell us that Plautius himself and the main body of his army, had, by this time, gained the opposite side of the river, probably at the same place where it was passed by Vespasian; but there is the evidence of the common sense of mankind for believing this to have been the case. We have no account in what manner that general employ'd himself, whilst his officers were thus doubtfully engaged with the enemy; we know of no obstacle which could have prevented him from following Vespasian and his brother; we are therefore to take it for granted that this battle was general. Despair, upon this occasion, seems to have supplied the place of courage; the Roman discipline was broken by the efforts of the Britons; Vespasian himself was in imminent danger of losing his liberty, or at least his life, but was rescued by the piety of his son. (4) C. Silius Geta, another general officer, who was thought to be taken prisoner, disengaging himself, and the troops he commanded, from the enemy, took advantage of the tumultuous security into which the prospect of victory had thrown them, to charge them afresh. This diversion gave the Romans time to recover themselves, and, in the language of their historians, to force the Britons to a retreat. Afterwards Geta, tho' clothed with only subordinate command, had triumphal honours decreed him at Rome, for this signal service.

Whoever reads the history of the Britons at this period, must be careful not to suffer his ideas of the more modern way of making war to affect his mind, with regard to the then state of our ancestors. As they had no places deserving the name of fortifications; as they had no provisions but what were just sufficient for satisfying the most frugal calls of nature; as they had no ambition, but to preserve their freedom, by harrassing their enemies; it was both necessary and prudent for them to shift the seat

A general engagement.

Remark.

Battle, in which the Britons at first have the better,

but are afterwards beat.

Reflection on the Art of War in those Days.

(1) Camden is of this opinion, and goes so far as to say, that Cassibelan took his name from them. The Cassii (says he) did most certainly inhabit those parts, from whom a pretty large tract of this country still retains the name of Casnew. Though it is very probable that the Cassii did inhabit this country, yet I can scarcely be brought to believe that they were the native subjects of Cassibelan, because Cæsar ranks them among the people who surrendered to him after his treaty with the Trinobantes. Now it is extremely improbable that the inhabitants of the country should submit to Cæsar, at a time when their prince was upon the spot, and while their chief town, all their flocks, and riches, were in his possession. This is, I think, a farther presumption that Verulam was not the chief town of the dominions of Cassibelan; however, it might have been of the Cassii. See above, note 8, p. 11.

(2) So Dio calls them; but they were called likewise the Dobunni. There is probably a transposition of letters. They inhabited Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire.

(3) The battle therefore that ensued, must have been on the west side of the river, upon the confines of the Silures, who were probably the people who opposed the Romans.

(4) This is probably the same person mentioned under the name of Cn. Silius, by Eutropius, in the following passage: Britannia intulit bellum, quam nullus Romanorum post Jul. Cæsarem attigerat: eaque devicta per Cnæum Silium et Aulum Plautium, illustres & nobiles viros, triumphum celebrem egit. Quasdam insulas etiam ultra Britanniam in oceano positas Romano imperio addidit, quæ appellantur Orcades, filioque suo Britannici nomen imposuit—Plautium triumphantem ipse prosequeretur, et conscendenti capitolium lævus incederet. Lib. vii. cap. 8.

A. D. 43.

of war as often as they possibly could, for the benefit both of subsistence and safety. The example of the great Cassibelan, and the event of the first (1) Cæsar's expedition, had pointed out to them the good effect of this Conduct. It is no wonder, therefore, if the next place where they made a stand against the Roman power was towards the mouth of the Thames, among the fens and marshes, occasioned by the (2) overflowings of that river, probably upon the Coast of Essex. The Britons being perfectly well acquainted with every passage through those fens and marshes, gave the Romans great trouble in following them: however, the Germans, we have already mentioned, attempted to swim over, while the other soldiers, either laying a bridge, or taking advantage of one, which the Britons, by an unpardonable neglect, had left standing, passed over to attack them. The Britons retiring, were pursued by the Romans, though with great loss, for many of the latter perished in the Bogs, which their enemies wisely considered as their fortifications.

The Britons rally.

Then retire.

The death of Togodumnus.

Dio.

We have here no light as to the circumstances of the death of Togodumnus, who we understand fell about this time; or whether it was owing to the chance of war, or to the perfidy of Rome; the latter is the most probable, since we find it had a surprising effect upon the spirits of the Britons, now doubly exasperated against their invaders. The Roman general began then to perceive, that it would be perhaps impossible for him to strike any decisive blow with an enemy, whose defeat proved not only fruitless, but fatal to his army. He saw, with astonishment, the terrors of war redoubled, ready to pour all its fury upon

the head of his distressed troops, The British spirit now caught every breast; they began sensibly to feel the effects of their fatal commerce with the Romans, and prepared to hazard their all for the preservation of their liberty.

A. D. 43. The danger Plautius is in from a general insurrection of the Britons. Dio.

Plautius perceiving the storm to be irresistible, only fought to secure his late acquisitions, and shelter the remains of his army, till fresh supplies could be had from Rome. He knew the emperor was ready with prodigious armaments to carry the war into Britain; and that Claudius, in some measure, (3) wished the expedition might be attended with danger worthy of imperial arms; he, therefore, sent to Rome a detail of his conduct, and an account of his present comfortless situation. And now the Roman fortune must have been irretrievably ruined, and the Roman name extinct in Britain, had it not been for the infamous submission of her own treacherous sons. (4) For the country of the Bodunni, who, as we have seen, had submitted to the Roman general, lay open to him for a retreat, and served to secure himself and his troops, which otherwise must have perished by the sword or famine.

He retires and sends for the Emperor.

Claudius, upon receiving the letters of Plautius, instantly transferred the civil government to Vitellius, whom he had associated with himself in the consulate for six months. He then set out with all expedition from Ostia for Marseilles by sea, and was thrice in danger of being (5) wrecked upon the coast of Liguria. From (6) Marseilles he travelled by land to Gessoriacum, where he embarked for Britain with a great army, in which (7) elephants were not forgotten, as being the most serviceable animals against enemies who

Who sets out immediately to his assistance.

(1) See Dio, whose words, at least, prove that he had but a mean Opinion of the first Cæsar's success here.

(2) *Ἀναχωρησάντων δ' ἐνέθεν τῶν Βρετανῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Τάμισιον ποτάμον καθ' ὃ ἐς τὸν ἁγέανον ἐκβάλλει πλημμύροισι τε αὐτῶ ληιμάζει καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτὸν διαβάλλων, αἰε καὶ τὰ σείφα τὰ τε εὐπορα τῷ χωρίῳ ἀκριβῶς εἰδόντων, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπακολυθησάντες σφίσι ταυτὴ μὲν ἐσφάλησαν. Διανηξαμένων δ' αὖθις τῶν Κελτῶν, καὶ τίνων ἐτέρων διὰ γεφύρας ὀλίγων ἄνω διελθόντων, πολλαχόθεν τε αἶμα αὐτοῖς προσέμιζαν, καὶ πολλὰς αὐτῶν κατέκοψαν, τὰς τε λοιποὺς ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπιδιώκοις ἐς τὴν ἐλθὺς δυσδιέξοδα ἐσέπεισον καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλον.* Here Mr. Ward takes notice, that, according to the construction which the words may bear, the author may be understood to mean, that the Britons retreated to the mouth of the Thames, where it empties itself into the sea; and that overflowing, stagnates or makes a lake. From this he concludes, that this lake was the water which the Britons passed, and which the Germans swam over after them. He thinks likewise, that it is very probable that there might be a bridge cross this water, further up from the Shore, over which some of the Romans might also pass; and that this place must have been on the coast of Essex, where the ground was low.—This conjecture is ingenious, and supported by a parallel passage from Herodian: to which the Britons retreated were the islands formed on the Essex side. I should be inclined to think that it was Canvey isle. Camden, speaking of the Thames here, says; "Afterwards, passing by other places that do also lie low, and are unhealthy, the tide separates the Island Conventos (which is the Cunos mentioned by Ptolemy) from the continent. This place has not quite lost its Name, but is still called Canvey; but the ground is so extreme low, that it is very often quite drowned, except a few of the highest hillocks, which serve for a retreat to the sheep."—I must here observe in general, that the face of the country all about the banks of the Thames is probably greatly altered since the days of the Romans, and therefore we can have no certainty as to the precise place to which the Britons retreated on this occasion. We are, however, pretty certain, that there never was a time when the Thames was fordable, or could admit of having a bridge built over it towards its mouth.

(3) I shall here set down a passage from Suetonius, which is greatly to the honour of the ancient Britons, and not a little to that of Claudius; but as the Passage in the common Editions is not intelligible, I shall give it according to the best reading: *Expeditionem unam omnino suscepit, eamque hoc modo; cum, decretis sibi a senatu ornamentis triumphalibus, le-viorem majestatem principis talem titulum arbitraretur, velletque justis triumphis decus, unde acquireret, Britanniam potissimum elegit.* In English thus: "Claudius undertook but one expedition, and that was in this manner; the senate having decreed him triumphal ornaments, he thought that the titles arising from them were too mean for sovereign dignity; and being desirous to acquire the honours of a real triumph, his choice fell upon Britain." Vita Claudii, c. 17.

(4) These people were situated a good way north of the Thames (see note 2. p. 18.) therefore it is probable the seat of war, till this time, was the country about Verulam; and, as Mr. Horsly thinks, Verulam might be the place where the Roman general left the garrison.

(5) *Huc cum ab Ostia navigaret, vehementi circio bis pæne demersus est prope Liguriam, juxtaque Stæchadas insulas. Ib. paucissimos dies parte insulæ in deditionem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit, triumphavitque maximo apparatu.* Sueton. Vit. Claud. cap. 17.

(7) Though I am not very fond of believing this part of the story, yet we are to reflect, that the unwieldy bulk of the elephants is no objection to their being of service in bogs, where there was, according to the historian, a firm footing at the bottom.

A. D. 43.

He lands at Richborough, and joins Plautius.

made so good use of bogs and rivers, impassable to troops. There is reason for believing that this emperor landed at Richborough. He instantly advanced to join Plautius, who, at this time, was lying inactive upon the banks of the Thames, and bore with the insults of the Britons, who possibly were ignorant of the powerful succours he hourly expected (1).

The Britons, unable to make an efficacious resistance,

The junction of the Roman forces composed an army greater, it is to be believed, than any the Britons had ever seen; and their own divisions prevented them from being able to oppose them with the same efficacy as their fore-fathers had done, under the brave Cassibelan. Besides, they seem then to have forgot the wise maxims of that great captain, and were weak enough to imagine their own power, in the open field, a match for that of the whole Roman empire.

are defeated by Claudius.

Claudius, when he had join'd his forces with those under Plautius, took upon him the command of the whole, passed the Thames, encountered the forces of the Britons, and defeated them. He then attacked (2) Camelodunum, the capital of Cynobelin, and took it. This exploit struck such a terror into the neighbouring states, that many voluntarily submitted, and others were overawed by the terrors of the Roman arms. All this, we are told, was performed in fifteen days, with the repeated acclamations of his soldiers, who several times saluted

Claudius emperor. This last was an honour conferred upon the most successful generals once only in the same war; but this consideration was now set aside, "as if," says "a great Author, Claudius, by these acts, had deserved more than the laws of Rome had provided honours to reward."

(3) It is more than probable, that, at this time, Claudius gave orders to settle a military colony at Camelodunum, which was accordingly done; and that this part of the Island was then reduced to a province. The settling of colonies was, by the Romans, found to be the most successful means of subduing those countries where their arms had given them any footing, as it disseminated their arts, their language, and their manners amongst the People. The Britons appear afterwards to have felt this mark of subjection very sensibly, and to have resented it; especially the Iceni, and the Trinobantes, in whose neighbourhood and country this colony was settled.

The campaign of Claudius in Britain lasted only sixteen days: during that time he fought but once or twice at most, and his success was owing more to the defection of the Britons from the cause of their country, than to the military courage of his troops.

(4) An ancient inscription insinuates, either that he fought no battle, or, if a battle was fought, that it was bloodless on the side of the Romans; but this we are probably to rank amongst the monumental lies, with

A. D. 43.

The honours conferred on Claudius on this victory.

A colony settled at Camelodunum.

An inscription.

(1) Plautius was now, it is to be believed, lying on the south side of the Thames, and very probably he had taken care to preserve a communication farther up the Thames, betwixt his own army and the garrison he had left in the country of the Bodunni, otherwise that garrison could have been but of very little service to him.

(2) Thought to be Malden, in Essex.

(3) There is, in Speed and Camden, a celebrated medal, which determines the precise time when this colony was erected. I have given the medal in plate I. of the coins; and we learn from that, that this colony was settled in the twelfth year of his reign, and after being saluted eighteen times imperator. The allusion of a ploughman with a cow, and a bull, as in the medal, to a colony, is best learned from the words of Servius. "The Romans, says he, being about to build a city, and clad after the Sabine fashion (i. e. with part of the Gown covering the head, and the other part tucked up) yoked on the right-hand a bull, with a cow on the inner-side; and in that habit held the crooked plough-tail, so as to make all the earth fall inwards. By drawing a furrow, they marked out the track of the walls, lifting up the plough where the gates were to be."

(4) We have a curious inscription in Mr. Wright's travels, p. 293, which intimates, that the conquests of Claudius here were bloodless. The Inscription was taken from the palace Barbarini at Rome, and is as follows:

TI. CLAVDIO CÆS.
AVGVSTO
PONTIFICI. MAX. TR. P. IX.
COSV IMP. XVI. P. P.
SENATUS. POPVL. Q. R. QVOD
REGES BRITANNIÆ ABSQ.
VLLA. IACTVRA DOMVERIT.
GENTESQUE BARBARAS.
PRIMVS. INDICIO. SVBEGERIT.

By this inscription it would seem as if, according to Suetonius, Claudius had subdued the British princes without any loss on his part; but when we consider how apt the Romans were to strain a compliment to their emperors, I am inclined to believe, that the expression, Reges Britanniae absque ulla iactura domuerit, relates to the princes of the Dobunni, and perhaps some other British chiefs who submitted to Claudius and his proprætor; so that he may be said to have been, sine clade victor. As to the other expression, Gentisque barbaras primus indicio subegerit, this may refer to the discovery of the Orcades, or some Islands which the Romans then took for the Orcades, the people of which were perhaps too weak to oppose their invaders, who had nothing to do but to take possession. In this sense the words, primus indicio subegerit, is natural and easy, especially when we reflect upon the words both of Eutropius, and Orosius, who tells us, that Claudius subjoined the isles of the Orcades to the Roman empire. Both these authors speak of this conquest almost in the same words. Eutropius says, Quasdam insulas etiam ultra Britanniam in oceano positas Romano imperio addidit, quæ appellantur Orcades, filioque suo Britannici nomen imposuit. Bede, from Orosius, says, Eodem anno ipse Britanniam adiens, quam neque ante Julium Cæsarem, nec post cum quisquam attingere ausus fuerat, sine ullo prælio ac sanguine intra paucissimos dies plurimam insulæ partem in ditionem recepit. Orcadas etiam insulas Romano adjecit imperio, ac sexto, quam profectus erat mense, Romanam rediit.—I am very sensible there is a strong objection to these authorities in the words of Tacitus, who expressly affirms, that the Orcades never were discovered, or subdued before the time of Agricola. Jam primum (says he) Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Vit. Agric. cap. 10.—But it is more than probable, that the memory of this conquest of Claudius was lost in the time of Agricola; that these islands were of so little value and untenable, both by reason of their climate and their barrenness, that they were just taken possession of to give a lustre to the imperial titles, and then abandoned. My conjecture is farther confirmed by another inscription, referring to the same event, and which stands connected with the former, as follows: REGES. BRITANNIÆ. PERDVES. SINE. VLLA. IACTVRA. CELERITER. CEPERIT. GENTESQUE. EXTREMARVM. ORCHADVM. PRIMVS. INDICIO. FACTO. R. IMPERIO. ADIECERIT. Though the smaller capitals in these lines are conjecturally supplied by Alexander Donatus, yet there seems no manner of reason to doubt, from the mention here made of the Orcades, that they were discovered and possessed by the Romans in the time of Claudius Cæsar, but that the obscurity of the conquest led Tacitus into this mistake.

which

A. D. 44. which every compliment paid to a Roman emperor began now to be infected.

The character of Claudius.

Claudius possessed a stupid vanity, in common with his immediate predecessor and successor in the imperial purple; but without the ferocity of their nature. The Britons he had subdued, were, by his order, disarmed, to prevent, as much as he could, the war from becoming offensive on their side while he was absent. But this emperor fell short in that rapaciousness which distinguished his family; for he remitted the confiscation of the estates of the subdued Britons. This was a strain of generosity so uncommon in a Roman, that the Britons could not but look upon him as being of a nature superior to theirs. They built him a temple, and adored him as a god; a fatal preface of their future servitude!

The Britons build a temple, and pay divine honours to Claudius.

The emperor finishes his British expedition in six months.

Is received, in his return to Rome, with great honours wherever he passed. Triumphs in Rome.

The emperor had been but (1) six months absent from Rome, when he returned to receive the fruit of his toils and expence, and which, in reality, greatly exceeded all the advantage or glory he and his empire had acquired. But the conquest of any part of Britain was thought of such importance, as to demand all the profusion of honours Rome could bestow. Triumphal arches were erected, upon his return to Gessoriacum, in his journey to Rome; the like were raised at Rome, where anniversary games, with a splendid, rather than a glorious, triumph were decreed by the senate. The vanity of Claudius was not contented with the citizens of Rome being the only spectators of this solemn pomp; the presence of the governors of provinces, and even that of exiles, was dispensed with, nay, exacted upon this occasion. (2) A naval crown was fixed upon the imperial palace, as the emblem of his having overcome the dangers of the ocean, and of his dominion over the British seas. The provinces vied with each other in acknowledgments of his success; Gallia Comata presented him with a crown of gold, nine pounds weight; and the hither Spain with one of seven. His two sons-in-law, Pompeius and Silanus, whom he had sent to acquaint the senate with his victory, supported him on either side, while he went up to the capitol upon

his knees, the better to express the fervour of his devotion for this mighty conquest. His consort, Messalina, was, by the senate, assigned the first seat next to him, and a triumphal car was likewise decreed her. In short, Claudius carried the rejoicings upon this occasion to an extravagance of gratitude, both to the gods and to the noble Romans, who had assisted him personally in this expedition; for he bestowed upon those who were senators, but without consular authority, triumphal ornaments; and, to crown all his honours, the senate decreed to himself and his family the surname of Britannicus, which they affected to hold in as much esteem as those bestowed upon the conquerors of Afric and Asia.

A. D. 44. Dio, Suetonius.

The extravagance of which triumph re-dounds to the honour of Britain.

The senate decrees him the surname of Britannicus.

When Claudius left the island, he resigned to Plautius the management of the war, and of the new province. This general discharged his trust with great fidelity, and some success; but we are pretty much in the dark as to the particulars of his administration. However, he had merit enough with Claudius for the latter to decree him an ovation. Plautius was then honourably recalled; and, when he came to Rome, he was received, at his entry into the city, by the emperor himself, who rode on his left-hand up to, and in returning from, the capitol.

Plautius entrusted with the management of the war in Britain.

He is decreed an ovation.

Dio. Recalled, and honourably received by the emperor.

In this period we may fix the great rise of Vespasian's fortunes. Both he and his son Titus continued to serve in Britain with great reputation and success. (3) The father, we are told, by Roman authors, had engaged the Britons in thirty, some say thirty-two, encounters, or battles; and the son served under his father as military tribune. But Vespasian, according to the same authority, was, in a particular manner, distinguished by his conquering the (4) isle of Wight for the Romans; and his exploits gained him such credit at Rome, that he was honoured with triumphal ornaments, and with the priesthood, twice in a very short time. At last he was made consul, an honour which he enjoyed the two last months of the year.

The first rise of Vespasian's fortunes.

He conquers the isle of Wight,

and is honoured with triumphal ornaments.

Plautius was succeeded in his command by P. Ostorius, whom Tacitus calls pro-

Ostorius succeeds to Plautius.

(1) The shortness of his absence is a proof that he was not in person in the expedition to the Orcades mentioned in Mr. Wright's inscription.

(2) This circumstance is taken notice of by Mr. Selden, to prove, that under the emperor Claudius the dominion of the British sea followed the conquest of Britain itself. See *Mare Clausum*, p. 208. We have several pretty epigrams of that time upon this expedition of Claudius, two of which we shall give as specimens of the rest, and as full proofs both of the importance this conquest was held in, and of the firm persuasion of that age, that Julius Cæsar had made no conquest here.

Aufoniis nunquam tellus violata triumphis
Icta tuo, Cæsar, fulmine procubuit.
Oceanusque tuas ultra se prospicit aras;
Qui finis mundo est, non erit, imperio.

Libera non hostem, non passa Britannia regem,
Æternum nostro quæ procul orbe jacet.
Felix adversis, et sorte oppressa secunda,
Communis nobis, et tibi, Cæsar, erit.

(3) In Britanniam missus tricies et bis cum hoste conflixerit; duas validissimas gentes, viginti oppida, insulam vestem Britanniae proximam imperio Romano adjecerit. Eutropius, lib. vii. cap. 19. Diodorus Siculus gives the name of Icta to the isle of Wight. Lib. v. cap. 8.

(4) I am strongly inclined, with Mr. Horsly, to believe, that the words of Suetonius, who first tells us of this conquest, have more compliment than fact in them. We have no particulars of all these conquests, as we have of others far less considerable, and obtained by those who were much inferior in dignity and character to Vespasian. Besides, if Vespasian was thus successful, how came the affairs of Rome in Britain to be in so bad a way, when Plautius surrendered his government to Ostorius; nor can I find what time Vespasian had for such important conquests, which one should think, by the words of Suetonius, to have been finished before Claudius left the island; and yet we find him in the battle at the Severn.

" See lands, unconscious of the Roman sway,
" Struck by thy thunder, tremble and obey;
" Thy fanes beyond the spreading ocean stand,
" Which bounds the earth, but not thy dread command."

" Untam'd and free, remote Britannia lies,
" No lord could win her, and no foe surprize;
" To Rome and Cæsar now she stoops the head,
" Her loss has sav'd her, and her chains have freed."

A. D. 49.

The Britons
harrafs the
Romans, &c.Ostorius at-
tacks and
routs them.He difarms
the Britons
under the Ro-
man power.The Britons
take the
alarm.

prætor and legate. This general found the Roman affairs here in great disorder; the Britons, either presuming upon the distractions of the government at Rome, or fond of recovering their independency, were continually harraffing the Romans and their allies. The presence of a new commander was far from checking them. (1) They imagined, that, unacquainted as he was with the Roman army, he would not venture to take the field in the beginning of winter; and that they might continue their incursions with impunity, and profit to themselves. Ostorius, sensible what vast advantage an early reputation in his military command gives, and how fatal any disorder, in this respect, might prove to his future success, got together such troops as lay nearest the places which the Britons harraffed by their incursions, advanced against the invaders, put them to the rout, and followed his blow in the most effectual manner for disabling them from rallying, or re-uniting; but finding, both from reason and experience, that an enemy like the Britons were not to be kept longer in subjection than while destitute of the means of resistance, he disarmed all he suspected, and posted his forces between the rivers (2) Antona and Sabrina.

The Britons, who well knew the design of the Romans was to keep them in perpetual subjection, took a more general alarm. (3) The Iceni, a powerful nation, hitherto unbroken by the Roman arms, lay nearest to the posts where Ostorius had fixed his army. As they had formerly courted the

Roman friendship, their example heightened the apprehensions of the neighbouring states, who now began to dread the most terrible consequences, when they saw even the friends of the Romans forsake their cause. A general rendezvous of the confederacy was appointed, and a commodious place was fixed upon for the forming a camp. It was fenced by a rampart of earth, and accessible but by one narrow pass, which precluded the approach of cavalry.

Though Ostorius was, at this time, without (4) the prime of his legionary soldiers, yet he advanced at the head of the associated troops, assigned the cohorts their proper station, and made a disposition of the cavalry he had with him, to assail the retrenchment. The signal being given, the assault was made; the Romans soon carried the rude works of the Britons, and entered them sword in hand; but, as (5) Tacitus will have it, despair and shame made the Britons perform wonders. The same great historian here drops any further relation of this action, after telling us, that the son of the Roman general saved a citizen in the conflict. We understand, however, that the event was not favourable for the Iceni, and that their fate settled the fidelity of these states, which was fluctuating between the fear of Roman power, and the hopes of recovered liberty.

The scene of the late action may be supposed to have been in Cambridgeshire. The Roman general advanced northwards against the (6) Cangi, who were up in arms; but they, finding by experience how unequal they

A. D. 50.

They rendez-
vous, and
form a camp.Ostorius
forms and
carries their
retrenchment.Ostorius
marches a-
gainst the
Cangi.

were

(1) Mr. Rapin, in express contradiction to what we are told by Tacitus, says, that Ostorius arrived in Britain in the midst of winter; whereas, it is plain, that winter was but just begun when he took upon him the command. For Tacitus says, that "the inroads of the Britons were the more violent upon the territories of the allies, because they did not think the new general would oppose them with an army he was a stranger to, and now that winter was begun." *Effusis in agrum sociorum hostibus, eo violentius quod novum ducem exercitu ignoto, et capta hieme, iturum obviam non rebantur.* Tacitus. How ill Rapin has understood this passage, will appear from the words of his translator. "Ostorius Scapulus was sent into Britain in the room of Plautius. He arrives in the midst of winter, and finds the Britons making continual inroads into the Roman conquests. They never imagined the new governor would march his army, at such a season, in an unknown country."

(2) Antona was doubtless the river Avon, and Sabrina was the Severn. It is probable that Ostorius built a chain of forts upon those rivers, of the same nature as that afterwards built in Scotland by Agricola; and that the incursions made by the Britons upon the Roman allies, refer to those of the Silures, who were the people inhabiting South Wales, into the country of the Bodunni, who bordered upon them, and, as we have seen, were in friendship with the Romans: therefore these forts, built upon the rivers Avon and Severn, were very proper to bridle them.

(3) The inhabitants of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire; and from history they appear to have been a very powerful people.

(4) The words of Tacitus here have been grossly misunderstood by our English historians, and Rapin among the rest. Tacitus says, *Quantum sine robore legionum*, meaning that he had not the flower or the prime of his legionary forces there; but that some of them were there (perhaps the greatest number, though not the choicest) is, I think, very plain. It is very probable that he had left a strong detachment of his legions to guard his forts upon the Avon and the Severn. Rapin tells us roundly, that "though Ostorius was then without any but the auxiliary forces, he attacked them however."

(5) I will give the words of Tacitus upon this occasion, and submit them to my reader. *Tunc dato signo perfringunt aggerem, suisque claustris impeditos turbant. Atque illi conscientia rebellionis et obseptis effugiis multa et clara facinora fecere. Qua pugna filius legati, M. Ostorius servati civis decus meruit.*

(6) There is great doubt among our antiquaries, with regard to the situation of these people. Camden, in one place, seems inclinable to believe, that the Cangi were included within the Belgæ, and, consequently, that they inhabited Somersetshire or thereabouts. He was brought into this opinion by their lying near the Irish sea, by the similarity of the names of some places here; such as the hundreds of Cannington and Canings, Wincaunton, which is sometimes called Cangton; and Kaingham, as much as to say, the mansion of the Cangi. In another place, Camden seems to place them in Cheshire. For my own part, I am strongly inclined to the opinion of the right reverend editor of Camden, to place them in Somersetshire. His reasons, some of which I think strong, I shall set down: "For, 1. the whole course of Ostorius's march seems to convince us, that the Cangi lived in this part of the island; especially if the Iceni may, upon the authority and reasons of a late author, be brought to those parts where the Ikenild-street passed. After he had quelled the Iceni, he immediately marched against the Cangi; but before he had finished his conquests over them, the commotions of the Brigantes required his presence in their country, and brought back the general, as the historian says. Now, if the Cangi had inhabited Cheshire, they had almost lain in his way to the Brigantes, who therefore could not be said to bring back the general. But after they were subdued, he comes back and settles a colony at Camelodunum, which (if the resemblance of the name, the nature of the place, and all the signs of a Roman station be of any force) we may place at Camalet in this county. Besides, it must needs be in those parts, because the Romans marched from thence to subdue the Silures, from whom they marched against the Ordovices. And can we imagine that any prudent general, as Ostorius no doubt was, would harrafs his soldiers with such a needless march, as from Cheshire or Staffordshire into South Wales, and so leave enemies behind him in North Wales; into which they would first have bent their course, if Camelodunum had been so near it as some endeavour to prove? 2. Lipsius's conjecture of reading (instead of the *Cenomagni* of Cæsar) *Iceni*, Cangi, confirms this opinion; for, if that be allowed, then, from Cæsar's own words, those *Iceni* and Cangi must be placed in the south parts of Britain, near the Bibroci in Berkshire, and the Segontiaci in Hampshire; so that

"the

A. D. 50. were to the Romans in a pitched field, followed the policy of their ancestors, under Cassibelan, by taking every opportunity to surprize and cut off the Romans in detached parties or advanced posts. Ostorius, however, pursued his march with great success, and was advancing towards the coasts lying over-against Ireland, when he was recalled by a rising among the Brigantes, the inhabitants of the countries now forming the (1) north of England.

but is recalled by an insurrection of the Brigantes.

attacking the Romans in the absence of their general, and thereby of preventing their own subjection (which they saw, sooner or later, was inevitable, in case the invaders were not checked) while others were of a different opinion (2).

A. D. 50.

Ostorius, sensible of what consequence it was, both to the reputation and interest of the Romans, not to suffer any part of their conquests to fall again into the hands of the enemy, resolved not to pursue any new acquisitions till he had secured the old; he therefore returned to quell this insurrection, which he soon effected, by the death of the ringleaders, and the pardon of the others. There is no reason for believing that the Brigantes had, before this, been subdued, or ever attempted by the Roman arms; and yet Tacitus, by the manner of his writing, represents this insurrection rather as a civil dissention among themselves, which the Romans were concerned, as their masters, in quelling, than as an attempt against any part of the Roman conquests. But it is pretty plain, from the whole of the narrative, that the Brigantes (perhaps in a league with Rome) were, upon this occasion, divided within themselves; some looking upon it as a favourable opportunity for

Two factions among the people.

But the Brigantes were not the only people in Britain who were now sensible of their state, and the dangers to which their liberties were exposed. The (3) Silures still preserved all the untamed, the high spirit of liberty, unsoftened by the arts, unterrified by the arms of the Romans. A prince, great by descent, reputation, courage, experience and power, was at their head. This was the famous Caractacus, who seems to have proposed the great Cassibelan as the model of his conduct. Ostorius and his predecessor, who knew the genius both of the prince and the people, had bridled them with legionary forces, which probably was the reason why the Roman general was without the flower of his legions in his late expedition against the Iceni; and the better both to restrain and reclaim them, a (4) colony was brought to Camelodunum, with a strong detachment of veterans, as a terror to rebels in the neighbouring conquests, and to inure those, who were under the Roman protection, to the discharge of their social, or rather servile, duties. But this not being thought sufficient to the purpose of Roman ambition, a portion of territory was assigned to (5) Cogidunus, a British prince, whom,

Character of Caractacus.

The Roman policy.

“ the situation of the Cangi will, in all probability, fall in north Wiltshire and Somersetshire. 3. The memory of these people, preserved in several names of places besides those already mentioned, such are Caningan mænec in the Saxon chronicle, which are undoubtedly the marshes in Somersetshire. In Wiltshire there is the hundred of Canings, and in it a town of the same name, called in old writings Caningas; as in another hundred is Alcannings, as much, possibly, as old, or old Cannings; and that ancient town of Caln (especially if spelled as we find it in domesday, Cauna, or, as at this day, Caun) seems to retain something of the name. 4. Why may not the Severn-sea be that which Tacitus says looks towards Ireland, near which the Cangi lived; and Avon, in those parts, the Antona of Tacitus, on the banks whereof Ostorius, before the rebellion broke out, had made several garrisons? Mr. Horsly, upon the whole, is inclined to think, that the Cangi have had the Coritani on the east, the Cornavi or Ordovices on the west, and the Brigantes or Parisi on the north; so that, by this situation, they must have inhabited Derbyshire.

(1) Viz. Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Westmorland, Cumberland.

(2) The manner in which Tacitus recounts this expedition is a little obscure. We have, as I have observed, no reason to believe, that any part of the Brigantes was under the Roman power; and yet his expressions seem to imply, as if the country of the Brigantes had been an old conquest. Cum ortæ (says he) apud Brigantes discordiæ retraxere ducem, destinationis certum, ne nova moliretur, nisi prioribus firmatis. The insurrection here spoken of, may very probably have been some civil dissentions between the party of Venutius and that of Cartimandua, who was his wife, and queen of the Brigantes; and she, perhaps, invited the Romans into her country upon this occasion.

(3) The people of South Wales.

(4) Though a resolution was, perhaps, taken before this time, to have settled this colony at Camelodunum, yet we are to suppose this to be the first time of its being peopled with Romans. All the editions I have seen of Tacitus, seem to point this passage wrong, by placing the comma after captivos, and not after deducitur, which makes a considerable alteration in the sense; in which case the whole passage should be read thus: Id quo promptius veniret, colonia Camelodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur, in agros captivos subsidium adversus rebelles, et imbuendis fociis ad officia legum.

(5) This Cogidunus has given rise to great variety of conjectures, both with regard to the place of his government, and the nature of his alliance with the Romans. A curious inscription, found in Suffex, has afforded matter of great speculation among the virtuosi. I shall give the inscription as it is read and deciphered, with the opinion of some of our most eminent critics on that head. The inscription is as follows: Neptuno et Minervæ templum pro salute domus divinæ ex auctoritate Tiberii Claudii Cogidubni regis legati Augusti in Britannia collegium fabrorum et qui in eo a sacris (vel honorati) sunt de suo dedicaverunt donante aream Pudente Pudentini filio. The inscription being in possession of the duke of Richmond, was defaced by a workman, who pretended to set the fragments of the stone together. The Cogidubnus mentioned here, is undoubtedly the same with the Cogidunus of Tacitus. As to the name of Tiberius Claudius prefixed to his, it probably was a compliment paid by him to his patron the emperor, for the favours he had bestowed on him. There was no occasion for an adoption in this case, because this Cogidubnus was not of importance enough to claim that distinction; therefore we are to suppose, his taking this name to be a mere compliment, of the same kind as freemen were wont to pay to their masters upon their manumission. As to the objection (Horsly, p. 337.) that no person could be a citizen of Rome, and of another state at the same time, it is founded upon an ill-understood passage in Cicero; in which he says, while he is pleading for Caccina, that no man could be free of Rome, and of another state at the same time. For, not to dip into the numerous instances of the contrary practice, Cicero, in his pleading for Baldus, gives us the reason of this maxim, which, he says, was because of the diversity of laws to which, in that case, a man must be subject: but we are to consider, that as Cogidunus was a sovereign prince, he could not come within the description of this reason. Besides, though the Romans did not chuse that any of their fæderati should be admitted citizens of Rome, excepting those who became fundi, that is, adopted by the laws and constitutions of Rome; yet the focii, of which this Cogidubnus was one, might all of them have been made Roman citizens. Another objection arises from the title of legatus; but every body, who is acquainted with the Roman constitution, knows, that the title of legatus was often honorary. And though this Cogidubnus must have been subjected to the power of the real legate, yet we cannot suppose any thing too dirty for a man to undertake, who could submit to be the instrument of enslaving his country. As to the other objections brought against our understanding this inscription, as relating to Cogidunus mentioned by Tacitus, I think they are of no manner of weight; especially if we suppose

A. D. 51. whom, finding susceptible of slavery, they corrupted to be the instrument of slavery to others (1). Thus Rome, as we are told of the eastern princes, who hunt down their game with lions and tygers, employed those, who ought to have been the guardians, to be the betrayers of the liberties of mankind, thereby, at once, gratifying her ambition and vanity.

Ostorius advances against the Silures. Tacitus.

Caractacus shifts the seat of war.

The dispositions he made to receive the Romans.

These precautions being taken, the Roman general advanced against the Silures, who depended upon their own bravery, and the power of Caractacus. This prince, having gone through a variety of adverse and prosperous fortune, was distinguished by the constancy with which he bore every reverse, and appears to have been, like Cassibelan, at the head of a confederacy, to which his personal merits had raised him. (2) By the account the Roman historian gives of this war, Caractacus was inferior to his enemy in force, therefore he endeavoured to supply that want by a cautious conduct, and a proper disposition of his posts. For this purpose he transferred the seat of the war into the country of the Ordovices; probably because it was more inaccessible to Roman arms, and lay more contiguous for the disaffected Britons to join his forces. There he determined to wait a decisive blow, and pitched upon a proper ground for his army, such as put the Romans under all difficulties in approaching, and gave his own men all advantages in resisting. In his front there ran a river of doubtful depth; behind that, a mountain, all the accessible passes of which were blocked up by stones, and lined by the best troops of the Britons.

No means were wanting, on the side of Caractacus, to animate the Britons; the leaders of their respective tribes applied every motive arising from shame, resolution, encouragement, hope, despair, and all the incentives that can determine the doubtful, or fire the brave. Caractacus rode about to every quarter; he told them, this was the important day; this the decisive field that was to fix their doom in a state of recovered liberty, or eternal bondage. He invoked the glorious memories of their ancestors, who had defeated the attempts of the great dictator; their ancestors, whose virtues had preserved their liberties unsubjected to the axes or tributes, and their families unviolated

by the lust of the Romans. (3) A shout of applause from the vulgar proved how agreeable his sentiments were to the army; and each tribe, according to its peculiar superstition and rites, bound itself not to yield to wounds or weapons.

Such a shew of resolution and alacrity struck the Roman general: the interposing river, the additional rampart, the hanging crags, and the spreading enemy presented a gloomy and a terrifying scene. But the assailants were Romans; difficulty added to their courage, and glory made them impatient for action. The word arose from the common soldiers, that nothing was impregnable by courage; the tribunes and officers caught and confirmed their sentiment, and the ardour for an immediate attack now became fierce and general.

Ostorius, who knew the effects of restrained impatience, kept up his soldiers till he had surveyed every pass where an attack appeared practicable or otherwise, and then led them on, in all their height of spirits, to the charge. The river was easily passed; the main difficulty was in forcing the ramparts. Here many Romans fell, or were wounded, by the British javelins; but, (4) forming the testudo, they soon threw it down, being built of loose uncemented stones, and then they poured in upon the Britons. Both armies now came to a close engagement. The fight was unequal; for the Britons, who were unprovided with helmets, shields, or coats of mail, were forced to retire towards the heights of the mountains. But nothing could restrain the Roman ardour; both the light and the heavy-armed soldier followed in the pursuit; the Britons were hemmed in by death on every side, and in every shape; on one quarter, they met it on the darts and swords of the legionaries; on the other, on the pikes and spears of the auxiliaries: in short, the victory, fatal for the Britons, as it was glorious for Rome, was completed by the captivity of the wife and daughter of Caractacus, and the surrender of his brothers,

The Romans force the ramparts of the Britons,

and push the Britons, who retire to the tops of the mountains.

The Romans gain a complete victory. The wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus fall into the hands of the Romans.

Caractacus himself, with that fate which is common to the unfortunate, experienced treachery in distress. He fled for protection to Cartimandua, the queen of the Brigantes, who betrayed her royal guest to the chains of the Romans, after he had made a gallant opposition to their power for nine years.

He himself is treacherously given up to the invaders of his country,

pose the inscription to have been erected by Cogidunus himself, who, perhaps, was no great connoisseur in monumental Latin. As to the collegium fabrorum, mentioned in this inscription, they were a very ancient company in Rome; and wherever the Roman power extended, we find a settlement of them was made, and included almost all sorts of workmen. The Pudens, mentioned as giving the ground, very probably was the same Pudens who married the famous British lady, Caudia Rufina, who, perhaps, was the daughter of this Cogidubnus.

(1) Quædam civitates Cogiduno regi donatæ. Is ad nostram usque memoriam fidiſſimus manſit, vetere ac jam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta ſervitutis et reges. It no where certainly appears over what people Cogidunus was king. Camden speaks of him as king of the Regni; Dr. Gale, as king of the Segontiaci. It is plain, in the general, that he reigned somewhere in the most southern parts of Britain.

(2) Sed astu, tum locorum fraude prior, vi militum inferior. Tacitus.

(3) Hæc atque talia dicenti, adſtrepere vulgus; gentili quiſque religione obſtringi non telis non vulneribus ceſſuros. Tacit. This circumstance renders what Cæſar and our author have ſaid extremely probable, that the Britons were a collection of ſeveral nations from the continent; for diverſity of religion is a much better proof of this, than diverſity of government. Governments are moulded, according to the ſucceſs and views of the ſeveral chiefs; but, it is probable, they brought and retained their religion from the ſeveral ſtocks, which their governors would have found both dangerous and prejudicial to their own intereſts to have attempted to alter.

(4) Poſteaquam facta teſtudine, rudes et informes Saxorum compages diſtractæ, parque cominus acies; decedere Barbari in juga montium. Sed eo quoque irrupere ſerentarius graviſque miles: illi, telis aſſultantes; hi, conferto gradu, turbatis contra Britannorum ordinibus, apud quos nulla loricarum galearumve tegmina: et ſi auxiliariis reſiſterent, gladiis ac pilis legionariorum; ſi huc verterent, ſpathis et haſtis auxilium ſternebantur. Tacitus.

A. D. 51.

(1) The fame of this illustrious captive was enhanced by his misfortunes; it spread over all the continent; and Rome herself expressed an impatience, whether noble, or ignoble, I shall not determine, for seeing the warrior, who had so many years checked the flight of her eagles. Claudius, proud of the conquest, in seeking to increase his own glory, added to that of his captive. All Rome being summoned, as to an exhibition of public games, to behold Caractacus; the prætorian guards were drawn out under arms, to grace the solemnity. The procession began with the dependants of the prince, and an exhibition of the military spoils and (2) trophies he had worn in foreign wars. Next followed his brothers, his wife, and his daughter; all of them betraying, by their tears, a poorness of soul, as mean as their fallen estate. But when Caractacus, who marched last, without discovering despondency; or imploring pity either by looks or words, came to the imperial tribunal, he addressed himself to Claudius in the following terms:

and, with great pomp, shewn to the Romans.

His own behaviour,

and speech to the emperor.

“ Had my moderation in prosperity been adequate to my family and fortune, then had I entered this city rather as a friend than a captive; nor would you, sir, have disdained an alliance with a prince, descended from illustrious ancestors, and the chief of many nations. My present condition, to me dishonourable, to you is glorious. I was master of horses, men, arms, and riches; no wonder, then, if I was unwilling to lose them! For though your ambition is universal, does it follow that all mankind is to submit to the yoke? Had I been sooner betrayed, I had neither been distinguished by misfortune, nor you by glory; and had I fallen, oblivion had been the immediate consequence of my fate; but, if you now preserve me, I shall live the eternal monument of your clemency.”

It is not surprizing, that a speech, delivered under such affecting circumstances, by such a captive, and with so noble a mixture of magnanimity and resignation, wrought upon the mind of Claudius. He immediately pardoned Caractacus, his wife, and his family. No sooner were they freed from their fetters (after paying their dutiful acknowledgments to the emperor) than they approached and paid the like to the empress, the famous Agrippina. She was seated by herself on a throne raised eminent above the assembly, and surrounded with military pomp. This, though an unusual sight to Romans, was familiar to Britons, whom we find, upon many occasions, were led to the field by women, and submitted to either sex, as the chance of succession directed.

(3) A senate was then held, where many pompous speeches passed relating to the conquest of Caractacus and his Britons; and parallels were drawn betwixt that and the most shining periods of their republic's glory.

A. D. 51.

Ostorius, who had triumphal ornaments decreed him for his late victory, continued, for some time, in the career of success; but the conquest of Caractacus, either had the same effect upon his army, as the conquest of Carthage had upon the old Romans, in relaxing the nerves of their military virtue; or else the Britons, collecting all their spirits of resentment and indignation at the fate of their hero, and learning, from late experience, how to deal with the Romans, made war with more success. From one or both of these causes it is certain, that the reputation and success of Ostorius declined from that time. The Britons poured upon the prefect and the legionary cohorts, left in garrisons to bridle the Silures; these being surrounded, were upon the point of being entirely cut off, had it not been for a timely rescue from the neighbouring forts and villages; but this was not before the prefect, with eight centurions, and the most forward of their soldiers, were cut to pieces. The revenge of the Britons did not stop here; they attacked a foraging party, and routed not only that body, but some squadrons sent to its support. Animated with this success, they were pursuing their advantage, when Ostorius sent out his cohorts to oppose them; but the Britons still continuing to bear down all before them, he was at last obliged to bring up the whole force of his legions. (4) This, after it had been long balanced, turned the scale of fight in favour of the Romans, and the Britons retired, upon the approach of night, with a very inconsiderable loss, in proportion to what might have been expected, after maintaining three battles in one day, against such troops, under such a general.

Tacitus.

The resolution of the Britons checks the career of the Roman general Ostorius, whose resolution declines. The Romans surrounded by the Britons, but rescued.

Many of their troops cut off.

The Britons gain an advantage over the Romans.

They are at length obliged to retreat, though with little loss.

We are at a loss to know who commanded the Silures while Caractacus was in captivity; but it appears that they behaved with great conduct and courage. The loss of their prince was so far from damping, that it redoubled, the spirit of his people, who seem to have thought that the life or treatment of their king could be no pledges for their submission. What added to their resentment, was their hearing that the emperor had threatened the name of the Silures should be extinguished in the same manner as was that of the Sigambri; a people which had, some time before, been transplanted into Gaul. Skirmishes became now frequent and universal over all the face of the country; in woodlands or fens, as chance or choice,

(1) Mr. Horfeley thinks, that the battle betwixt Ostorius and Caractacus was fought upon the river Dee, rather than the Severn. Camden, that it was fought at a place called Caer-Caradoc in Shropshire.

(2) I here keep to the original words of Tacitus. His words are, *Tunc incedentibus regiis clientelis phaleræ torquesque, quæque externis bellis quæsierat, traducta.* There is little reason to believe that Caractacus was engaged in any wars upon the continent, so that we must look on these foreign wars as being carried on against independent states in Britain.

(3) *Vocati posthac patres, multa et magnifica super captivitate Caractaci disseruere. Nec minus id clarum, quam cum Siphacem P. Scipio, Persem L. Paulus, et si qui alii victos reges populo Rom. ostendere.* Tacitus. Ann. l. 12.

(4) *Earum robore æquata pugna de dein nobis pro meliore fuit. Effugere hastes tenui damno, quia inclinabat dies.*

A. D. 53. temerity or precaution, resentment or avarice directed; sometimes with, sometimes without, the orders of their respective leaders.

Two cohorts of Roman auxiliaries cut off by the Britons.

The policy of the Britons.

There is strong reason for believing, that the Romans, after the defeat of Caractacus, were guilty of many excesses, equally contrary to the sentiments of humanity and the laws of well-regulated policy. This conduct gave an advantage to the British princes, which they never could have hoped for from their arms. For some rapacious officers, about this time, sent out two cohorts of auxiliaries, without taking the necessary precautions, which men, less blinded with avarice, would have observed. These were cut off while they were ravaging the country. The victorious Britons, with a noble but a politic disinterestedness, distributed the spoils of these two cohorts, and the prisoners they had made, amongst the people of the neighbouring states; that the sweets of plunder, encouraging their discontent, the defection might become the more general.

Death of Ostorius.

Manlius Valens takes on him the command of the Romans.

All these circumstances, so averse from the Roman interest, could not but affect Ostorius. He saw his laurels ready to be blasted just as he was bending under a load of years towards the grave, into which he was now pressed by a weight of afflictions. (1) The death of a general, who once bore so great a figure, was matter of triumph to the Britons, who considered it as a happy omen of recovered liberty; since, though they could not kill a Roman general with their swords, yet they could break his heart by their resistance.

Manlius Valens, a tribune, took the command upon him, till another general should

be named by the emperor. This new commander, that he might do somewhat to signalize himself, encountered the exulting Britons with his legion, but came off with considerable loss. In this situation of affairs, Didius, who had been named by Claudius to succeed Ostorius, arrived in Britain. He found Manlius weakened by his late defeat, which he politically magnified, exaggerating every disadvantageous circumstance, the better to avoid reproach, if unsuccessful, or merit praise, if otherwise, in the course of his lieutenancy. In the mean time, the Silures were extending their ravages into the Roman acquisitions with such success, that it required all the power, experience, and authority of the new general to check them.

About this time died (2) Claudius, who was succeeded by Nero. This prince, brought up in the moderate maxims of Seneca, and no way ambitious of military glory, would have evacuated Britain of the Roman arms. He found the blood and expence of maintaining his conquests exceeded both the profit and the glory they afforded; but the regard he had for the memory of Claudius, his father by adoption, would not suffer him to follow a conduct so inconsistent with that he had held.

A new scene of action was, by this time, opened in Britain. Caractacus was succeeded in the fame of his military accomplishments by Venutius, the husband of Carismandua, who was an ally of the Romans. While this alliance subsisted, he had no opportunities of displaying his warlike virtue; for whether his authority, as I am apt to think, was subordinate in empire to hers,

A. D. 54.

Encounters the Britons with great loss on his side. Didius sent by the emperor to succeed Ostorius. He magnifies the defeat of Manlius. His reasons for this.

Death of Claudius, who is succeeded by Nero.

Venutius commands the Britons.

(1) *Lætis hostibus, tanquam ducem haud supernandum; et si non prælium, at certa bellum absumsisset.* Tacitus Ann. l. 12.

(2) This emperor was the first that could glory in conquering the Britons; for Julius Cæsar did no more than shew them to the Romans. Hence Seneca says,

Ille Britannos
Ultra noti
Littora ponti
Et cæruleos
Scuta Brigantes
Dare Romulei
Colla catenis
Jussit, & ipsum
Nova Romanæ
Jura securis
Tremere Oceanum.

" 'Twas he, whose all-commanding yoke
" The farthest Britons gladly took;
" Him the Brigantes, in blue arms, ador'd,
" When subject waves confess'd his pow'r,
" Restrain'd with laws they scorn'd before,
" And humbled Neptune serv'd a Roman lord."

And thus Seneca the tragedian concerning Claudius, in his Orestia,

Cuique Britanni
Terga dedere, ducibus nostris
Ante ignoti, jurisque sui.

" The haughty Britons he brought down;
" The Britons, to our arms unknown
" Before, and masters of their own."

In the same place likewise in passing the Thames;

En qui oræ Tamisis primus posuit jugum;
Ignota tantis classibus textit freta,
Interque gentes barbaras tutus fuit,
Et fæva maria, conjugis scelere occidit.

" See! he whom first Thames stubborn stream obey'd,
" Who unknown seas with spreading navies hid.
" Secure through waves, through barb'rous foes, is come,
" Heav'n's! to be murder'd by his wife at home."

Thus Ægippus also concerning Claudius: " Britain, lying out of the world, is by Rome brought into the world; what was unknown to former ages, is discovered by the Roman victories; and they are now made slaves, who, being born to freedom, knew not what servitude meant; who were the whole breadth of the ocean beyond the reach of any superior power, and knew not what fear was, because they knew none to be afraid of; so that, to make a descent upon Britain, was a greater action than to subdue it." In another place, " He added Britain (till that time lying hid in the ocean) to the Roman empire, by his conquests, which enriched Rome, and gave Claudius the reputation of a politic prince, and Nero, of a fortunate one." And again, which is the most remarkable, " The elements themselves are fallen under the name and empire of the Romans, who are sovereigns of the whole globe, which is but the bound and limit of their dominions; and, to conclude, it is called, by many, the Roman world; for, if we state the matter right, the earth itself is not of so great extent as the Roman empire. The Roman valour has passed the sea (the bounds of it) in search of another world, and found in Britain a new feat, beyond the limits of the earth. So that, in short, when we would deprive men, not only of the privileges of Rome, but, in a manner, of the conversation of mankind, we send them thither, and banish them out of the world. The sea is no longer a bound; the Romans knew all its corners and recesses." Josephus also, in the person of Titus, to the Jews: " What stronger wall and bulwark can there be than the ocean? And yet this, this cannot guard the Britons against the apprehensions of the Roman arms." Camb. Gib. Ed. p. 59.

A. D. 56.

Character of
his consort
Cartimandua.

The Romans
side with Car-
timandua.

She puts to
death the bro-
ther and kinf-
men of her
husband.

She is attack-
ed by com-
bined forces ;

is assisted by
the Romans ;
gains a victo-
ry.

Remark.

Didius de-
clines taking
the field in
person.

Venutius pos-
sesses himself
of Cartiman-
dua's domi-
nions.

or whether he governed a state independent of hers, we find no mention of him till the arrival of Didius in Britain. Be that as it will, his wife Cartimandua, a woman of equal lust and ambition, cast her eyes upon Vellocad, a menial servant of her husband's, and her inclinations for him grew too apparent for her husband to disguise his resentment any longer. Cartimandua, suspecting what was to happen, but insolent upon the service she had performed to Rome, in betraying Caractacus, and blinded by her passion for her minion, whom she admitted to be the partner of her bed and throne, relied upon the protection of the Romans, who held it always as a maxim, that divisions in states opened a road to their conquests. This led them to side with the infamous Cartimandua, and, consequently, Venutius became their implacable enemy. In the mean time, the queen, now strengthened by her alliance with Rome, contrived to have the brother and kinsmen of her husband put to death. The inhumanity of this action exasperating the neighbouring states, (1) she was attacked by a powerful (2) force of foreigners and natives, who blushed at their being subjected to one who had lost every privilege due to her sex. Cartimandua found herself abandoned by her subjects; but the Romans marching to her assistance, a battle ensued; at first, with doubtful success; but victory, as the historian says, in one place, at last declared for Rome. However, notwithstanding this advantage, and that of a legion commanded by (3) Cæsius Nafica, all the Romans could gain for their ally, was the preservation of her life. From this there is great reason to believe the events of all the battles fought upon this occasion were far from being favourable to Cartimandua; and that the Romans thought they had done great things, in preventing her falling into the hands of her enraged husband.

Didius, about this time, excused himself, by reason of his great age, from taking the field in person; perhaps he was unwilling to risque the reputation he had formerly acquired, where there was so small a prospect of succeeding: he, therefore, left all to his lieutenants, who had the honour of delivering the lady, while Venutius had the

glory of possessing her kingdom. As this was no conquest recovered from Rome, Didius, perhaps, thought he could not suffer much by the event. All he aimed at was to preserve the Roman acquisitions in Britain, (4) and to have the reputation of somewhat enlarging them, by extending his frontier garrisons.

This proprætor dying in the mean time, he was succeeded by Veranius, who was esteemed a good foldier; (5) but died before he had many opportunities of giving proof of his military virtues in Britain; all his exploits being confined to a few inroads into the country of the Silures. His reputation, however, was greatly tarnished by the vanity he discovered upon every occasion; by his boasts in his will, wherein he said, that, had he lived two years longer, he would have reduced all Britain into the form of a Roman province; and by his excessive adulation of Nero.

All the mighty schemes of Veranius being frustrated by death, (6) Paulinus Suetonius was sent over to succeed him as proprætor. His character was high among the Romans; they spoke of him as being equal to Corbulo, who had lately reduced Armenia; and he himself was ambitious of preserving it, by performing some action of importance at his entering upon his government. But the affairs of Britain were in too dangerous a situation, and the spirit of the Britons too implacable for him to think of reaping an early harvest of glory here; especially considering the frequent checks which his predecessors had of late received. The first two years of his government, however, appear to have been spent in reducing the Ordovices, perhaps some of the Silures, and fortifying his frontier garrisons. He probably lay, at this time, with his army in North Wales, amongst the Ordovices, and in the country of the (7) Cangani; therefore he cast his eyes upon the isle of Anglesey, or Mona, as the Romans called it. This isle is separated from the (8) main land of Britain by a very narrow stream, which flows up from the sea. It was then well peopled, through the wars, which had harassed the Britons, and, as the Romans pretended, was an harbour for fugitives.

Suetonius caused flat-bottomed boats to

(1) Tacitus, in relating the history of this lady and her husband, tells us, that he had thrown together the transactions which happened under the proprætorships of Ostorius and Didius. He likewise tells us, that in the beginning of these differences (*tantum inter ipsos certabatur*) they were confined to themselves; which, as we have already hinted, might have brought Ostorius back, while he was prosecuting the war against the Cangi. Add to this, that the words of Tacitus imply, as if the hatred of the Romans was one motive of their rising; *Etiam adversus nos (says he) bella induerat.*

(2) *Inde accensi hostes, stimulant ignominia, ne femina imperio subderentur, valida et lecta armis juvenus regnum ejus invadunt. Quod nobis prævisum, et missæ auxilio cohortes acre prælium fecere, cujus initio ambiguo, finis lætior fuit.*

(3) The mention which we have of this legion, and its actions, is very blind. Mr. Milton appears to think, that it was employed against Venutius. Mr. Tyrrel seems to have mistaken the meaning of Tacitus. Rapin has not mentioned it at all. I have given the story as I found it; but I should be inclined to suspect, from the manner of Tacitus, that this legion was employed in some other part of Britain, and not against Venutius.

(4) *Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quæ fama aucti officii quæreretur.*

(5) Successor Veranius, modicis excursibus Silures populatus, quin ultra bellum proferret, morte prohibitus est: magna dum vixit severitatis fama, supremis testamenti (verbis) ambitionis manifestus. Quippe multa in Neronem adulatione addidit, subjeclurum ei provinciam fuisse, si biennio proximo vixisset. Tacitus. The common editions, at least such as I have seen, read, *Silvas populatus*; so that I only admit the other reading, because it has been followed by some of our best historians.

(6) Tacitus, in several places, gives us a great character of this general. He says, that "he was eminent for his military services, and that, by his expeditions in Britain, he had won great fame and glory;" *Militia clarus gloriam notæque Britannicis expeditionibus meruerat.* Hist. lib. ii. cap. 37. In another place he says, that "no man had greater reputation for military accomplishments;" *Quo nemo illa tempestate rei militaris callidior habebatur.* Ibid.

(7) Now Caernarvonshire.

(8) From Carmarthenshire.

A. D. 60. be built, for carrying over his foot, as being most proper for the stream they were to pass, and ordered the horse to ford it, which they did, after being obliged to swim, where the water was deepest. (1) The island seems to have been sacred to the superstitions of the priests and druids, which begot for it a greater veneration from the inhabitants, than for any other place belonging to the Britons.

He enters it.

Superstition of the inhabitants,

which, at first, infects the Roman soldiery.

They recover from their amazement, and rout the enemy. Tacitus.

Suetonius demolishes their temples, &c.

Accordingly, when Paulinus landed with his army, he found the natives in great numbers armed upon the shore to receive him; and their women running about to and fro, like furies, in dismal habits, with torches in their hands, and their hair hanging about their shoulders. Intermixed with these, were the druids, pouring forth the most terrible execrations, with their hands lifted to the heavens. The fanatic horror of this sight struck the Roman soldiers, the vulgar being ever susceptible of superstition. Their army appeared, for some time motionless, at the inactive mark of the enemy's missiles. At last, the reproaches and exhortations of their generals roused them out of their amazement; enraged at the thoughts that the fight of a handful of execrating priests and frantic women had the power to arrest their arms, they fell upon the enemy, put them to the rout, and involved them in their own superstitious fires. Suetonius then, sensible that the Roman possessions never could be secure, while religion supplied the place of courage, and enthusiasm inspired despair, demolished all the nests of idolatry in this island. The groves, in which stood their

altars, stained with the blood of captives, sacrificed for consulting their entrails, were cut down, and the country bridled with a garrison.

We are now upon the eve of a great event, which threatened a total extinction not only of the power, but of the very name, of Romans in Britain. It is therefore proper to stop the thread of the narrative in this place, and conduct the reader to a general survey of the power, the policy, and the state both of the Romans and the Britons, at this period of our history. I have already taken notice of the arts used by the Romans to subvert, or, in their language, to polish, the nations. They found the Britons to be a stubborn race; their necks hard to bow to the yoke; supplies of men difficult and expensive; and their own government precarious, unsteady, and tumultuous. For these reasons they had reduced, as soon as they could, all that part of Britain lying betwixt the sea and the Thames, into the form of a Roman province. Two settlements likewise had been made, one at Verulam, and one at Camelodunum; with a (2) commercial one at London. The planters of these settlements had associated themselves with the natives, reconciled them, in a great measure, to their customs; and there is reason for believing that a British lady had made one of the Roman generals happy in marriage; and that another became the admiration of all Italy, and was celebrated by the finest Roman wit of his time. (3) This intercourse of manners gradually

A. D. 60.

State of the Romans, &c. in Britain.

(1) This island was called, by the Romans, Mona; in British, Môn and Tîr Môn, i. e. the land of Mon; and Ynys dowyllh, or the shady island; by the old Saxons, Monex; and in latter times, when reduced by the English, Englesea and Anglesey, i. e. the English island. It is divided from the continent of Britain by the narrow frith of Meneu, and, on all other sides, is washed by the raging Irish sea. It is of an irregular form, and extended in length from east to west twenty miles, and where broadest about seventeen. On the frith of Meneu, about half way between Beaumaris and Newburgh, is Idan; between which and Lhan-vairis on Gaer, on the other side in Glamorganshire, it is thought the Romans passed the said frith into the island. Upon the confines of the townships of Trér Druw and Trér Beirdd, we meet with a square fortification, which may be supposed to be the first camp that the Romans had after their landing here; opposite to it, westward, about the distance of three furlongs, there is another strong hold, of a round form and considerable height, which probably was that of our ancestors.

(2) This at London was not properly a colony; but it is plain it was, at that time, a place of great importance for trade, and inhabited indifferently by Romans as Britons. I can by no means be of the learned bishop Stillingfleet's opinion, that this city was founded by the Romans in the time of Claudius. See Origines Britannicæ, p. 43. My reasons are as follow: Claudius was in Britain in the year 44, and the insurrection, under Boadicea, happened in the year 61; so that the intermediate time was but seventeen years. Yet Tacitus says, when this insurrection happened, that it was (cognomento quidem colonie non insigne, sed copia negociatorum et commeatu maxime celebre) "not distinguished indeed by the name of a colony, but famous for its commerce and traffic." Now it is almost incredible that a town should, in seventeen years, amidst all the harasses of war, arrive at such a state as is here represented by Tacitus. In the next place, Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote 1300 years ago, calls it an ancient city, which he never would have done, had it been no older than the time of Claudius. Lastly, the bishop's conjecture is supported by no manner of evidence, excepting the silence of Cæsar; but this would equally affect the antiquity of many other towns in Britain, which were undoubtedly founded before Cæsar knew this island. Therefore, as we have nothing but a negatory presumption against a positive evidence of its being a great town so early, I think the laws of criticism will not suffer us to join with the learned bishop, though he was, perhaps, as rational a critic (perhaps the most so in British antiquities) as any man in his age.

(3) It appears, from the words of Tacitus, that this island was far from being in a peaceful state when Suetonius entered upon his prætorship. Receptæ Armeniæ (says he) decus æquare domitis perduellibus cupiens; "He was ambitious to equal the fame of the subduer of Armenia, by crushing the British rebels;" which must be understood as if the insurrections or rebellion, as he affects to call it, of the Britons, had been at that time very formidable. The seat of the war, during the first two years of his government, as I have observed, must have been in the country of the Ordovices; and the garrisons which he strengthened (firmatis præfidiis, says Tacitus) were, very probably, those which Ostorius had erected upon the Avon and the Severn. Perhaps this may be the proper place to give some account of the Roman legions in Britain. Those brought over by Julius Cæsar, I apprehend, returned all of them to the continent; therefore those that were left by Claudius, or such as were afterwards sent over, are all that I have occasion to mention. The first was the legio secunda Augusta, brought over in the reign of Claudius, and commanded by Vespasian, with great reputation to himself. This legion afterwards lay at Netherby and Beaucastle in Cumberland, and in other places in the north of England. At the time I am now treating of, viz. about the beginning of the prætorship of Paulinus, it is very probable they lay in Suffex and Surrey, in both which counties there are many great military works of the Romans; nor can I find any period more proper than this to account for these works. We find this legion likewise removed towards the south parts of Britain, before they left the island. It appears, however, that they continued here as long as the Romans had any footing in Britain. The next legion I shall take notice of, is the legio sexta victrix, which, in monumental inscriptions, is generally expressed thus:

LEGIO SEXTA VICTRIX.

To which is often added P F, that is, Pia Fidelis, or Pia Felix. Mr. Gale conjectures, that this legion afterwards had the name

A. D. 61. dually stealing upon the Britons, disguised their fallen state. They had experienced subjection, A. D. 61.

name of *Gordoniana*. We learn that this legion was brought into Britain by Adrian, from an inscription to the honour of Marcus Pontius, one of Adrian's officers, who is designed in the same inscription.

IMPERATORIS DIVI HADRIANI
AB ACTIS, TRIBVNO MILITUM
LEGIONIS SEXTAE VICTRICIS,
CVM QVA EX GERMANIA IN
BRITANNIAM TRANSIIT.

It appears, from inscriptions, that this legion had a considerable hand in raising the pretences, which were afterwards erected both in the north of England, and in Scotland. They afterwards were settled at York, and the neighbouring stations, where they are placed by Ptolemy; and we find them thereabouts under Alexander Severus. The next legion is the ninth, or *legio nona*, and brought over to Britain under the emperor Claudius. This legion was cut in pieces by queen Boadicea; but recruited afterwards. It appears, however, to have been a weakly legion, since we find it, as such, attacked by the Caledonians, under Galgacus. The blow it received at that attack very probably reduced it so much, that we hear no more of it; and it is likely that it was incorporated with another legion, perhaps the sixth; for we meet with inscriptions, in which it is designed *legio nona victrix*, an epithet which no way belonged to them, though it did to the sixth; and Dio tells us, that the reason why the twenty-five legions of citizens, which were raised in the time of Augustus, were reduced to nineteen, was, because that the rest were either broken, or incorporated into other legions; and that such incorporations occasioned them to be called *Geminae*, or twin-legions. Now this ninth legion not being enumerated by Dio, is a strong presumption that it was incorporated in this manner. The next legion that occurs, is the *legio decima quarta*, or the fourteenth legion. This likewise came over to Britain in the reign of Claudius, and distinguished itself greatly upon many occasions, particularly in the battle with queen Boadicea. This legion was recalled from Britain by Nero, who appears to have had a very high opinion of its valour. The noble historian calls them *Domitores Britanniae*, "the subduers of Britain." Hist. lib. v. cap. 16. That they were *magna fama*, "in high reputation." Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 32. *Præcipua fama* (says he, in another place) *quartadecimani rebellione Britanniae compressa*; "that this suppression of the British rebellion had brought them into the highest reputation." Ibid. cap. 2. That Nero chose them as the prime of his forces, Nero *elegit ut potissimos*. Ibid. In short, the same author mentions the *primani* and *quartadecimani* to be the *unicum Othoniani exercitus robur*, "the sole strength of Otho's army." Hist. lib. iii. cap. 13. We meet with several adventures of this legion, while they were upon the continent, with which we shall not trouble the reader. It is sufficient to inform him, that, upon their being recalled by Nero, after remaining about twenty-four or twenty-five years in Britain, they were sent back by Vitellius, and ordered again out of Britain by Vespasian, when they finally left it. Betwixt their last return, and this final leaving, which was about the year 70, about two years intervened. I cannot help taking notice in this place, that the Romans, by this time, raised recruits with great success in Britain; for though Vitellius sent back this legion to Britain, yet he was drawing forces from Britain at that very time. *Britannia* (says Tacitus) *Galliaque et Hispania auxilia Vitellius acciverat*. This, no doubt, was the practice which Galgacus complained of, in his famous speech to his soldiers, when he says, *Hi per delectos servituri alibi auferuntur*; "Our natives are carried off, as recruits to foreign services." And in that fine sentiment of the murmuring Britons, before the expedition of Boadicea, *Injungi dilectos tanquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus*. *Quantum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanniae numerent*. "That they were ordered to raise recruits, as if Britons could die for any country but their own. What a number of their countrymen have passed the seas, were the Britons to make a general muster!" Mr. Horsley says, that neither the fourteenth legion, nor its auxiliaries, should be included amongst the supplies which Vitellius sent for out of Britain. But, besides the reason which that gentleman gives, it does not appear that the supplies ever reached Vitellius; for we are told, in the same sentence, that the apprehensions which the enemy was under, from those supplies, and others that were expected from Gaul and Spain, made Antonius hasten the battle. To conclude, this fourteenth legion was recalled before the fashion of erecting monumental inscriptions prevailed amongst the Romans in Britain, therefore we meet with no inscriptions mentioning this legion. The next legion that falls in our way, is *legio vicesima*, or the twentieth legion. This was another of the legions brought over under Claudius. In inscriptions it is commonly expressed *LEG. XX. VV.* which has occasioned a dispute between two eminent critics, whether the double V ought to be read *Valens Victorix*, or *Valeria*, or *Valeriana Victorix*. This much is certain, on both sides, that, in Augustus's time, as we learn from Dio, the twentieth legion in Britain was called *Valeria Victorix*; and that another legion, in later times, was the same, is, I think, doubtful: I am inclined to believe they were. This legion had its *Vexillaries* in the battle against queen Boadicea; and afterwards were *Antivittellian*. Julius Agricola afterwards commanded this legion, and its stated quarters were at Deva, or West-chester. Whether they were employed afterwards in raising Hadrian's wall, or Severus's wall, does not appear from inscriptions; but the great share they had in raising the pretence, drawn by Lollius Orbiculus in Scotland, is very expressly marked out by several inscriptions in that country; particularly one, implying, that one of its vexillations had carried on that wall for four thousand four hundred and eleven paces, and had erected that monument in honour of their emperor. It was owing to their continuing so long at Chester that Deva received the name of a colony, as appears from one of Geta's coins, with the following inscription, *COLONIA DIVANA LEGIO XX. VICTRIX*. As to the coin of Carausius, which mentions this legion, I think it very uncertain what to make of it, as it has been exhibited with so many alterations. These were the main body of the Roman forces in Britain; but I am by no means satisfied that there were not other forces here, under the title of legions. The *legio secunda adjutrix* is particularly mentioned upon a sepulchral inscription at Bath, to the memory of one of its soldiers. The *legio quinta Germanorum* has likewise been mentioned as residing here: but this seems to have been a palpable mistake, grounded upon an inscription bearing *LEG. V.* which, undoubtedly, ought to be read *legio victrix*, instead of *legio quinta*; and another inscription, which has been read *legio quinta Germanorum*, ought to be read *cohors Cugernorum*. In the excellent additions to Mr. Camden's *Britanniae*, and in Dr. Gale's notes upon Antoninus's Itinerary, we have an account of a *legio decima*. "Not, says the right reverend author of the additions, the tenth legion, which Julius Cæsar brought with him (for none ever dreamed that he came thus far) but the tenth legion, called *Antoniana* (which served, under Ostorius, against the Silures and Ordovices) as appears by the following coin dug up in Caermarthenshire." We likewise learn, that there are two places in the same county, which were formerly called *Kaer Lheion* (i. e. *Urbs legionum*, the City of the Legions) from the legions that had their stations there, with the addition of the names of the rivers on which they were seated. As there is good authority for believing that there were Bricks with the inscription *LEG. X.* I think the presumption is very strong that there was such a legion hereabouts, especially when we reflect upon the many Roman antiquities, and undoubted evidences of Roman stations found in this country. Upon the whole, I am apt to believe, that the division of legions, as originally brought from the continent, was not scrupulously observed during all the time of the Romans residing in Britain. There was no country so convenient for usurpations, and none so tempting to ambition, both through the difficulty of access, and opportunities of resistance, as Britain was. This, as has been elsewhere observed, made Britain a land fruitful in tyrants. These tyrants, setting up for independent authority, might assume the right of creating new legions, and of naming others anew, either as their own inclinations, or the compliment they meant to the legion, led them. The next species of Roman forces I am to take notice of, is the auxiliary cohorts and wings; the cohorts, or *cohortes*, consisting of foot; and the wings, or *alæ*, of horse. The reader, in several passages even of this history, will find a plain distinction betwixt these auxiliaries and the legionary forces. The cohorts we meet with are as follow:

Cohors prima Aelia Dacorum,

{ Mentioned in several inscriptions at Burdowald upon the wall, in Cumberland.
In one inscription it is styled *Gordiana*; and the *Notitia* places it at *Ambo-glanna*, the Roman name for Burdowald.

— prima Batavorum,

{ Supposed to be mentioned in an inscription at Castlecary, near Falkirk, upon Antonine's wall in Scotland; but more plainly on an altar found at Carrawburgh upon the wall, in Northumberland. This cohort was settled, according to the *Notitia*, at *Procolitia* or Carrawburgh.

— prima Bactasiorum, or Vetasiorum,

{ Lay at Elenborough in Cumberland. The cohorts *Vetasiorum*, which seems to be the same, is placed by the *Notitia* at *Reculver*, the Roman *Reculbium*.

Cohors

A. D. 61. subjection, but not slavery; and served regularly upon the rolls as auxiliaries of the A. D. 61.

Cohors quarta Gallorum,
 ——— prima Hispanorum,
 ——— tertia Nerviorum,
 and
 ——— sexta Nerviorum,
 ——— prima Tungrorum,
 ——— quarta Brittonum,
 ——— prima Cartov....
 ——— Carvetiorum,
 ——— prima Cugernorum,
 ——— prima Delmatarum,
 ——— quarta Frifonum,
 ——— prima Frisior....
 ——— quinta Gallorum,
 ——— prima Hamiorum,
 ——— secunda Lingonum,
 ——— ex provincia Maur....
 ——— prima Thracum,
 ——— prima Vangionum,
 ——— prima Vardulorum,
 ——— prima Aelia Classica,
 ——— prima Aflorum,
 ——— Cornoviorum,
 ——— secunda Dalmatarum,
 ——— prima Frixagorum,
 ——— secunda Lergorum,

Mentioned upon an inscription in Cumberland; and was stationed, according to the Notitia, at Vindolana or little Chesters.
 Taken notice of upon two inscriptions, one in Scotland, another in Cumberland; and placed, by the Notitia, at Axelodunum or Brugh on the Sands, near Solway frith.
 One of these cohorts, viz. the third, is mentioned by an inscription found at Alione or Whitley-castle, in Northumberland, lying betwixt Kirbythure and Carrvoran upon the wall. It is stated, by the Notitia, at Alione. The sixth cohort is mentioned by an inscription at Brugh in Richmondshire; and, by the Notitia, is placed at Virofidum or Elenborough.
 Lay probably at Cramond, near Edinburgh in Scotland, where they erected an altar to the matres Alatervæ and Campestres. Alaterna might have been the name of the place where this cohort lay; and if a conjecture may be allowed, the name of Castra alata, immemorially given to Edinburgh, might rise from this term. It seems to have afterwards lain at Castle-peeds in Cumberland, and afterwards at House-peeds in Northumberland. It is placed by the Notitia at Borcovicus or House-peeds.
 An inscription now at Durham gives us reason for thinking that this cohort resided in Britain. It once lay at Castlecary in Scotland, and very probably were natives of the Roman part of the island brought northwards to serve against the Caledonians and Picts, who, after the building of Adrian's vallum, might have been regarded as a foreign nation, all the debateable lands which the Meatae inhabited, lying betwixt them and the Romans.
 This cohort is mentioned upon an inscription at Binchester in the county of Durham, but it is uncertain what the name of the cohort was.
 Said to be mentioned in an inscription at old Penreth. Uncertain.
 Mentioned by an inscription in Scotland. See the last page.
 Lay at Elenborough in Cumberland.
 Mentioned in an inscription found at Bowes in Richmondshire.
 Mentioned in an inscription at Manchester in Lancashire.
 Mentioned upon an inscription at Cramond in Scotland.
 The original inscriptions, in which this cohort is said to have been mentioned, are now lost. One of them was found at a place called Miniaburgh, near Stirling in Scotland; the other at little Chesters in Northumberland.
 Lay at Moresby in Cumberland, and seems to have been mentioned upon an inscription at Ilkley in Yorkshire, and certainly upon one at Lancaster in the county of Durham.
 Perhaps mentioned upon an inscription at Elenborough. The numerus Maurorum Aureliarum is by the Notitia placed at Aballaba or Watchcross upon the Linea Valli.
 Mentioned by an inscription at Bowes in Richmondshire; and by another, when Virius Lupus was legate in Britain in the time of Severus.
 Mentioned upon an inscription at Walwick-grange, near the Linea Valli; and upon two altars at Rivingham in Northumberland.
 Mentioned upon an inscription found at Riecheffer in Northumberland.
 The name of this cohort deserves more attention than has been yet paid it by any of our antiquaries or historians. They are, according to the critics, sometimes called Milites Classarii, sometimes Classici, sometimes Lembarii, a reading which Salmasius happily recovered, and were, properly speaking, land forces serving on board the navy; nor are they to be considered as a distinct body from any other land forces. They were of two kinds; those that served aboard the Liburna, which guarded the sea coast; and those serving on board the Lemmii or Lausorii, which plied upon rivers. Suetonius tells us, that Nero was the first who raised a body of the Classarii out of the rowers of the fleet; so that the Romans who were under the census, or valuation of 400 denaries, and who, according to Polybius, were set apart for sea service, appear to have been real sailors; and his words intimate so much: Πλὴν τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς τε τρακοσίας δραχμὰς τελευτημένων τὰς δὲ παλαιὰς πάλιν εἰς τὴν ναυτικὴν χρεῖαν. Hist. lib. vi. p. 446. Yet, after all this, I am not quite satisfied that the Milites Classarii, and the Classici, were the same, though I know all the critics have agreed they were. That the Classarii Milites were marines, is past all doubt; and, from a passage in Elius Lampridius, we find that they were employed by the emperors in that very office which the Britons had in Virgil's time:
 Purpurea intexti tollunt aulæa Britanni. See note 2, p. 13.
 That is, in drawing up or letting down the aulæa or the vela, the curtains of the theatres. But, if I mistake not, Hyginus de castrametatione, gives no hint that the Classici had any manner of relation to the sea service. He tells us, that they were the pioneers of the army, that they served in the nature of a van-guard to clear the way for the rest, and that they were covered by the Maurish horse and the Pannonian light-horse. I shall give his own words: Alæ milliariæ vel quingenariæ; Mauri equites; Pannonii veredarii; Classici omnes ideo prætentunt, quod ad vias muniendas primi exeant, et quo sint tutiores, a Mauris equitibus et Pannoniis veredariis operantes proteguntur. As to what is mentioned by Mr. Horsley from Tacitus, it does not prove that the forces to whom the spes honoratoris in postero militiæ was given (Hist. lib. i. cap. 87.) were Milites Classici; though it appears indeed that they were seamen, and that they continued loyal to Otho, because he had advanced their fellows. Upon the whole of this, I should, with great diffidence, be inclined to think, that the Milites Classici had their name from the use of the classicum, the martial instrument so much in use among the Roman soldiers for sounding an alarm, and therefore peculiar to that body whose post was in the van of the army. This conjecture is confirmed by a reading which Turnebus met with in an old copy of Varro de Lingua Latina, where Classices is put for Classifices. However, if, as Mr. Horsley thinks, Bowness was the real station of this cohort, it favours the opinion of their being marines; though, I think, no great weight is to be laid on that circumstance, because we don't find that any particular stations near the sea were assigned to particular cohorts. The reader may chuse what opinion he pleases.
 Placed by the Notitia at Æsica or great Chesters.
 At Pons Elia or Newcastle.
 At Magna or Carrvoran.
 At Vindobala or Rutcheffer.
 At Congavata or Stanwicks.

A. D. 61. the (1) Romans. The tributes they paid, were rather quit-rents than taxes, and hardly felt, through the great increase of riches, which the arts and manufactures of the Romans had introduced into their country. The culture of the ground for the necessities of life, grazing, the tribute of perhaps the tythes from the estates that remained in their own hands, and their being enrolled in the Roman armies, seem to have been their severest lot; and the Romans rather soothed than forced them into compliance. The Roman emperor had, from a laudable policy, abolished the custom introduced by the extortion of governors, of obliging the natives of the conquered provinces to carry the tributary grain to the sea-shore for embarkation, and had exempted the merchants from the oppressive tolls they had before been obliged to pay. As there is no reason for doubting that these regulations extended to Britain, we may well suppose that no circumstance was wanting that could sweeten the state of Britons, and make them forget that they had been conquered. But what clearly proves how tender the Romans were of shocking them (by imposing upon them any too glaring marks of servile dependency) we learn, that the civil government of the Trinobantes, and several other nations, was in the hands of their own magistrates, while the people enjoyed all the security of Roman protection.

The tribute paid to Rome by the Britons.

The emperor relieves the provinces from the oppressive impositions of the governors.

The civil government of the several British nations in the hands of the natives.

It was by the piety, the justice, and moderation with which the Romans exercised their dominion, rather than by their arms, that they acquired their superiority over the rest of mankind. That part of their history which falls now into our narrative was chequered by an alternate succession of virtuous and vicious princes, and of virtues and vices in the same prince. Rome was the center to which the riches of the conquered provinces flowed. While the moderation of her princes continued, these provinces were secure, though subdued; but no sooner did Rome, through the profusion, or rather madness, of her emperors, grow an insatiable gulph, for ever swallowing, and for ever craving the wealth and the industry of the subjected world, than oppression and rapine moved in a circle, from the emperor to the governor of provinces, from them to the immediate tributaries, and from them to their vassals. This was the condition to which the tributary part of Britain began now to be reduced. A new government, unknown to the Britons, was introduced, and an imperial exchequer erected in their country. An officer, who was to be superintendant of finances, one Catus Decianus, was sent over, by Nero, to reside in the island. This fellow was to be the sponge, to suck up the substance and wealth which the Britons had acquired by their new-modelled industry; himself to be

A. D. 61.

The different situation of the Roman state, and the reasons.

Britain feels the effects of the change at Rome. Dio.

Catus Decianus, treasurer in Britain.

Cohors quarta Lergorum,
— prima Morinorum,
— secunda Thracum,

Ala is used in the Notitia, and upon the inscriptions found in Britain, for auxiliary horse, though, in some Roman authors, it is used to express all auxiliary forces both horse and foot. The ala residing in Britain are as follow :

Ala prima Astorum,
— Petriana,

— Sabiniana,

— Augusta,
— Sarmatarum,
— Vettonum,
— secunda Astorum,
— prima Herculea,

At Segedunum or Cousinhouse upon the wall.
At Glannibanta or Lanchester.
At Gabrosentum or Drumburgh.

{ Mentioned upon an inscription at Benwel-hill in Northumberland, and is placed by the Notitia at Condarkom or Benwel.
{ Mentioned in an inscription which was at old Penreth, and is placed by the Notitia at Petriana or Camlic-fort, upon the Linea Valli.
{ Mentioned upon an inscription found near Halton-Chesters in Northumberland. This ala Sabiniana is, by some, thought to have taken its name from Hadrian's wife; and, by Mr. Horsley, from Sabinia, the wife of the emperor Gordian. I cannot conceal here an inscription which I met with in the notes of Salmasius, upon Elius Spartianus, which he says was found in Britain. It is as follows: APOLLINI. GRANNO. Q. LVCIVS. SABINIANVS. PROCOS. AVG. This inscription is taken notice of in Cambden, and mentioned by Mr. Horsley; but originally the discovery of it was owing to the famous Napier of Marckiston, the inventor of logarithms; delineated by Petrus Junius, or Peter Young; and afterwards inserted by serjeant Dalrymple, in his edition of Cambden's description of Scotland. Though Britain was not a proconsular province, yet (if this inscription has been accurately copied, as there is reason to believe from the names of the great men who have transmitted it) it appears that the offices of proprætor and proconsul were confounded in the lower ages of the empire. But however that may be, it is pretty evident that there was a Roman, of great consideration, of that name in Britain, and possibly gave this ala its name. Salmasius, instead of proconsul, supposes this Sabinianus to have been procurator; and, as the initial letters serve equally for both, I leave it to my reader to chuse either. To conclude, this ala, which in the Notitia is wrote Saviniana, is there placed at Hunnum or Halton-Chesters.
{ Appears in several inscriptions found at old Carlisle. It lay there in the years 188, 191, and 242. It is not mentioned in the Notitia.
{ Mentioned in several inscriptions at Ribchester in Lancashire; not mentioned in the Notitia.
{ Mentioned in an inscription at Bowes in Richmondshire; not mentioned by the Notitia.
{ Not mentioned in any inscription, but placed by the Notitia at Silurnum or Walwick-Chesters.
The same with ala Augusta before mentioned.

These ala guarded the foot in the nature of wings, and consisted of about five hundred each ala: so that, supposing there were six ala only constantly residing in Britain, their number amounts to three thousand. As to the number of men in each cohort, it is very uncertain. But, not to detain the reader with a variety of conjectures, we may suppose thirty auxiliary cohorts to have been constantly residing in Britain; which, after the fourteenth legion was recalled, was ten cohorts to each legion, supposing the ninth legion to have been incorporated into the others; and if we suppose, what is not at all unreasonable, that the auxiliary and the legionary forces were equal, there must have been about thirty-five thousand Roman soldiers constantly residing in Britain. I already observed, that we meet with equestrian cohorts. Of these, three may, from inscriptions, be discovered to have been in Britain; such as, cohors secunda Gallorum equitum, quarta Gallorum equitum, and prima Hispanorum equitum. I shall not trouble my reader with any particular accounts of these cohorts, because I look upon them to have been only subdivisions of the ala, which I have already taken notice of.
(1) Ipsi Britanni dilectum, ac tributa, et injuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si injuriæ absint: has ægre tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant.

A. D. 61.

squeezed again, whenever the extravagance of the emperor demanded a new supply for luxury.

The Britons
oppressed by
him.

Claudius had wisely and generously remitted the confiscation of the estates belonging to the Britons, who had rebelled against his power; but Catus established a court of resumption, by which he pretended to adjudge those estates to the imperial fiscus. It was in vain that the oppressed Britons presented remonstrances upon this occasion; the avarice and injustice of the procurator were deaf to all their distress; his will became a law; and the Britons had now no hopes of redress, or relief, but from their own courage.

Dio.
Avarice of Seneca.

Other causes contributed to this calamity of our ancestors. Seneca, whose writings were a reproach to his practice, a monster of avarice, with all the profession of disinterestedness, had, in a manner, (1) forced the Britons to borrow vast sums from him at an exorbitant interest; and took this opportunity of heightening their distress, by a sudden demand of principal and interest. (2) The veterans, who were brought in to strengthen the colonies, thrust the inhabitants from their possessions by force; perhaps authorized so to do by their emperor, whose profusion had left him no other way of rewarding their services. All those oppressions rose full to the eyes of the Britons, with every aggravating, every exasperating, circumstance. When they beheld the temple of the deified Claudius, which was erected in their country, they considered it as the badge of their eternal slavery; while the priests, appointed to serve in it, were daily seizing their properties, under a shew of keeping up the pomp and veneration due to religion.

The Britons
miserably distressed by
him, the Roman veterans,
and priests of Claudius.

A circumstance, which fell out about this time, concurred with the rapaciousness of the Romans in oppressing the Britons. The Iceni, upon whose confines the colony of Camelodunum had been established, had, ever since their late defeat, lived under the protection of the Romans, and were governed by a prince of their own. His name was Prasutagus; and the friendship in which he lived with Rome had given him great opportunities of enriching his family. Dying about this time, he left only two daughters to succeed him, who were under the care of their mother Boadicea, a woman of royal extraction, but of a spirit above either her birth, or her fortune. The consideration of the weakness of their sex, prevailed with Prasutagus to leave them a friend and protector in Nero the Roman emperor, whom, for this purpose, he constituted co-heir with his two daughters to all his possessions and wealth. This generous legacy proved an incentive to rapaciousness, instead of being a motive of gratitude in the Romans. Under colour of the king's destina-

Tacitus.

Death of
Prasutagus,
prince of the
Iceni.

Who appointed
Nero co-
heir with his
daughters,

tion, they took possession of the whole that had belonged to him, and his kingdom became a prey to the avarice and licentiousness of the Roman centurions.

A. D. 61.

which proves
of fatal consequence.

Boadicea could not brook either their violences, or the injustice done to herself and family. She remonstrated against their proceedings, and complained of the wrong that had been done to her daughters, in thus depriving them of their inheritance. Her complaints, instead of reclaiming, exasperated, the brutish Romans, and they were guilty of an inhumanity, on this occasion, which rendered it almost impossible, according to the notions which the Gentiles had, to exceed in the measure of her revenge; for she was publicly whipped, by order of the Roman officers, and her daughters ravished by the soldiers.

Boadicea, widow of Prasutagus, complains of injuries received.

She is scourged, and her daughters violated.

This indignity, done to the wife and daughters of their king, fired the Iceni, already disposed to revolt; their neighbours, the Trinobantes, joined their resentment; and all the neighbouring Britons were roused, by the hopes of recovering what they had lost, of preserving what they still retained, or with the fears of being reduced to a still more deplorable state of slavery.

The Iceni take fire at the indignity put on their queen. Others shew their resentment.

As to Boadicea, she seems to have cherished life only that she might have the means of a sure and speedy vengeance. Suetonius was absent, upon his expedition to Mona; the Roman colonists were living in all the riot of security and insolence; and so fearless of the British spirit ever reviving, that they had neglected even the common precaution of fortifying their colonies. The brave Venutius joined in the common cause, and even the adherents of his infamous queen dropped their animosities, and, upon this occasion, came over to the side of virtue and liberty.

Security of the Romans.

Venutius joins in the common cause of the Britons.

Boadicea, meeting with dispositions in the Britons so answerable to her own, took care to keep their sentiments alive, by representing their injuries with all their aggravating circumstances, till the people were thoroughly convinced of the necessity, nay the wisdom, of making one struggle for recovering their independency. The reasonings of the Britons, the Iceni especially, upon this occasion, are well worthy, for the generous spirit they breathe, of being transcribed out of the noble historian of those times.

Policy of Boadicea.

“ The Britons, says he, losing all fear,
“ as the legate was at a great distance, began to talk with one another concerning
“ the calamities attending servitude; to compare their injuries, and to enflame one
“ another by their mutual explanations.
“ They said, that all they got by patience,
“ was their being reduced from a bad to
“ a worse estate through the tameness with
“ which they bore oppression. That, formerly, each state had one king, but that
“ they were now saddled with two; one

The reasonings of the Britons on the hardships they laboured under.

(1) Betwixt two and three hundred thousand pounds.

(2) Quippe in coloniam Camelodunum recens deducti, pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando: fiventibus impotentiam veteranorum militibus, similitudine vitæ, et spe ejusdem licentiæ. Ad hæc templum divo Claudio constitutum, quasi ara æternæ dominationis conspiciebatur: dilectique sacerdotes, specie religionis, omnes fortunas effundebant. Tacitus Annal. lib. 14.

A. D. 61. " of whom, the legate, preyed upon their blood; the other, the procurator, upon their goods. That their agreeing, or disagreeing, with their tax-masters, was equally fatal to them. That one oppressed them with centurions, the other with violences and indignities. That nothing now was spared by their avarice or lusts. That, formerly, bravery and courage carried off the spoil from the field of battle; but that now, the indolent and the dastardly, rifled their houses, forced away their children, imposed levies for foreign services, as if the Britons could die for any country but their own; and what vast numbers they must have carried off to foreign wars, were the Britons now to make a general muster! That it was by such a review of its own strength, that Germany, though defended not by the ocean, but by a river, had freed itself. That they had their country, their wives, and their parents as motives for their taking up arms; but the Romans only the gratifying their own avarice and luxury. That, were all the Britons to emulate the virtue of their ancestors, their oppressors would retire, as did the deified Julius. That they were not to be appalled by the event of one or two battles; because misery communicates stronger efforts, and a greater measure of constancy. That heaven had now cast an eye of pity upon the Britons, by keeping the Roman general, with his army, shut up in another island. That their very debating and deliberating upon what they were to do, was the most dangerous part of their struggle; and that to execute was less perilous than to be discovered in concerting."

These motives having sufficiently animated and bound them to one another, the Iceni, as being the most immediately concerned in the wrong that had been committed, were the first that took arms under Boadicea, and were joined by the Trinobantes, and many Britons, who disdained slavery. Their first step, after they had taken the field, was to concert measures to be revenged upon the veterans, who had been planted in the colony of Camelodunum; and who having been guilty of the most crying inhumanities; had, by their example, given a loose to the licentiousness of the younger soldiers. The subject of their consultations, however, appears to have been discovered or suspected by the Romans; for we are told of a great many prodigies, predicting the doom of the colony. As the legate was at too great a distance to send them any immediate relief, the Roman colonists and soldiers applied to the procurator for a reinforcement. All he

sent them was two hundred men, poorly armed; and, when joined with the few soldiers in the colony, they formed so inconsiderable a force, that they committed themselves to the protection of their gods, by retiring, not for defence, but refuge, to the temple of Claudius.

By this time, the design of an universal insurrection was avowed by the Britons, and Boadicea placed at their head. Her army, according to the Greek historian, consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand men. The same historian has described the person and manners of this illustrious heroine so exactly, that it would be unpardonable to omit that part of his history. Having assembled her army, she mounted upon a (1) suggestum, or a throne of turf, with a lance in her hand, to give a more warlike majesty to her person, which was of the largest size; her face beautiful, but the softness of her features, tempered by a sternness and fierceness in her look; her complexion fair, her yellow locks spreading all over her shoulders, and reaching down to her waist. She was adorned with a chain of gold; her tunic was plaited, and of several colours; and, over all, she wore a vestment of coarse stuff, perhaps in compliment to the Britons, and such as they used in the then infant state of their manufactures. In this equipage she harangued them, with a voice loud enough to be heard by the whole assembly. She began, "by laying before them the glory of living in a state of poor independency, rather than in the most splendid slavery. She shewed them, that they were now subjected to all the miseries of slaves, without enjoying any benefit of protection; and then recounted the several particulars of the hardships they suffered from the Romans. She then upbraided her countrymen with forging their own chains, by not driving the invaders from their island, in the same manner as their ancestors had driven Julius Cæsar; or making such preparations to receive them, as should have frightened them from attacking them, which was the case with Augustus and Caligula. She then animated them, by putting them in mind, that now was the time for correcting their errors; that the Romans were not invincible; that their duty to themselves and their posterity called aloud upon them to exert themselves on this occasion; and that the advantages which they had over the Romans, from their knowledge of the country, from their being better enured to bear the hardships of war, and from the ease with which they could pass the widest and most rapid rivers, gave them

A. D. 61. Take refuge in the temple of Claudius.

Boadicea at the head of 120,000 Britons. Xiphilin, from Dio.

A picture of that queen.

Βλοσυράτης, Xiphilin.

She harangues her army. Xiphilin.

The Iceni first take up arms, and are joined by others. Their first design against the colony of Camelodunum.

Suspected by the Romans.

They send for a reinforcement.

(1) We are not so lucky as to know the precise place where this rendezvous happened: however I shall give my reader an ingenious conjecture of the author of Nero Cæsar. "In this wise fitted and adorned, she takes her stand upon a square hillock of turfs, rising up about with sundry steps of the same, altogether after the fashion of a Roman tribunal in field. And, by that quality which is assigned to the materials of this military throne, it may be well suspected, that the place itself of this camp was somewhere in Marshland, or the isle of Elie, as a place, among all other of the Iceni countries, one of the greatest safety. For these turfs were cut up out of plastic or fenny grounds; and she herself also assigns, in her speech, a refuge to be had in the like, if the worst should happen. That the very word Elie, only asperated in the first letter, is used by Dio, is not much to the purpose, because Helos doth not signify there the proper name of a place, but is only appellative of a marsh, or moorish soil." Though some there be (saith Cambden, Gib. Ed. p. 491.) who derive the name of that isle out of the Greek, for the probable signification's sake.

A. D. 61. "great reason to hope for victory. Concluding with comparing the Romans to hares and foxes, and the Britons to hounds and wolves."

Her artifice.

The same historian mentions a piece of craft which that princess put in practice upon this occasion, ridiculous indeed to politer ages and people, but agreeable to the superstitions of the people she commanded. He tells us, that, when she had finished her speech, she let slip a hare she had concealed under her robe, which appearing to be a lucky omen to the Britons, was followed with a shout from the whole army, presaging success. Upon which, Boadicea, lifting up her hands to heaven, invoked the goddess Adraste, a favourite deity with the Britons; recommending herself and army to her protection. And concluded the whole with reproaching the Romans, as governed by an infamous fiddler, with all the vices and weakness, but without any of the virtue or spirit, of a woman.

She marches to Camelodunum.

Puts all the Romans she finds to the sword.

Severely retaliates the injuries done her.

After this, Boadicea led her army towards the colony at Camelodunum, which, as we have before hinted, she found defenceless, being laid out rather for pleasure than security. All the Romans here, who fell in their way, were put to the sword; their houses pillaged, then fired; some had the favour of a speedy death; but the vengeance of Boadicea was not so easily satisfied, especially upon those of her own sex. She invented methods of torture, too shocking to be described; and the injuries done to herself and daughters, were severely retaliated in kind.

The holiness of the temple no security to the Romans there refuted. Petilius Cerealis marches against the Britons.

Is defeated by them.

Tacitus.

The procurator flies to Gaul.

The soldiers who had retired to the temple, were in hopes that the veneration of the place would protect their persons; but the Britons even here made reprisals for the destruction brought, some time before, by the Romans upon their own temples in Mona. They assaulted this sanctuary, took it, and put all the soldiers that were in it to the sword. The ninth legion had been left encamped by Suetonius, to awe the country; and hearing of the sudden disaster of their countrymen, were advancing, under the command of Petilius Cerealis, to their assistance. But the Britons, animated by success and revenge, marched out to meet them, cut all the foot of the legion to pieces, and obliged their commander to fly with the horse to the camp, which he made shift to keep by means of its fortifications. In the mean time the infamous procurator, reflecting upon his past and late conduct, in first giving occasion for the insurrection by his rapaciousness, and then suffering it to grow formidable through his negligence, retired to Gaul, as unable to withstand the reproach and hatred his conduct had brought him into with the Romans themselves.

Suetonius being informed of all those dismal events, left his conquest of Mona unfinished, and set out with a wonderful constancy to the relief of his countrymen. He directed his course for London, which was, at that time, celebrated for its great trade and plenty. There he debated with himself, whether he should make that the feat of the war, or not; but the circumstances of the conjuncture were such, that he saw the Roman conquests in Britain must be lost, if he remained there. The inhabitants of London were thrown into the utmost consternation, when the legate declared his resolution to march and encounter the enemy; no tears or remonstrances were spared to keep him. But he, wisely considering that his staying would prove but a small respite from certain ruin, and that, though a battle might a little anticipate their fate, yet it gave them a chance of retrieving their fortunes; proved deaf to all their entreaties. Accordingly he set out to meet the enemy, taking along with him all the inhabitants who were willing to join his army; while they who, from natural infirmities, or their own affections for the place, remained behind, were sacrificed by the Britons. The colony of Verulam underwent the same fate with that of Camelodunum. The Britons seemed to disregard all consequences, provided they might gratify their revenge. Those places belonging to Rome which were richest and most exposed, were depopulated and pillaged; they formed no regular siege, as well knowing that the whole of the Roman possessions must fall into their hands, if Suetonius was defeated; nor did they give any quarter, being sensible that they had gone too far to expect mercy by any future forbearance.

The Roman general had with him the fourteenth legion, with the vexillaries of the twentieth; but where the twentieth was then lying, doth not appear. His army likewise was increased by the friends of the Romans from the adjacent places, so that the whole amounted to about ten thousand men. These, he was in hopes, were sufficient to deal with the multitude of barbarians which composed the army of Boadicea; a great superiority of number, without discipline, being ever found a disadvantage when engaged with a well officered, well posted, and experienced enemy. It was upon this occasion, probably, that he sent for the assistance of the second legion; but the prefect of the camp in which they lay, perhaps thinking that exposing the men against the Britons, was leading them to certain slaughter, refused to join the legate.

(1) Notwithstanding this disappointment, Suetonius drew up his army in a place accessible only by a narrow lane, with a wood in

A. D. 61. Suetonius sets out to the relief of the Romans. Marches to London,

and from thence to meet the Britons. The Londoners he left behind, fall victims to the rage of the Britons. The colony of Verulam cut to pieces.

The Roman possessions are laid waste.

The Britons spare none.

The Roman army but 10,000 men.

Their general sends for the second legion. They are refused him by the prefect.

(1) It is very uncertain in what part of England this battle was fought; that it was upon a large plain, with a wood upon its skirts, is pretty evident. The author of Nero Caesar has placed it upon Salisbury plain, but, I think, with no foundation from history. Perhaps a due consideration of the words of Tacitus, compared with those of Xiphilin, may give us a little light. Upon his return from Mona, or Anglesey, Tacitus says, *mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinum perrexit*, "that he came to London, with amazing resolution, through the middle of the enemy." By this can only be meant, that he came through the enemy's countries, who had all repaired to Boadicea's army. By the historian's account, he appears to have arrived there after the destruction of Camelodunum, and the defeat of the ninth legion; and before the destruction of Verulam, which seems to have happened after that of London. Therefore we may imagine the Britons

A. D. 61.
The disposition of the Roman army.

in his rear; so that the enemy must attack him in front, where there lay a large plain, being thus free from all apprehension of ambuscades. The legion that was with him had its post in the center, with the light soldiers on each hand, and the horse a little advanced upon their flanks, forming two wings. In the mean time the Britons, intoxicated with success, were roving in large bodies all over the plains. Their avarice and cruelty had, by this time, sunk their just revenge into bloody barbarity; nor did they think the victory, which they expected to gain over the Romans, could be complete, unless their wives were spectators of the slaughter: accordingly these were posted in waggons in the rear of their army.

The Britons bring their wives to be witnesses of their victory.

Tacitus.

The behaviour of Boadicea.

She incites her troops to revenge the wrongs done the Britons.

The spirit of Boadicea seemed to grow with the occasion; she went about with her daughters in a chariot, accosting the several tribes, and assuring them, "that she was there, not from any pre-eminence of royal birth, but from a sense of endangered liberty, which ought to be in common with the highest and the meanest: that the stripes she had received, and the violated honour of her daughters, had she no other motive, were sufficient, as a private person, to animate her to revenge: and that the Roman lust was now so unbounded, as to know no distinction of age; (1) for the old, as well as the young, were ravished; but that divine vengeance always trod upon the heels of such crimes." She then proceeded to more particular motives to animate their courage; she told them, "that the only legion which had been brave enough to meet their arms in the open field, had been cut in pieces, while the others skulked within their camp, or (2) saved themselves by flight: that the very shouts, far more the weapons, of her army would strike terror into the Romans." She then pathetically called upon them, "to consider the causes of war on both sides, which, if they did, they could not hesitate a

moment in resolving to conquer or to die: that, woman as she was, this was her fixed purpose; but the men, if they pleased, might live and be slaves."

A. D. 61.

Tacitus.
The harangue of the Roman general.

The Roman general, on the other side, was not wanting in his duty, upon this dangerous and decisive occasion. He encouraged his soldiers, "to despise the shouts and threats of the barbarians, whose army was composed of more women than men. That being both undisciplined and unarmed, the first assault of the Romans would put them to flight. That their glory would be enhanced, by their being but a handful out of many legions, who were that day to defeat an enemy so superior to them in number; and that they need but to discharge their pikes, fall upon them with sword and buckler, never mind the booty till the victory was won, and then all would be their own." Observing the alacrity of his soldiers upon this occasion, especially the veterans, Suetonius, as he could no longer doubt of success, gave immediately a signal for engaging.

The Britons were the first who discharged their darts, which the enemy received

The battle begins,

without moving or disordering their ranks; the legion then burst out upon them, and were followed by the auxiliaries. The battle, if we are to believe the Greek historian, who has described it somewhat poetically, though very particularly, was long doubtful; but, at length, all opposition gave way to the Roman discipline, and the Britons, being enclosed by their own waggons, were massacred, without regard to age or sex. (3) Tacitus compares this victory to the noblest in the Roman history; and tells us, that the number of the slain, on the side of the Britons, was computed at eighty thousand; while the Romans lost only four hundred, and had as many wounded.

which proves fatal to the Britons.

We are in the dark as to the fate of the gallant Boadicea; it is certain that she died immediately after this battle; the Greek historian says, by a disease, which put an end to all the hopes the Britons had of re-

The death of Boadicea.

Britons to have defeated Petilius Cerealis just about the time that Suetonius arrived at London. As Petilius Cerealis was advancing towards Camelodunum, we may suppose that the Britons lay near this colony while Suetonius was at London. The difficulty now is, whether Suetonius advanced northwards, or passed the Thames, and thence southwards, supposing London to have been then situated upon the north side of the Thames, which to me is very doubtful. That he did not advance northward, seems to be pretty plain from the motives which the historian lays down for his leaving London, which were as follow: first, the infrequentia militum, the fewness of his numbers; secondly, the impossibility of his being joined by Petilius Cerealis; and lastly, the chance he had of securing one part of the Roman acquisition, by giving up another. Now none of these could be reasons for his advancing northward, where the main body of the enemy lay, especially as it is plain, from the express words of Xiphilin, that he had no ambition to fight the Britons, till he was pressed by the scarcity of provisions and the presence of the enemy. We may therefore fairly presume, that he passed the Thames, and retired into the Britannia prima, which we have reason to suppose was, by this time, perfectly romanized, as there is not the least intimation in ancient authors that any of the people to the south of the Thames were concerned in the insurrection. Upon his retiring to the Surrey side, the enemy advanced to London, probably, from Camelodunum, and then destroyed Verulamium. The manner of the Britons devastations, might be a farther encouragement to Suetonius to abandon what lay on the north side of the Thames; for we are told, that they did not attempt the Roman stations nor garrisons; so that he knew, if he could once defeat them in an engagement, the country must of course fall again into his hands. There is, therefore, a great deal of reason to suppose, that Boadicea, with her army, advanced to attack Suetonius in London, but that he retired cross the river Thames; that having destroyed London, and then Verulam, they crossed the Thames likewise. But Suetonius, being now in the heart of a country well affected to Rome, had increased his forces to ten thousand regular troops. The enemy, however, still pressing upon him, and straitening him in his provisions, when he found he had no more forces to expect upon the refusal of Pænius Posthumus to join his army with the second legion, resolved to advance and give them battle without delay. As to the spot itself where this battle was fought, though particularly described by Tacitus, it is difficult to point it out, because of the diversity of places answering such a description. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think, that Suetonius took the first opportunity of checking the ravages of the Britons; and if so, this battle might have been in Surrey, where, as I observed before, there are many vestiges of Roman antiquities.

(1) This expression seems to insinuate, that she had undergone the same disgrace as her daughters.

(2) This sentence points out all the different situations of the Roman army. One part, under Petilius Cerealis, had been put to the sword; another, under Pænius Posthumus, would not venture out of their camp; and the last, under Suetonius, was flying; which is some proof that Suetonius did not advance, but retire.

(3) Clara et antiquis victoriis par ea die laus parta. Ann. lib. 14.

covering

A. D. 61.

covering their liberties, and prevented their rallying to a make a second effort. Her death, we are likewise told, was celebrated with great lamentations, and she was most magnificently buried; but Tacitus only says, that she poisoned herself. Pænius Posthumus, sensible of the error he had committed, in depriving his legion of a share in the honour of the victory, and that his disobeying the orders of his general had rendered him liable to military punishment, stabbed himself.

The prefect of the second legion kills himself.

The severity of Suetonius like to cause new commotions.

He lays waste all the countries of the Britons.

He and the procurator differ.

Tacitus.

The prudent conduct of the procurator.

Polycletus sent from Rome to enquire into the affairs of Britain.

Suetonius, having made a general review of all his forces, took the field again, that he might finish the war in that campaign. It appears, from Tacitus, that though Suetonius was a brave and experienced general, yet he was (1) soured into fullness and cruelty by the rebellion of the Britons, and revenged it as his own private quarrel. His severity and insolence to those who submitted, was likely again to throw all into disorder. His army had been reinforced, after the battle, with a supply of two thousand legionaries from Germany, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse, so that the ninth legion was recruited. But the bad use he made of his success, in laying all the countries of the Britons waste with fire and sword, alarmed the new procurator, Julius Classicianus, who had succeeded Catus. The procurator publicly gave out, that a new legate would be substituted in his place, who would treat the Britons without rancour or haughtiness; and that all who yielded should be received with favour and clemency. In the mean time, he wrote to Rome, that all the miscarriages in Britain were owing to the unrelenting stubbornness of Suetonius; and the good success which had attended his arms to the genius of Rome.

The Britons who had been in the late insurrection, were, at this time, in the utmost distress, through the want of corn. They had neglected the culture of their lands during the commotions, and, being without hopes of relief, were driven to despair. The effect of this might have been fatal to the Roman interest, had it not been for the prudent advice of the procurator. His remonstrances were so well received at Rome, that the emperor ordered the truth of the matter to be enquired into. For this purpose he employed (2) Polycletus, lately a slave, but now free, who, with that profusion and extravagance which distinguished the court of his master, set out with a prodigious retinue. After burdening all the provinces through which he passed with the expence of maintaining his luxury, he arrived in Britain, where the Romans, who had now lost even the ideas of freedom, in the grandeur of his equipage forgot all the

want of dignity in his person. The Britons, on the other hand, could as little conceive how it was possible that a fellow, who had been a slave in a court, should command those who commanded victorious armies in the field. The sense of their native liberty, which, hitherto, remained undebauched, made them equally incapable to entertain any idea of this subordination in slavery, as the confirmed habits of the Romans had rendered them to entertain any sentiment of republican liberty; the pomp of Polycletus, therefore, was justly derided by our ancestors; and there is good reason for believing, that they were not, at this time, in so desperate a situation as some writers have represented them. This appears pretty plain from the conduct of the new procurator, who, to say the least of him, acted a wise and an honest part for his master; for he managed it so, as that the legate neither lost his respect in the army, nor were the liberties which the Britons took with the emperor's representative, carried to Rome, where it might have exasperated that court beyond all possibility of reconciliation. All the reports made to the emperor were drawn up in the smoothest terms; and opportunity was taken of a misfortune which Suetonius met with, in losing some ships at sea, to order him to deliver up his commission.

A. D. 65. The difference between the Roman and British way of thinking.

The procurator despised by the Britons.

Suetonius dismissed from his command.

Is succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus.

The conduct of Petronius, and reasons for it.

Suetonius was succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus. (3) All the Britons, whom the fear of punishment for the late insurrection, or the terrors of the legate's severity, affected, were still in arms. A new struggle might have been fatal for the Romans, who, by this time, had retrieved the dependency of the provinciated countries. (4) It was, therefore, a wise and an honest conduct in Petronius not to exasperate the minds of the Britons, by any fresh persecutions, or to stir up the dying embers of the war; for, while he commanded here, he neither irritated nor provoked the Britons; but studied to reclaim them by the gentle arts of humanity and peace, which (5) the more active and ambitious Romans considered as a shameful indolence. By this conduct he healed the sores that were rankling in the breasts of the Britons, and confirmed to the Romans the possession of that part of the country they had provinciated, without attempting farther subjection or conquest.

Petronius Turpilianus was succeeded in his command here by Trebellius Maximus, (6) whose character was still more inoffensive to the Britons, and his love of peace greater than was that of his predecessor. This, if we may believe the Roman historian, at last degenerated into a criminal indolence. The mean, indeed, betwixt severity and

He is succeeded by Trebellius Maximus.

(1) Hic cum egregius cætera, arroganter in deditos, et ut suæ quoque injuriæ ultor, durius consuleret; missus Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior, et delictis hostium novus, eoque pœnitentiæ mitior. Tacitus.

(2) Nec defuit Polycletus, quo minus ingenti agmine Italiæ Galliæque gravis, postquam oceanum transmiserat, militibus quoque nostris terribilis incederet. Sed hostibus irrisui fuit, apud quos flagrante etiam tum libertate, nondum cognita libertorum potentia erat, mirabanturque, quod dux et exercitus tanti belli confector servis obedirent. Cuncta tamen ad imperatorem in mollius relata. Tacitus.

(3) Tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis, et proprius ex legato timor agitabat. Tacitus.

(4) Missus Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior, et delictis hostium novus, eoque pœnitentiæ mitior. Tacitus.

(5) Is non irritato hoste, neque laceratus, honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit. Tacitus Annal. lib. 14.

(6) Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam. Tacitus.

weakness,

A. D. 68. weakness, seems to have been now lost. The remissness of Trebellius was natural, rather than political; for, while it was reconciling the Britons to the government of Rome, it gave a loose to the insolence of the army; and both general and soldiers seemed to have entered into a tacit compact; the former for indulgence in licentiousness, the latter for security in indolence. A general of such a character loses all reputation with an army enured to war, and trained up to active life. His authority, therefore, soon sunk into nothing; and he was obeyed neither through inclination, nor fear, but convenience.

His indolence, and the consequence.

Civil dissensions at Rome.

The Roman empire, in the mean time, began to be rent by civil dissensions. The crimes of Nero had rendered him intolerable, and the empire cast her eyes upon several of the most experienced generals for relief. (1) This unsettled state of public affairs made the inactivity of the legate, and the insolence of the soldiers the more secure from any censure from the continent. But Cælius, the commander of the twentieth legion, either gratifying a former resentment against Trebellius, or ill brooking the remissness of discipline, began now openly to oppose him. It is extremely probable that he would not have ventured upon this, had not the fourteenth legion, about the same time, been recalled out of Britain to Italy. Petronius likewise gave him a fair handle, by the avarice he exercised to maintain his luxury. Mutual charges were now brought against the general, as being an oppressor; and against the officer, as an incendiary. But the credit of Cælius appears to have been high in the army. Trebellius could not withstand the torrent; his cohorts went over to his antagonist, his wings abandoned him, and his auxiliaries reviled him. In this state he was obliged to fly to Vitellius, who now began to declare himself a candidate for the empire. The Roman government in Britain then fell upon the legates of the legions. These exercised it alternately and successively; but Cælius, as having greatest credit, had greatest power and weight.

Petronius deserted by his cohorts, who go over to his antagonist. He flies to Vitellius.

The government of Britain in the hands of the legates of the legions.

To write the history of the Romans in Britain at this time, is writing the history of Britain. We have no certain accounts of the Britons, but by connection with the Romans. We may, however, from facts, and the accidental reflections of their authors, form some idea of the state of Britain during all these transactions.

Reflection.

We have already seen one degree of degeneracy in the British spirit; but that proceeded from mistaken policy in themselves, and the artful conduct of their enemies. We come now to another, and more dangerous crisis of their virtue, arising from

the most irrecoverable of all evils, the loss of public virtue in private luxury and personal indolence. For the conduct of the two last legates was not more disagreeable to the active spirit of the Roman soldiers, than it was fatal to the liberties of the Britons. The terrors of war had been succeeded by the blandishments of peace. The Britons, as they had before lost the jealousy of the Roman power, now, by degrees, lost all aversion to their vices, till, in the end, the former became familiar to them, and the latter dear. This had a worse effect upon them than all the arms of the Cæsars. Their virtue began to dissolve in the heat of the baths, and their public spirit to be absorbed in the luxury of the entertainments which now prevailed; and gave certain indications of that universal degeneracy, which, afterwards, completely fitted them for the yoke under Agricola. For this degeneracy was, as yet, but partial, and confined to the most polished of the provinciated Britons, and the allies of Rome. The others may be said, rather to have ceased to have looked with abhorrence upon the more polite vices, than to have beheld them with fondness. This was the advantage which had been gained over the Britons by Rome, since the defeat of Boadicea; but it was an advantage to which she owed the after-subjections of the island to her power.

A. D. 69.

The provincial Britons enervated by Roman luxury.

Its consequence.

Vitellius did not receive Trebellius so favourably as he expected; probably because he came unattended with his troops. The army, however, in Britain stuck to Vitellius, who, during the civil wars between him, Galba, and Otho, sent Vectius Bolanus to succeed Trebellius. (2) This general was, in all respects, unexceptionable in his personal character; his hands were unpoluted by rapine, and his manners such as endeared him to the army; yet he still continued that forbearance, as to the Britons, which his two predecessors had observed. The Britons, therefore, continued unmolested, and the army unreformed. Vitellius, at this time, sent to demand a supply of soldiers out of Britain; but the Romans in Britain did not think themselves so much interested in the success of the quarrel, as to leave a country, where they had lived so long, and; of late, so easily. Bolanus, therefore, excused himself from sparing any forces, pretending, that the Roman interest in Britain was very precarious, and might be ruined if their force was diminished.

The army in Britain side with Vitellius. Vectius Bolanus succeeds to Trebellius.

Vitellius sends to Britain for a supply of troops.

Is refused them.

In the mean time, the civil dissensions that prevailed on the continent were attended with an effusion of blood all over the Roman empire, except in Britain. There the soldiers seem resolved to be directed by

(1) Ne in Britannia quidem dubitatum præerat Trebellius Maximus; per avaritiam ac sordes contemptus exercitui in-
visusque. Accendebat odium ejus Roscius Cælius legatus vicesimæ legionis olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum
atrocius proruperant. Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinæ Cælio: spoliatus et inopes legiones Cælius
Trebellio objectabat, cum interim, fædis legatorum certaminibus, modestia exercitus corrupta, eoque discordiæ ventum, ut
auxiliarium quoque militum conviciis proturbantibus, et aggregantibus se Cælio cohortibus alisque, desertus Trebellius ad
Vitellium perfugerit. Quies provinciæ, quanquam remoto consulari, mansit. Rexere legati legionum, pares jure, Cælius
audendo potentior. Tacitus Hist. lib. 1.

(2) Nec Vectius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina. Eadem inertia erga hostes,
similis petulantia castrorum: nisi quod innocens Bolanus, et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis. Tacit.

A. D. 71.
The different
inclinations of
the Romans in
Britain, with
regard to the
divisions in the
empire.

The four-
teenth legion
sent back to
Britain.
Are soon re-
called.

The situation
of the Britons.

Vespasian pos-
sessed of the
empire, sends
Julius Agricola
legate of the
twentieth le-
gion.

The difficulty
he at first
meets with.

His behaviour.

Fresh supplies
of Romans
sent to Bri-
tain.
Bolanus suc-
ceeded by P.
Cerealis.

He falls on
the Brigantes.

After many
bloody battles,
subdues great
part of their
country.
Is succeeded
by J. Fronti-
nus.

their own opinion of the candidates. One party, reflecting upon the great merits and character of Vespasian, who had served with such success and courage in Britain, espoused his interest; while another, through a long attachment to Vitellius, adhered to him; but they never came to blows, as is common in all competitions for empire. Vitellius, however, sent back the fourteenth legion, which had the glorious epithet of the conquerors of Britain, to support his cause; but they were soon recalled by a letter from Mutianus, who acted for Vespasian in Rome.

Those divisions animated the less degenerated Britons with the thoughts of recovering their liberties; but the Romans had insinuated themselves too far into the favour of the provinciated countrymen, where the great strength of the inland parts lay, for the dispositions of the others to have the wished effect. The Brigantes, the Ordovices, and Silures, indeed, remained still unsubdued; (1) but were without the principle of union, which alone could make them formidable to Rome. We find no efforts made to renew the old confederacy; and all they could pretend to, was to stand upon the defence, till a favourable opportunity should offer.

Vespasian, by this time, became sole master of Rome, and had appointed the famous Julius Agricola, already eminent for all the virtues of a statesman and a soldier, legate of the twentieth legion. This legion, from its great services, and the long inactivity of the imperial legates, became now arrogant and unmanageable. Their last legate, who was in the interest of Vitellius, had debauched them from that of Vespasian; and it required all the address Agricola was master of, to reclaim them. However he succeeded, by appearing not to suspect them of disaffection to the reigning emperor; and behaved with such moderation and prudence, as gained him the esteem and love both of the court and army. Bolanus still continued the imperial legate; but Vespasian soon sent over other generals, of more experience and courage, with fresh supplies, who checked the rising efforts of the Britons.

Bolanus was succeeded by Petilius Cerealis. This legate was of a contrary disposition from his predecessor; he immediately proceeded to action, and fell upon the Brigantes, elated by their late security, and relying on the virtues of their prince. The noble historian tells us, in general, that this legate either conquered, or harassed, great part of the country of the Brigantes, after having fought them in several bloody battles; and that he seemed thereby to have precluded his successor from any share of glory.

But he was succeeded by Julius Frontinus, a man of equal eminence and abili-

ties. Britain was still a spacious theatre for military glory, and many untouched laurels were yet to be gathered before it could be conquered. Frontinus chose to attempt the conquest of the Silures, a people who had been checked, but not subdued; and whose native fierceness was increased by their almost inaccessible situation. Frontinus, however, had subdued them, when he resigned his command to Agricola.

It was about the middle of summer when this legate arrived. He found the fatigues of the campaign had turned the minds of the Romans upon repose, while the unsubduing Britons were waiting for a favourable opportunity of renewing the war. (2) The Ordovices had, a little before (probably betwixt the time of Frontinus's resigning, and Agricola's taking upon him the command) cut in pieces a wing of the Roman cavalry, which lay upon their frontiers. This success had animated the whole country; they approved of the example, and were eager for war, either from their natural dispositions, or to try the new legate. Agricola, who knew of what great advantage it was to be the aggressor in such cases, when acting upon the defensive gives the enemy double spirits, resolved rather to seek, than to expect, them. He found, however, great difficulties to encounter, before he could execute his schemes. Some of his officers thought it was impolitic in him to advance to new conquests, before he had secured the suspected places; and his soldiers in general lay dispersed through the provinces, expecting that their fatigues were at an end, at least for that year. Agricola, notwithstanding all those discouragements, ordered a rendezvous of his legionary forces, and got together a small number of auxiliaries. This forwardness rendered the Ordovices cautious; they would not venture to quit their strong situation in their own country; wherefore Agricola drew up his men, and, marching at their head, exposed himself equally with the meanest soldier, thereby making the whole army emulous of his example. His success was answerable to his courage; for the whole nation, according to Tacitus, was almost exterminated. Agricola, sensible of the necessity he was under of pursuing his blow, and that his future success, in a great measure, depended upon his early conduct, determined to carry the war into the island Mona, where his predecessor, Paulinus, had left his conquest unfinished. The want of ships was no stop to the resolution of Agricola; he ordered the auxiliaries, who were acquainted with services of that nature, to pass the ford. These, laying aside all their encumbrances of baggage, plunged into the water, and, managing their horses by their reins, swam over. (3) The inhabitants, who

A. D. 78.

He subdues
the Silures,
and is suc-
ceeded by A-
gricola.

The state of
the isle at his
arrival.

The Ordovices
cut off a wing
of the Roman
horse,

by which suc-
cess all the
Britons are
animated and
grow eager for
war.

The difficulties
the Roman ge-
neral lay
under.

He appoints a
rendezvous of
the legionary
forces,
collects some
auxiliaries.
The Ordovices
keep within
their own
country.

Agricola af-
fects and
takes the
island Mona.

(1) Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur. Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilis, quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusque civitatibus, ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Tacitus in Vit. Agricola.

(2) Ordovicum civitas haut multo ante adventum ejus, alam in finibus suis agentem, prope universam obtriverat: eoque initio erecta provincia: ut quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum, aut recentis legati animum opperiri. Tacitus in Vit. Agric.

(3) Sed ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant, ratio et constantia ducis transvexit: depositis omnibus farcinis, lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada, et patrius nandi usus quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupescerent hostes qui classem, qui naves, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Tacitus in Vit. Agric.

A. D. 78. expected to be attacked by a navy, daunted by their bold attempt, capitulated, and surrendered their country to Agricola, who, in that expedition, gained more honour from the juncture in which he took it, than from the success with which he ended it. For it was unusual with the Romans to see a general enter upon action immediately on the commencement of his command, at a time which was commonly spent in compliments, congratulations, and entertainments. This brought into the minds of his own soldiers all the ideas they had entertained of the laborious virtues of their first republicans, and awed the enemy into a terror of his virtues.

His modesty political.

The consequence of it.

His character.

Agricola, who had schemes of much greater importance and extent than the reduction of Mona, very wisely discouraged all congratulations and distinctions offered him on that account: he knew that every compliment paid him on that score, redounded equally to the honour of his army, who he was unwilling should think they had performed any great matter, lest they should expect some relaxation from the much more important services he had still in reserve. This seeming self-denial reflected honour upon his virtue; for his undervaluing all glory for such an action, gave the public a high idea of the schemes he was meditating. Agricola, however, to avoid the imputation of an affected humility, declined the offered laurels, only under pretence that what he had done was no more than reducing to their duty those who had been formerly conquered, and that, therefore, it deserved the name neither of a victory nor of an expedition.

As the character of Agricola is the favourite one with the noble historian of the times, who married his daughter, it may not be amiss here to give the reader some idea of it, as drawn by that great hand. He was initiated in the art of war under Paulinus, who made him a (1) tent-fellow: he was the better qualified for deserving this distinction by a liberal education, and the study of the politer arts, which had almost won him from the glories attending a more active life: his military accomplishments, however, were improved by his civil studies; and when he entered upon the life of a soldier, he seems to have considered himself as entering into a school of disinterestedness, moderation, abstinence, resignation, action, and patience; considering war as a science that could only be acquired by the laborious virtues. Being arrived to the degree of a tribune, he applied himself to attain the solid principles which might entitle him to future preferment, without any of that flashy deportment so common with rising officers: he endeavoured thoroughly to know the province which he expected to be the theatre of his future for-

tunes, to be respected by the army, to improve by the skilful, to imitate the worthy; undertaking no expedition through ostentation, declining no danger through fear, and ever tempering courage with caution. These qualities had brought him early into the esteem of Cerealis, the late imperial legate; who gave him frequent opportunities of exercising both his valour and his judgment, and sometimes placed him in a more eminent post of danger and honour in the army, than he could have claimed from his commission or standing.

Agricola observed the small progress the Romans had made since the reduction of the southern parts of Britain into the form of a province, and perceived, from repeated experiences, that the Britons never failed of recovering in winter, by surprise or inroads, what the Romans had won in the summer with great toil and danger. He saw no remedy for this by arms; but his own good sense directed him to prevent it by a much nobler and a more generous method. He studied the temper of the provinciated Britons, and saw how tractable they had become from good usage and the arts of humanity. The same dispositions, he concluded, were implanted in the other people who held out, and that they might be won over by the like means. He perceived, at the same time, an universal degeneracy of manners had infected the Romans in Britain; and was sensible that nothing but a thorough reformation could either revive martial discipline amongst them, or reconcile the Britons to their government. This reformation he had the courage and virtue to undertake. He began with that part of the province where one, of less understanding, would have left off; I mean, his own family. There he made merit the only step to preferment, and (which must, of all things, have been most grateful to the Britons) he excluded all freedmen and servants from the management of public concerns. As he chose to be himself the witness of the behaviour of his soldiers, he trusted no reports or recommendations from his inferior officers, in advancing them; he was punctual, but not rigorous; nothing escaped his notice, though many things his animadversion; he chose to be well served rather from the care he took in raising officers, than the examples he made in punishing delinquents. (2) The taxes he imposed were laid on without partiality, and collected without oppression. The exactions of officers, which had swelled into greater grievances than the tribute itself, were, by him, cut off. He remedied the intolerable servitude the provincials were again bound to, by being obliged to pay composition-money, to excuse them from carrying their grain to remote parts and quarters; and the price, at which the grain was valued, was no longer regulated by the will of the taxmasters.

A. D. 78.

His observation on the genius of, and his behaviour towards, the Britons.

He undertakes a reformation among the Romans in Britain. Begins with his own family. Excludes mean people from meddling with public affairs.

His wife and humane regulations.

(1) Quem contuberniis æstimaret.
(2) A se suisque orsus, primam domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est, quam provinciam regere: nihil per liberos servosque publicæ rei: non studiis privatis, nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionum milites ascire, sed optimum quemque fidelissimum putare: omnia scire, non omnia exequi: parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare: nec pœna semper, sed sæpius pœnitentia contentus esse: officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos, quam dammare cum peccassent. Tacitus in Vit. Agric.

A. D. 79.

By those regulations, which he made in the first year of his lieutenancy, he restored the credit of peace with the Romans, after the connivance and neglects of his predecessors had rendered it equally terrible to the Britons as war itself.

Titus succeeds to Vespasian. He continues Agricola in his command, who projects the reduction of the whole island.

His discipline.

His manner of carrying on the war.

Consequence of it.

He is revered and feared by the Britons. Several states submit, and receive Roman garrisons.

Agricola endeavours to gain the affection of the Britons.

Reflections upon the last crisis of British virtue under the Romans.

(1) Vespasian, about this time, was succeeded by his son, the excellent Titus, who continued Agricola in his command. This active general, who had lain down a plan for the reducing all Britain to the subjection of Rome, drew his army together in the spring. He resolved to observe as strict a discipline in making war, as that he had already begun in settling peace. The marches of the Romans were no longer formidable to their allies. By him regularity and modesty were encouraged in the soldiers; straggling and rapine were punished. He first visited in person every place where his army was to encamp, and examined all the ground, and its situation. He made it a maxim to turn the alarm upon the enemy, and therefore was perpetually harrassing them by inroads and incursions, in the same manner as they had done his predecessors. (2) This preserved the Roman possessions in perfect tranquility, by fully employing the Britons in their own defence; and then, when he was pleased to give over upon terms, they had a double relish of the happiness of peace, by being rid of so troublesome an enemy, and by the security in which they lived, through the faith of Agricola. The Britons soon perceived the difference of their state under him, from what it had been under his predecessors. Their confidence in his faith grew as great as was the terror of his army. Therefore several states, who, till then, had lived independent, gave hostages for their submission to Rome; in consequence of which, they admitted her garrisons, and suffered Agricola to erect forts in their territories. Agricola, having succeeded in the great point of gaining the confidence of the Britons, spent the next winter in winning their affections. For this purpose he pursued the schemes which his predecessors had only imperfectly aimed at, upon a consistent regular plan.

We are now come to the third and the last æra of British degeneracy. Our forefathers, who were provinciated by the Romans, as I observed before, were already infected with Roman vices; but we may suppose they still retained an affection for the

name of Britons, and all the ignorance of their country, joined to all the vices of their conquerors. The reducing them from a state of barbarous liberty to that of enervated virtue, was not sufficient for the purposes of a thorough subjection. It was not enough for the Britons to leave off hating and fearing the Romans; they must even admire and love them. They must forget they ever had been Britons; and must now become Romans, not only in their luxuries, their vices, and their crimes; but in principle, in habits, and education. Notwithstanding all the advances they had made to subjection, a great deal was still to be done to bring them to this point. Agricola saw, by repeated experience, that, while the manners of the Britons were different from those of his country, it was impossible for him to subdue them, either by peace or war. The former he found would still be uncertain, and the latter unprofitable. He, therefore, laid himself out to introduce the Roman manner of living, their arts, and their refinements. He began with collecting them into societies; then by giving them a taste of public buildings, temples, courts, and dwelling-houses, induced them to build the like; no private advice, no public assistance, no rewards to the ready, no reprimands to the backward, were wanting on the part of Agricola. Insensibly was fierceness softened by pleasure, and the untamed haughty spirit of liberty mellowed down to politeness and civility, even in states hitherto the most averse from Roman dominion. Agricola knew that the example of the great is ever most prevalent in cases of reformation; therefore he took care that the sons of the British nobility should be trained to the arts of humanity. He found a stronger genius amongst them than he had met with in Gaul; and he improved it so well, that, in a little time, they, who had most despised the Roman tongue, applied with eagerness to the study of eloquence. This led them to an affectation of the Roman dress; and the gown became frequent in Britain. These manners, by degrees, introduced the utmost refinements in luxury; (3) portico's, baths, and elegance in eating. And thus were the Britons romanised, without reflecting that the arts which, in a Roman were liberal, in a Briton became servile; and what they looked upon as the ends of politeness, were no better than the means of subjection (4).

His policy to enervate and subdue all the Britons.

(1) Valerius Flaccus pays the following compliment to Vespasian, on account of Agricola's victories:

Tuque ô Pelagi qui major aperti
Fama, Caledonius postquam tua Carbasa vexit
Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.

“Thy field of fame wide o'er the ocean lies,
“O'er Caledonian seas thy navy flies;
“Thy pow'r their unsubmitting shores obey,
“Till now disdainful of a Roman sway.”

(2) Nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur. Atque ubi fatis terruerat, pariendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare. Tacitus in Vit. Agric.

(3) These luxuries, as I have already hinted, were spread by Agricola as far north as the country of the Brigantes. We find two inscriptions; one of them in the reign of Gordian the third, which mention the reparation of certain public buildings which had fallen down through age. And we learn, by an inscription found at Bowes in Richmondshire, that certain baths had been repaired there, after being consumed by fire. It is very probable that these buildings were originally erected by Agricola.

(4) Quietis et otio per voluptates affluerent: hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes. Ita honoris æmulatio, pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor, et frequens toga, paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset. Tacitus in Vit. Agric.

Agricola,

A. D. 81.

He penetrates as far as the Tay in Scotland.

Builds forts, &c. in his way;

and, by his precautions, disconcerts the measures of the Britons.

His continency, impartiality, and justice.

His fourth year.

He bounds his conquests by a chain of forts to restrain the Caledonians,

Agricola, by this conduct, so won upon the Britons, that, in the third year of his command, he opened a much larger field of conquest than any of his predecessors had ever been able to discover. He penetrated as far as the river of Tay, in Scotland, laying waste the country as he marched. The rapidity of his success so daunted the enemy, that he not only met with little opposition, but had leisure to build forts and castles, as he proceeded, for securing his conquests, and bridling the inhabitants. It appears that his genius for military architecture was very extraordinary; for we are told, by Tacitus, he chose the situations of his castles and forts so advantageously, that not one of them was ever taken, surrendered, or abandoned; (1) that the sallies of their garrisons were frequent, and that they never were without a year's provision in their magazines. These precautions quite disconcerted all the measures of the Britons; their resistance in summer, and their efforts in winter, were now equally ineffectual. But Agricola, during the whole course of the war, acted with the greatest continency and impartiality in his command; neither officer nor soldier was robbed of the profit or honour his merit had acquired; and the general himself was ever the first to do justice to the deserving: while, in all other respects, the laws of military discipline were regularly, but never cruelly, observed.

We now come to the fourth year of Agricola's command, in which we have but a very general account, from Tacitus, of the progress of his arms. However we know, that, after penetrating as far as the Tay, he chose to bound his conquest on the north by the neck of land which lies betwixt the heads of the friths of Clyde and Forth. Here he built a chain of forts, to restrain the incursions of the Caledonians, a race, hitherto, unsubdued, and governed by a prince of great courage and experience. The building these forts had, besides, other effects; they cut off all communication between the Caledo-

nians and the other Britons, whom Agricola had subdued, and thereby rendered it more easy for him to pursue his favourite designs of romanizing the country. It farther appears, from the story, that many of the nations he had left at his back were, as yet, not only unsubdued, but unattempted: awed, indeed, by the Roman arms; but ready, had they been joined by the Caledonians, to have opposed his progress. The forts Agricola built destroyed all such views, and gave him leisure, in the winter, to complete the conquests he had already begun. The Romans had now shut up the Caledonians in another island; a progress sufficient for every purpose of power, but not of ambition. While an enemy was left, the Roman glory was uncomplete: and the courage of their soldiers knew no bounds but those of the world.

(2) In the fifth year of his command, Agricola took shipping, and discovering new people, subdued them in many encounters. He left a body of his troops in the countries lying opposite to Ireland, upon which he had an eye, as situated commodiously for assisting the Romans in their designs against Britain.

In the sixth year of his command, Agricola advanced beyond Bodotria, or the frith of Forth, with his fleet attending him, and sailing along the coasts. This summer he marched through Perthshire and Fife. In this march his navy had a dreadful effect upon the inhabitants lying towards the sea, and who, forming a great state, were terrible to the Romans. It appears that Agricola kept close by the sea-side, since his mariners and soldiers frequently fell in with one another in their progress. This proceeded from the caution of Agricola, who ordered his seamen to visit the harbours as they coasted along, before he would venture to proceed in his march.

The name of the prince who was, at this time, at the head of the (3) Caledonian Britons, was Galgacus, called, by the Scotch

A. D. 83.

and for other reasons.

His farthest progress.

In his sixth year.

Galdus, prince of the Caledonians.

(1) Ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti, non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse, nullum ab Agricola positum castellum, aut vi hostium expugnatum, aut pactione ac fuga desertum. Tacitus in Vit. Agric. Mr. Horsley rightly observes here, that "this passage is almost incredible, though we extend it no farther than to the time of Tacitus's writing his history. There is, perhaps, a good deal of compliment in it to Agricola, the historian's father-in-law, and favourite hero. It seems not to consist well with another passage, Perdomita Britannia et statim amissa. Hist. lib. i. cap. 2.

(2) Dr. Musgrave, in his commentary upon the epitaph of Julius Vitalis, asserts, that the people who lay over-against Ireland, were the Cangi; who, according to him, were situated betwixt Cheshire and Wales, or about the northern parts of Wales. The strongest objection, I think, to this opinion is, Tacitus describing those nations as unknown till that time, ignotas ad id tempus gentes; which we can scarce suppose to have been the case with the Cangi, since former Roman generals had penetrated so far that way. Perhaps the nations here spoken of were Galloway, Cantyre, and Argyleshire in Scotland; countries very accessible by the means of ships. Roman antiquities are found there to this day.

(3) As these people are to make a considerable figure in the subsequent part of this history, it may be proper to give some account of them. In this I shall, as much as possible, avoid the controversy which agitated the learned of the last age, and give as plain and natural an account of the Caledonians as the lights we are furnished with can afford.—Caledonia, according to the Roman writers, included all that part of Britain lying northward of the friths of Clyde and Forth. The account we have of them in Tacitus is, that the brightness of their hair is a presumption of their German original; but he says this after telling us, that it is very uncertain whether the inhabitants of Britain were originally natives there, or imported from other countries, and that the make of their bodies are different from one another. His words are as follow: Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant. Tacitus in Vit. Agric. From this passage it is plain, that Tacitus looks upon them to be as ancient a people as any in Britain. Other passages in the same author prove, that in his time they were very numerous; that they themselves were able to form an army of thirty thousand men; that Agricola, though he defeated them, was never able to subdue them; that finding the last too difficult, he built a chain of forts to curb their incursions upon the more southern parts; and lastly, that all his cares proved ineffectual; for no sooner had he left the island, than the fruit of all his victories were lost. And, as Mr. Innes says, "they continued, long after that, such numerous and formidable enemies to the Romans, that, far from attacking them again, the Romans were obliged (A. D. 124, under Adrian, and 138, under Antoninus, emperors) to erect walls and trenches to protect the Roman provinces from the inroads of the Caledonians; that they had broken through these walls, A. D. 183, in the reign of Commodus, and ravaged the provincials; that notwithstanding the advantages which Ulpian Marcellus, sent by Commodus, had over them, they broke in again upon

A. D. 83.
Buchanan.

His character.

He resolves to
assault the
forts the Ro-
mans had
raised.

The conduct
of Agricola on
this occasion.

Scotch historian, (1) Galdus, educated, as we are told, in south Britain, where he had served against the Romans; for it is by no means unlikely that the British confederacy comprehended the (2) Caledonians, and that they sent their quota of troops to the assistance of the southern Britons in any great and general insurrection. Galgacus seems to have outdone all the princes of Britain, since the days of the great Cassibelan, in military accomplishments and success. He knew the great advantage which the aggressor has in the field, and appears to have been perfectly well acquainted with the Roman method of making war; wherefore he resolved not to wait till the enemy should carry the terror of it into the heart of his own country, but to assault the forts they had built upon the Isthmus, betwixt the Clyde and the Forth. This forwardness had such an effect, that the more cautious among the Romans began to talk of retreating southwards; but Agricola, sensible of the effects which such a retreat must necessarily have, resolved to stand the extremity: however, we may well conclude, from the words of the (3) excellent historian, that he was greatly perplexed by the conduct of Galgacus much better acquainted with the country, and at the head of a numerous army. He foresaw what the consequence must be, if he kept all his troops together in one body, and was surrounded by the enemy, who might cut off his provisions. He, therefore, thought proper to divide his army into three bodies, the only method, perhaps, of saving it; but a

method so very inconvenient, that it had almost proved his utter ruin: for Galgacus no sooner understood his disposition, than he changed the plan of his operations, and, instead of endeavouring to surround them, resolved to unite his own forces, and attack the weakest of the enemy's columns (4). This happened to be the ninth legion, which had certainly been entirely cut off in the night-time by the Caledonians, had it not been for the vigilance of the Roman general; for Agricola's spies giving him a hint of the enemy's design, he immediately ordered the lightest, both of the horse and foot he had with him, to march to the assistance of their friends. When these came up, they found that the Caledonians, after killing the guards, had broken into the Roman camp, and were upon the point of overpowering the legion amazed at the suddenness of the attack, and in confusion, through the darkness of the night. When the reinforcement came up, they set up a great shout, which, at once, animated their countrymen, and damped the courage of the Britons. The morning beginning to break, gave them an opportunity of seeing the gleam of the Roman ensigns, but not of knowing their number; and they found themselves bewixt two bodies, the assaulted and the assailants. The ninth legion, in the mean time, now secure of victory, fought for glory; and, by attacking the enemy in their turn, made shew as if they stood in no need of assistance; while the reinforcement, ambitious to preserve the honour of saving a

A. D. 83.
That of Gal-
gacus on the
disposition of
the Roman
general.

The Caledo-
nians break
into the Ro-
man camp.
The ninth le-
gion, upon the
point of being
cut off, are suc-
coured by a
reinforcement
from Agricola,

and force the
Caledonians to
retreat.

“ the Roman provinces; so that, A. D. 208, the emperor Severus himself went, with the strength of the Roman army, against them; and after the loss of fifty thousand Roman soldiers, in over-running their country, he was content, at last, to treat with the Caledonians and Mæats, and erect a new wall for stopping their inroads. And twenty years after Severus's death, the Caledonians were looked upon as such formidable enemies, that Dio (lib. lv. p. 564) tells us, in his account of the disposition of the Roman legions, about the year 230, that the Romans kept two legions on the borders against these unconquered Britons, whereas one legion sufficed to keep all the rest of the Britons in subjection.” From these considerations it is highly improbable, that ever they were thinned, far less exhausted, by the Romans. Bede (chap. 1. of his Ecclesiastical History) speaking of the Picts (for so he calls the Caledonians) says, that they are reported to have come from Scythia; and that arriving in Ireland, they were persuaded by the Scots there to pass over to Britain. The difference betwixt the report of Bede, and the conjecture of Tacitus, may be thus reconciled. Tacitus de moribus Germanorum, includes all the northern provinces of the European continent, as far as the ocean, in his Germania Magna. Strabo, p. 507. Diodorus, lib. vi. cap. 7. and Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 13. include the same nations under the name of Scythia Europea; in which division they are followed by Bede. Thus there is no difference, in this respect, betwixt the British and the Roman account. All I shall observe, in general, is, that, admitting their conjectures to be true, the Caledonians had as good a right as any people in Britain to the name of Britons, if, with Cæsar and Tacitus, we suppose the Britons themselves to have been only advenæ or interlopers from the neighbouring continent. I shall, in a future note, examine the reasons why the Caledonian Britons came to lose their name. Upon the whole, as the quotations I have given, both from Tacitus and Bede, are founded entirely upon conjecture and hear-say, it can be no arrogance to call in question the truth of both facts. Tacitus, when his words are rightly considered, will not allow his conjecture even the credit of being probable; for, after telling us, that the brightness of their hair, and the largeness of their limbs, may be thought presumptions of their German original, he tells us, that, for all that, it is most probable, upon the whole, that Britain was peopled by the Gauls: and, indeed, similarity of features, limbs, or complexion, is but a very ambiguous proof of a people's origin; for all of them are evidently the effects of sun, soil, and climate. In the same nation we find different counties producing men of different makes in their persons, though of the same original; therefore his second conjecture is not only more probable, but better confirmed by ancient history. Herodian, Dio, and Tacitus himself, in other places, make no distinction betwixt the Caledonians and the other Britons; and the barbarous navigation of former days, especially amongst the northern nations, makes it very improbable that they would venture upon such a voyage as that betwixt Scythia and Britain. As to Bede's report, it has all the air of romance; and nothing more effectually proves it to be so, than the last part of his relation, where he says, that “ the Picts, being in want of women, demanded some from the Irish, who granted them upon condition of their preferring the female line of the royal family to that of the male;” a custom which, according to him, still subsists. Cumque uxores Picti non habentes peterent a Scotis, ea solum conditione dare consenserunt, ut ubi res perveniret in dubium, magis de feminea regum profapia, quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent: quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum. But the improbability of this story is far from weakening the authority of Bede, who, probably, never had seen Tacitus or Dio, and therefore seems to suppose, that the inhabitants of Britain had always borne the same names they did in his time; but I shall have a farther opportunity of examining this matter, when I come to treat of the Picts.

(1) A Scotis cognomen ei Galdi est additum quod apud Britones educatus fuisset. Buchan. in Vita Galdi.

(2) See before, where the Britons excuse themselves for not sending their hostages to Cæsar, because they were to come from remote parts of the island.

(3) Ad manus et arma converti Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnasse ultro, castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant: regrediendumque circa Bodotriam, et excedendum potius, quam pellerentur, specie prudentiam ignavi admonebant. Cum interim cognoscit, hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos. Ac ne superante numero, et peritia locorum circumirentur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incescit. Tacitus in Vit. Agric.

(4) It is very probable that this battle happened in the county of Fife. There is a Roman camp in Sir John Malcolm's ground at Lohore, two miles from Loughliven; and near it there is a large morass, where formerly there has been a wood. Add to this, there is in the neighbourhood a village called Blair, which, in the old language, signifies a place of battle.

Roman

A. D. 84.

A. D. 84.

Roman legion, plied the Caledonians with great fury. But the latter, now despairing of success, thought of safety, and made their retreat to places, whither the Romans durst not pursue them.

The resolution of the Romans.

Equalled by the Caledonians.

The measures pursued by the latter.

They wait the Romans at the foot of the Grampian hills.

The event of this conflict served only to blow the flames of war the higher betwixt the two nations. The Romans, elated with their escape, were impatient at being any longer upon the defensive; they called out to be led into Caledonia; they proclaimed their readiness to undergo every fatigue; and the most desponding before, became now the loudest talkers: all declaring that they would mark out, by their victories, their march to the very extremity of Britain. The Caledonians, on the other hand, behaved with equal spirit; they attributed their not succeeding in their late attack, not to any superior courage or skill in the Romans, but to the cunning and craft of their general. They thought themselves fairly a match for their enemies; they put arms into the hands of every man who was able to bear them; they sent their women and children to places of safety, and formed a solemn confederacy of their states, which they strengthened with various sanctions, both civil and sacred. They then departed with all the spirit of resentment and revenge, longing for the time of action.

Next summer, collecting all their strength, they waited for the Romans at the foot of the (1) Grampian hills. Agricola, having sent his fleet about, to support his army by hovering on the coasts, and harassing the enemy (which it effectually did) at the same time advanced against the Caledonians, who were in number about thirty thousand, says the noble historian, and daily encreasing by the accession of fresh supplies. They thought that they were now come to the last pass of liberty, which they were to defend; and they looked upon the fate of the Britons as a lesson, that, if they survived a defeat, life would be embittered by slavery, or debased by luxury. When they were assembled, and eager to be led against the Romans, Galgacus harangued them with such a strain of manly eloquence, that we have no parallel to it in antiquity. As we have it from the best of historians, who had an opportunity of knowing perfectly well the manners and sentiments of the Britons, I am under no apprehensions of incurring any censure by giving it to my reader. For even supposing these very words had not been spoken by that general; yet it must be allowed, that so excellent a writer as Tacitus never would have transmitted it to posterity, had it not contained a lively picture of a brave independent Briton; a more profitable instruction to his posterity, than the most pompous detail of battles and bloodshed.

Galgacus harangues his forces.

“As often, said Galgacus, as I reflect upon the motives of this war, and your

“indispensible obligations to repel it, I am
“strongly persuaded, that, from this day,
“and your unanimity, the recovery of British liberties may be dated. All our neighbours have already felt the yoke; no land lies beyond us; and the Roman fleet, which hovers on our coasts, has rendered it unsafe to trust to the sea. Thus arms and war, which give glory to the brave, are the surest defence of the coward. In all the past conflicts, which have happened, with various success, betwixt the Britons and the Romans, the former still placed their last hopes and resource in our efforts, because we are the noblest of all the nation, seated in the very remotest parts of the country, removed from the sight of their subjugated shores, and our eyes unpolluted by holding any communication with their slavery. As ours is the extreme of lands and liberties, our remoteness and recesses have hitherto secreted us from fame; but now the extremity itself of Britain lies open, and every thing that is unknown is exaggerated. There is now no nation lying on one side of us, nothing but rocks and waves; and, on the other side, lie the Romans, whose haughtiness it is in vain to seek to avoid by submission and modesty. Those robbers of the world, after the earth was no longer able to supply their rapines, now search the seas: an enemy, when rich, feeds their avarice; and, when poor, their ambition. Neither the east, nor the west, has been able to satisfy them. They are the only people ever known alike to affect wealth and poverty. They pillage, they murder, under false claims do they pilfer dominion; and when they create solitude, that they term peace.
“Nature has implanted the dearest affection in every man for his children and kindred; yet these are torn from us, by the Roman levies, to serve in other climates. If our wives and sisters escape the pollution of their hostile lusts; yet are they debauched under the guise of alliance and hospitality. Our goods and properties they have exacted for tribute, and our corn for provision. Our bodies are torn by blows and abuses, while we are employed in paving woods and bogs. They who are born slaves, when once sold, are maintained at the expence of their owners. Britain daily purchases, daily feeds its own slavery. And as, in a private family, every last-entered slave is the laughing-stock of his fellow; so, in this ancient family of the world, we, as the last and least esteemed of all mankind, are destined to destruction. For we have no fields, no mines, no harbours to be employed in. Add to this, that the victors are ever jealous of courage and untamed spirit in the vanquished; and even

(1) As to the situation and branches of those hills, they divide Scotland into two parts from the east to the west. It is also agreed, that the ridge of hills, commonly called the Mounth, or Cairn of Mounth, that runs from Athol down the south side of the river Dee, to the east sea near Dunnoter, is a chief branch of the Grampians; and generally the modern descriptions of Scotland bring the other branch of the Grampian hills, which terminates at the western sea from Athol down to Braid-Albain by Lock-Lomond, to the frith of Clyde.

A. D. 84. "distance and privacy, the safer it is, be-
 "comes therefore the more suspected. The
 "hopes, therefore, of escaping being lost, re-
 "assume your virtue as ye value your glory,
 "nay your safety.

"The Brigantes, under the command of
 "a woman, burnt their colonies, and de-
 "molished their camp; and, had not suc-
 "cess begotten security, they would have
 "shaken off the Roman yoke. We are
 "untouched, we are unsubdued, we have
 "been hitherto free; therefore let us, in
 "the first charge, make them sensible of
 "our Caledonian power. Do you imagine
 "the Romans to be as brave in war, as
 "they are lascivious in peace? No; their
 "renown arises from our dissensions and
 "discord. They know how to turn the
 "oversight of an enemy to the glory of
 "their own arms. Their army, made up of
 "very different people, as it is cemented by
 "prosperity, so it will be disjoined by ad-
 "versity; unless ye imagine that the Gauls,
 "the Germans, and (I blush to speak it)
 "the Britons, who have been longer their
 "enemies than their slaves, are willing and
 "cordial in their endeavours, to establish,
 "at the expence of their own blood, the
 "dominion of strangers. Believe me, dread
 "and terror are but feeble bonds of affec-
 "tion; when men leave off to fear, then
 "do they begin to hate.

"Every allurements of victory is for us;
 "the Romans have no wives to enflame their
 "courage, they have no parents to reproach
 "their cowardice; most of them have no
 "country, or another country than Rome.
 "Their numbers are inconsiderable; they
 "are now trembling, through their own
 "ignorance, and are casting their eyes
 "upon strange seas and woods, while the
 "gods seem to have delivered them over
 "to us, as it were pent up and fettered.
 "Let not their vain shew frighten you, nor
 "the glittering of their gold and silver,
 "which are equally useless for defending
 "themselves, or attacking others. We shall
 "find friends even in the enemy's army.
 "The Britons will espouse their own cause;

"the Gauls will reflect upon their departed
 "liberties; and the other Germans will, as
 "the (1) Usipians lately did, abandon them.
 "There is then an end of all our fears.
 "Their forts are empty, their colonies com-
 "posed of old men, their lands and corpo-
 "rations at variance, being divided betwixt
 "those who command with injustice, and
 "obey with unwillingness. Here you have
 "a general and an army; there tributes
 "and mines, with the other penalties of
 "slavery. And, upon this field, you are
 "to determine whether you will chuse
 "eternal submission, or immediate revenge;
 "therefore advance to your ranks, and
 "think upon your progenitors, and your
 "posterity."

We are told, by the same historian, that
 the army received the speech with the
 greatest alacrity, and drew up in order;
 while Agricola, in like manner, harangued
 his soldiers. He told them, "that Britain
 "was not only found, but conquered; that
 "they had the enemy now at bay; that,
 "after the tedious fatiguing marches they
 "had made, to advance and fight would
 "be less dangerous than to fly or retire."
 He then proceeded to encourage them,
 by giving them a despicable opinion of
 their enemies. He told them, "that they
 "were the same the year before that had
 "been defeated, in the nocturnal attack of
 "their camp, by a single legion; the only
 "reason why they remained alive, was be-
 "cause they would never stand the fight:
 "that the Romans were like hunters, who
 "had already destroyed the bravest and the
 "best of the game in south Britain, while
 "the Caledonians before them were a weak
 "and timorous prey, and would be scared
 "at the very noise of the chase." He then
 exhorted his soldiers "to put an end to all
 "their labours, and to the fifty years war,
 "by acting like Romans for one day."

The Romans were so animated with this
 speech, that Agricola found it both difficult
 and dangerous to restrain their ardour, and
 therefore drew them up. (2) The order of
 the battle was as follows: the Romans were
 drawn

Agricola does
the like.

The order of
battle on the
Roman side.

(1) This adventure of the Usipians is recorded by Tacitus, in the following manner, in the life of Agricola. This summer a cohort of Usipians raised in Germany, and sent over into Britain, undertook a very strange and memorable adventure. Having killed their captain, and some soldiers who were dispersed among them to teach them to exercise, they fled and embarked in three vessels, compelling the masters to carry them off; but only one of them doing his duty, the other two were slain upon suspicion. And this strange kind of voyage (the fact being not yet known) was accounted miraculous. Afterwards, being tossed up and down, and falling upon some Britons who opposed them in their own defence, often conquerors, and sometimes conquered, they came to such want of provision at last, that they eat one another; first the weakest, and after that by lot. Thus, having floated round Britain, and lost their ship, in conclusion, for want of skill to guide it, they were taken first by the Suevians, and then by the Frisians, for pirates. Some of them, being bought by the merchants, and by change of masters brought to our coast, grew famous upon the account they gave of this adventure.

(2) Though I am strongly inclined to believe, that this battle was fought in Perthshire, yet I think it fair to set down Mr. Horsley's opinion upon that subject, as we have it in p. 44. of his *Britannia Romana*. "Mr. Gordon, says he, offers very plausible reasons to prove, that the place of the battle was in Strathern, half a mile south from the Kirk of Comerie: for this, as he informs us, is upon or near a part of the ridge of the Grampian mountains; and whereas no Roman camp has been discovered in Athol or Mernes, which looks as if Agricola had never gone so far, there is a remarkable encampment here. The encampments, Ardock and Innerpeffery, are between the Grampian and Ochel mountains, and not large enough to contain the number of men that were in Galgacus's army. Tacitus says, the legionary soldiers were placed before the vallum, that is, as I suppose, the trench of their camp. The track of ground here, and the encampment and rising ground about it, Mr. Gordon thinks, agree surprizingly to Tacitus's description of it; and the moor, in which this camp stands, is, as he affirms, called to this day Galgachan, or Galdachan Ross moor. But Tacitus's expressions seem to imply, that they were farther beyond the Tay than the place assigned by Mr. Gordon. And a very ingenious gentleman informed me of a place called Fortingal camp, near which, he inclined to think, the place of battle might have been. He told me also, that he had seen the camp Gordon mentions, but could not learn the moor in which it was called Galgachan Ross moor. I am much of the opinion of a very curious gentleman that lives upon the spot, and is well skilled in the Highland tongue, that the true name is Dalgin Ross, that is, the dale under Ross, as he explained it. Ross is a village near to this vale, and near the Roman encampment. The country people do sometimes pronounce the word Dalgin not unlike Galgin, which, very probable, has led Gordon into

A. D. 84. drawn out into two lines, the one behind the other; the first consisted of eight thousand auxiliary foot, with three thousand horse, for wings; in the second line he placed the Roman legions. The reason assigned, by Tacitus, for this disposition is, that Agricola might have the glory of conquering the Britons without the effusion of Roman blood (1). The Caledonians were disposed so as to strike terror into their enemies, by a pompous display of their numbers. The first line was drawn up at the foot of a rising ground, and the rest of their army upon the acclivity behind; so that, rising one above another, their whole army was discovered, and stood a fair mark to the Roman javelins, while the intermediate plain, between them and the Romans, was filled with the confused multitude of horses and chariots.

The disposition of the Caledonians.

Agricola extends his front.

Places himself at the head of his army.

Description of the battle.

Agricola, fearing lest he should be attacked in front and flank, through the superiority of the enemy's numbers, was obliged to extend his front; and most of his officers advised him to bring up the legions; but this he obstinately refused, and, alighting from his horse, took his post in the front of the army.

The battle began by a discharge of missiles on both sides, in which the Caledonians seem to have had the advantage. They were armed with long swords and short bucklers, which they managed so dexterously, that they threw the enemy's weapons off themselves, and returned a shower of darts upon them. Agricola, upon this, ordered three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts to advance to a close engagement, being armed, in a quite different manner, with short swords and pointed bucklers: these they pushed into the faces of the enemy, and soon got within the length of their unweildy swords, which being point-les, proved of no service in a close engagement. The five cohorts were so successful, that they obliged the Caledonian cavalry to fall back upon their foot, who were drawn up on the hill; and this seems to have been the main reason of the rout that soon followed; for the rest of the Roman army immediately advancing, gave the Caledonians no time to rally, and a promiscuous slaughter ensued. The British horse broke in upon the foot; and though the charioteers drew up among the latter, yet were they not able again to make head against the Romans, the ranks being too thick, and the ground too uneven, for them to do much execution. By this intermingling of forces, the Britons, standing upon a descent, were born down by the weight of their own horses;

and many of their chariots, being without drivers, ran through their ranks, and put them into irreparable disorder. In the mean time, the Britons, who had been drawn up towards the top of the hill, in this heat of the battle, began to take a compass round, and attack the Romans in their rear. This was what Agricola had foreseen, and therefore had reserved four squadrons of horse to oppose any such attempt; these, advancing against the Britons, put them to flight, which was as disorderly as their attack had been furious. Nothing now followed, according to the Roman historian, but a total rout of the Caledonians, who retreated towards the woods. The Romans following them in some disorder, the Britons suddenly turned upon their pursuers; but Agricola, fearing all might be yet lost, through want of caution on the side of the Romans, ordered a strong body of light-armed foot to advance, with some horsemen, whom he ordered to dismount, and to scour the woods. This entirely disconcerted the measures of the Britons, who were in hopes that the enemy would pursue them in straggling parties, and, thereby, give them an opportunity of cutting them off; but Agricola's soldiers, advancing in regular bodies, beat them out of the woods; their loss that day being, by Tacitus, computed at ten thousand, and that of the Romans, at three hundred and forty.

A. D. 84.

The Britons defeated.

However terrible the historian describes this loss of the Britons, yet, if we consider its consequences, it seems to have been greatly exaggerated: for Agricola, instead of marching forward, and finishing the conquest of Britain, thought fit to retire to the country of the (2) Horesti. Here he received hostages for their good behaviour, and marched slowly back towards the southern parts with his army. At the same time he ordered his fleet, which, during his late campaigns, appear to have hovered off the British coasts, that it might supply his army with provisions, to sail round the island. This was accordingly performed, and his ships arrived at the same (3) port from which they set out.

Agricola retires to the country of the Horesti, and receives hostages.

His fleet sails round the island.

The great services of Agricola, instead of recommending him to Domitian, procured his disgrace. Even the modesty with which he represented his successes increased the hatred which this monster entertained against the brave and the virtuous. The merits of Agricola, indeed, were too eminent to pass without public retributions, and triumphal honours with statues were accordingly decreed him; but the emperor's envy of his military glory was such, that he soon sent off by poison.

Domitian envies Agricola, who has public honours decreed him, and is taken off by poison.

"into his opinion concerning this name. Fortingal-camp is about sixteen miles from Dankell. The middle syllable is, as I understand it, the sign of the genitive in the Highland tongue, and gal signifies a stranger; so that the word imports the fort of strangers. Or if gal be supposed the first syllable of Galgacus, then it is Galgacus's fort. I only farther add, that Gordon, in his account of his Galgacan-camp, takes no notice, I think, of a stone that is in the middle of it, a tumulus nigh it, and a military way that goes from it; and, in computing its contents, omits the legions, and the four alæ, that were kept as a reserve; for the auxiliaries alone were eight thousand, and that the horse, or the wings, were three thousand: but the legions might possibly have been at Ardock, or Innerpeffery, before they marched to the battle."

(1) But a much better reason may be assigned, if we consider the great probability there is in the words which the same historian puts into the mouth of the Caledonian prince; to wit, that the auxiliaries would not do their duty. Agricola had the greater reason to fear this, from what had lately happened in the case of the Usipians; therefore it was very proper to put the doubtful auxiliaries in the front of his army.

(2) This country is supposed to be Angus. Some writers have absurdly thought it lay in the north of England.

(3) Portus Trutulensis, others read Portus Rhamensis, and others Rhutupensis, which last is the most probable; Richborough.

A. D. 85. him out of the world by a secret dose of poison.

He is succeeded in Britain by C. Trebellius, or Salustius Lucullus. Put to death by Domitian, and wherefore. Agricola was succeeded by C. Trebellius; according to other authors, by Salustius Lucullus, whom Domitian put to death for suffering a kind of spears, of his own invention, to be called after his name: but we have no particular account of the transactions of either of these governors; and we are entirely in the dark as to any particulars of British affairs, independent of the Roman.

The Britons, though subdued, suffered to retain their form of government. All we can learn, is that the emperors suffered their forms of government to continue even after their liberties were ruined. This policy was the same that Augustus had observed with regard to the Romans themselves. The form of liberty was retained, while the spirit was abolished; and the people, amused with this shew, were the less sensible of slavery.

Remark. It may be proper to remark here, that, however rapid the conquests of Agricola had been, they were by no means permanent. Some countries, ranked by the Roman historian among the subdued, seem rather to have been quieted; while others only gave hostages for their behaviour: and not a few remained untouched. Though Agricola had advanced as far as the foot of the Grampian mountains, yet it is more than probable that he did not look upon his conquests to extend farther than the line he had drawn between the friths of Clyde and Forth. But it appears that he gave the finishing blow to the liberties of south Britain, who, in general, soon became perfectly Roman, and chose a quiet servitude rather than turbulent liberty. But this submission was not total even amongst the south Britons; for many of them, retiring to these northern parts, mingled with the Caledonians, and joined in every attempt to shake off the Roman yoke.

South Britain submits to the Roman yoke.

But this submission is not general, several of the southern Britons joining with the Caledonians.

Buchanan.

Sedition among the Roman legions. The northern Britons take arms.

They take the Roman forts, and drive the Romans to the southern parts.

As to the brave Galgacus, it does not certainly appear what became of him. We are told, that, after the departure of Agricola, sedition prevailed among the Roman legions, and that the northern Britons again took that opportunity of appearing in the field. They were soon sensible how unequal the successors of Agricola were to him, and made several attempts, sometimes with good, sometimes with doubtful success, to drive back the Romans, and to animate the subdued Britons to join them. After a few skirmishes the Roman forts were taken, and the garrisons driven southward. The Latin historian, himself, informs us that all the conquests Agricola had made were soon lost after he had left the island. This makes what we are told by northern writers the more probable, that Galgacus hav-

ing driven the Romans back to their provincial countries, fought even against the Britons themselves for the recovery of their liberties. These incursions, or rather invasions, probably gave rise to the hint which we have from the Roman historians of those times that, during the reign of Nerva, the northern Britons often harassed the Romans, and that the natives were with great difficulty kept under their government. Upon the whole, there is an irreparable chasm of near thirty-five years.

Galgacus, according to the Scotch historians, having triumphantly finished his war with the Romans and Britons, repopled the desolate countries either with their ancient inhabitants, or with new; and, by this means, having formed a strong barrier against all future invasions, died in great glory, and in high reputation both at home and abroad, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign. This prince, according to the same authors, was succeeded by a worthless son, who was put to death by his people in the third year of his reign. As the Caledonians seem to have been the only independent people in Britain, their history is that of the Britons. The southern parts of the island were now entirely Roman; luxury had subdued those whom war had spared. The conquerors looked upon themselves to be as much Britons as even the natives, and the Caledonians made war equally upon both.

A. D. 118.

Buchanan, Lesly, Boetius. Galgacus repoples the desolate countries,

and dies.

Is succeeded by his son, who is put to death by his own subjects.

The Caledonians make no distinction between the Romans and southern Britons.

We are told, by some historians, that the northern part of Britain was abandoned by the Romans because barren, and not worth the conquering; but this is a ridiculous suggestion: they thought no country barren in which they could gather laurels. Agricola, their greatest general, since the time of Julius Cæsar, would gladly have carried his conquests through the most barren parts of Britain; but he found it impracticable, therefore wisely sought to secure what he had acquired, rather than to risque it by endeavouring at more.

The next emperor, in whose reign we have any account of British affairs from Roman authors, is (1) Adrian. Under him we find the sixth legion brought over, in the beginning of his reign, to Britain. It appears to have marched directly to the north of England, to be employed there. We likewise find the second legion, about this time, quartered at Netherby in Cumberland, and thereabouts. But the Britons would certainly have freed themselves from the Roman yoke, had not the emperor come over in person to suppress them. We are at a loss as to the particulars of his wars in Britain; but it is very probable, that, with all his efforts, he was not able to re-

Adrian, emperor of Rome.

He comes in person to Britain.

(1) The mention we have of British affairs under this emperor, is very insufficient. Spartian, in his life of Adrian, tells us expressly, that it was found impracticable to preserve Britain under the Roman government. Salmasius is of opinion, that this insurrection relates to the time when Julius Severus, the legate, was called out of Britain: but that opinion is only advanced as a faint conjecture, and is groundless. A subsequent passage in the same author, points out the great disagreeable manners which Adrian had introduced amongst the troops, and other regulations) he says, that "no emperor before him ever took such pains, that his soldiers should not eat the bread of idleness: therefore, says he, they being disciplined in a noble manner (or, as Casaubon will have it, according to his own imperial example) he set out for Britain." The words are, Ante omnes tamen enitebatur ne quid otiosum vel emeret aliquando vel pasceret. Ergo conversis regio more militibus, Britanniam petiit: in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret. This seems to have been in the fourth year of his reign.

A. D. 120.

store the limits of the empire here, to what had been their extent in the time of Agricola. The Caledonians had made incursions into the very heart of the Roman conquests. The emperor found that it would be extremely difficult for his soldiers to maintain their footing, while exposed to the invasions of so formidable an enemy: however, it appears that he fought against them with such success, that he drove them northwards. This was looked upon as of importance enough for him to assume the glorious title of (1) *Restitutor Britanniae*. We are farther told that he advanced as far as York, to pursue his advantage, but that he there met with some of the old soldiers, who had served under Agricola, who represented the difficulties, to which he must be exposed, in such a manner, as discouraged that emperor from proceeding farther. Upon the whole, he resolved to draw a (2) wall quite cross the island. This wall, or rather rampart, carried on from the mouth of the river Tine to Solway-frith, about eighty miles in length, was made of turfs, and much stronger and more durable than the other lines drawn by the same emperor, between the Romans and the barbarians, in other parts of the British empire, which consisted only of great

He repels the north Britons.

He bends his course northward. Is discouraged from proceeding. Buchanan.

He carries on a wall cross the island.

stakes driven into the ground, and wickered together.

A. D. 138.

Adrian designed this wall should be the northern boundary of his empire in Britain; in this, differing from the maxims of his predecessor, who sought to enlarge, rather than to secure, dominion. When it was finished, he regulated the abuses which had crept into the government in Britain, and then returned to Rome, highly satisfied with the precautions he had taken for securing the tranquility of the island. It was after his departure, probably, that Julius Severus was made *proprætor* of Britain; though all the English historians have introduced him more early. We know not the particulars of the wars of this *proprætor*, but he was the ablest general of his time. He is mentioned as such by (3) Xiphilin, who says he was recalled out of Britain to serve against the Jews, who, at this time, were in arms through all parts of the world.

Reforms abuses in the government.

Returns to Rome.

Antoninus Pius succeeded Adrian in the imperial purple. The northern Britons could not be restrained, by Adrian's wall, from making inroads into the southern provinces; they had assaulted and demolished part of it; and it appears that they were joined by the

Antoninus Pius, emperor. The north Britons demolished part of Adrian's wall.

(1) Hadrian, says Camden, seems to have subdued by mere force; for, in a coin of his, we see a general of his, with three soldiers (which, I suppose, represents the three legions of Britain) with this inscription, *EXER. BRITANNICUS*; and another with this, *RESTITUTOR BRITANNIÆ*.

(2) As this wall makes a considerable figure in the history of those times, it may be proper to give some account of it. It was the second pretenture built in Britain, and seems to have given the name of the stations *per lineam valli*. It was a rampart of earth, without any timber; so that we are not to confound it with those pretentures, or rather palisades, which, as we are told by Spartian, Adrian erected in other parts of the empire. Take his own words: *Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur stipitibus magis in modum muralis sepiis funditus jactis atque connexis barbaros separavit*. Vit. Had. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 57. "In many places, both then, and at other times, where the barbarians are not bounded by rivers, he separated them by great stakes, driven into the ground, in manner of a mural fence, and connected together."—"What belongs to this work, says Mr. Horsley, is the principal agger, or vallum, on the brink of the ditch, on the north-side of the vallum; another agger on the south-side of the vallum, and about five paces distant from it, which I call the south-agger; and a large agger upon the north-side of the ditch, called the north-agger. This, I suppose, was the military way to the ancient pretenture of stations; and it must have served for a military way to this work also, or it is plain there has been none attending it. The south-agger, I suppose, has either been made for an inner defence, in case the enemy might beat them from any part of the principal vallum, or to protect the soldiers against a sudden attack from the provincial Britons. It is generally somewhat smaller than the principal vallum; but, in some places, it is larger. These four works keep all the way a constant regular parallelism one to another." It is probable it had its exploratory castles, as well as Severus's wall. However, no remains of these now appear, unless we suppose the small remains at Chappel-houses, and those near Haddon on the wall, are of this kind. This vallum, when the nature of the ground permits it, keeps in a more direct line than that which was afterwards built by Severus, which some people have thought owing to its following an old military way, made before the raising of the vallum, and now forming the north-agger in the same manner, as another military way, accompanies the wall of Severus, both which were undoubtedly built at the same time. Spartian says, that this wall was eighty miles long. His words are as follow: *Ergo conversis, regio more, militibus, Britanniam petit: in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret*. But this appears not to be quite accurate, because it is certain that Adrian's vallum was not carried so far on each side as Severus's wall, and the latter is but seventy-three miles in extent. However, as they were pretty much of the same dimensions, Spartian very probably mistook the one for the other, as have a great number of modern authors; and the eighty intervals betwixt fort and fort might have induced that author to have allowed, in the gross account, a mile for every interval. Mr. Horsley tells us, that, "at a lime-stone quarry, west of Harlow-hill, where the original breadth and depth of Adrian's ditch is very apparent, and may be exactly ascertained, it measured near nine foot deep, and eleven foot over; it was wider at the top than at the bottom, the sides being sloping." But the same gentleman tells us, that there is no way of determining, with certainty, the original height and thickness of the vallum and aggers. Though the distance betwixt the wall of Severus and this vallum of Adrian differ very much, being sometimes within a chain from one another, and sometimes the distance of fifty chains; yet the distance betwixt the vallum, ditch, and north-agger of Adrian's pretenture are every way the same, so that they run in lines parallel to one another, the north-agger being about twenty-four foot north from the ditch. And of the two aggers of the vallums, says Mr. Horsley, one is always about twenty-four foot to the south of the ditch, originally at the distance of near thirty foot; but now, by the spreading of the earth, reduced to that of twenty-four foot, and upon, or near, the southern edge of it. This vallum was of earth, sometimes mixed with stones, but without timber. The whole extent of this vallum was betwixt Newcastle on the west, and Drumbrugh on the east, upon Solway frith.

(3) I am warranted in this chronology from the words of Xiphilin. He says, that the insurrection of the Jews, which Severus was recalled out of Britain to suppress, did not happen till after Adrian had ordered Jerusalem to be thenceforward called *Ælia Capitolina*, or rather, gave this name to a city raised upon the spot where Jerusalem stood; that all the time Adrian remained in Egypt, or in Palestine, the Jews were quiet; that they did not break out in rebellion for some time after, till they had concerted their measures; that the Romans, at first, despised this rebellion; and that Severus was not recalled out of Britain till it became formidable to the very being of their empire. From these considerations we may fix the time of Severus's being recalled to the eighteenth year of Adrian, which brings it within three years of his death. *Ælia Capitolina* was not built till the tenth of Adrian; and Eusebius expressly tells us, book iv. chap. 6. that this formidable insurrection of the Jews did not happen till the eighteenth of Adrian's reign, which was within three years of his death. These considerations make a great difference as to the British affairs; for our historians have generally placed this Julius Severus in the beginning of Adrian's reign; and Mr. Horsley makes Licinius Priscus to succeed him in the year 119, being the year before Adrian came into Britain: whereas it is very doubtful to me whether Licinius Priscus (admitting the inscription, produced by Camden and Speed, to be genuine) was *proprætor* in Britain in the time of Adrian. At this time,

A. D. 140. the Brigantes, who were ever uneasy under the Roman government. They had invaded Genunia (probably north Wales) a country under the Roman protection, and were defeated by Lollius Urbicus, who was the imperial proprætor in Britain.

Are joined by the Brigantes.
Lollius Urbicus defeats them.

He restores the Roman limits, and raises a second wall.

The Roman Britons made denizens of Rome.

This general drove back the northern Britons, and brought under the subjection of Rome all the tract lying between Adrian's wall and the isthmus between the mouths of the friths of Clyde and Forth. Here he raised another (1) wall of turf, which served as a new boundary to exclude the northern Britons. This wall probably was begun in the third consulate of (2) Antoninus Pius, answering to the year of Christ 140. It cut off all communication between the Brigantes and the Caledonians, while the Romans were thereby guarded by a double barrier. Their limits being restored pretty near to those left by Agricola: nay, both he and Urbicus sometimes built upon the same foundations. This is all we know of Roman affairs, with regard to Britain, under the first Antoninus; excepting that one Seius Saturnius had the charge of the Roman navy upon the British coasts in his reign; and that the (3) Roman Britons were, by

him, made citizens of Rome, in consequence of a law he passed in the beginning of his reign, which gave that privilege to all the Roman provinces. This, possibly, might be the reason why the Brigantes took arms. They never had been thoroughly subdued, and therefore might look upon themselves as independent of the Roman government, though shut up within their wall, and might well refuse a privilege which never was granted but on condition of slavery.

A. D. 165. Reason for the Brigantes taking arms.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus succeeded Antoninus Pius. The Britons, in his time, renewed their commotions, and began to infect the Romans. It is highly probable that Lollius Urbicus had been a little too hasty in enlarging his frontier, before he had thoroughly subdued the people lying betwixt Adrian's wall and that erected by himself; and that the Caledonians, breaking through his wall, penetrated as far as that of Adrian: for we are told, by the Roman historians of those days, that a (4) British war broke out under this emperor, which was ended with great difficulty. The proprætor sent hither was Calphurnius Agricola, who quieted the insur-

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, emperor of Rome. New commotions in Britain.

The Caledonians penetrate as far as Adrian's wall.

Calphurnius Agricola, prætor, quells the insurrection.

says Mr. Cambden, M. F. C. L. Priscus Licinius was proprætor of Britain, who was with Adrian in his expedition against the Jews, as appears by this old inscription on a broken marble:

M. F. CL. PRISCO.
ICINIO. ITALICO. LEGATO.
AUGUSTORUM.
PR. PR. PROV. CAPPADOCIÆ
PR. PR. PROV. BRITANNIÆ LEG. AUG.
LEG. III GALLICIÆ, PRÆF. COH. III LINGONUM. VEXILLO. MIL. ORNATO. A.
DIVO. HADRIANO. IN EXPEDITIONE IVDAIC.
Q. CASSIUS. DOMITIUS. PALUMBUS.

All that we can gather from this inscription is, that this Priscus Licinius accompanied Adrian in an expedition to Judea. This expedition was in the tenth year of his reign; and the expression DIVVS ADRIANVS is a strong intimation that Adrian was dead when it was erected; therefore I should be apt to refer this inscription to the reign of his successor Antoninus Pius. Before I take leave of the emperor Adrian, I cannot omit the verses sent to him by the poet Florus, which I shall give the reader, as a proof of the great hardships he suffered in his expedition to Britain.

Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

“What's life, if not from toil 'tis free?
“Cæsar let me never be,
“Marching o'er the British plains,
“Cold, and drench'd in Scythian rains.

It may not be amiss to inform the reader, that there is a strong party of critics, who, for Scythicas, read Scoticas; but the discussion of this criticism is foreign to my purpose, as is the emperor's answer to the same lines.

(1) We are told of this wall by Julius Capitolinus. His words are, Per legatos suos plurima bella gessit: nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit, alio muro cespitio submotis barbaris ducto: et mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit. Vit. Ant. Pii, Script. Hist. Aug. p. 132. That is, “He carried on many wars by his legates; for he both conquered the Britons by the legate Lollius Urbicus, who pushed them back by drawing another wall of turf, and forced the Moors to beg for peace.”

(2) We are obliged to Mr. Horsley for this remark. “The very year, says he, in which the wall in Scotland was built, may, perhaps, be determined by the inscription in the library at Edinburgh. I look upon it to have been one of the stones erected at the building of that wall; and then, as all those stones are inscribed to Antoninus Pius, no doubt this has been so too. The consequence of this is, that the wall must have been built when he was the third time consul, that is, in the year 140, and near the beginning of his reign. The inscriptions found in Scotland, which may be seen in the following collection, do agreeably confirm and illustrate the whole passage in Capitolinus; and, since these have appeared, the opinion that Carausius built this pretenture needs no more confutation.” As I gave an account of Adrian's pretenture, it may be proper to do the same with regard to this one. It was fortified by a series of stations, or forts, and certainly reached from Carrin, upon the frith of Forth, to Dunglass, upon the frith of Clyde, running by Falkirk, Camelon, Dick's-house, Rough-castle-fort, Castle-cary-fort, Westerwood-fort, Crowy-hill, Barhill-fort, Auchindavy, Kirkentellock, Calder, Bemulic, New-kirk-patrick, Castle-hill, Duntocher, and Old-kirk-patrick; the whole being somewhat more than thirty-seven English miles in length. This wall seems to have been built for the forts, and therefore must have been posterior to them, which was the case with the pretentures of Adrian and Severus. The foundation was certainly stone, and some conduits were discovered, for the passage of water through it, either to keep the work dry, or for supplying the ditch with water. Its thickness is about four yards. It is carried, as much as could be, on the brow of eminences, so as to have a descent on the north. It had no such regular series of turrets as the wall of Severus had; but there are several exploratory mounts still visible, though the large forts upon this wall seem to have stood at regular distances. The work consists of a great ditch, larger than that of Severus; on the south-side has been the main agger, or rampart; and south from that runs the military way, which is large, and well paved; but not very high raised, and never leaves the wall above one hundred and forty yards at most; the whole of it, as appears by inscriptions, amounting to thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-six paces. By the same inscriptions we find, that the whole legio secunda Augusta, together with the vexillations of the twentieth legion and the sixth legion, were employed in raising this wall.

(3) Ἀπὸ τῆς οὐδοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Βρετανίᾳ Βριγαντῶν τὴν πόλιν, οὗ ἐπιστάτην καὶ οὗτοι σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἤρξαν τὴν Γενεῖαν μοῖραν, ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύσαν. Arcad.

(4) Fuit eo tempore etiam Parthicum bellum. Imminebat etiam Britannicum bellum, et Catti in Germaniam ac Rhetiam irruerant. Et adversus Britannos quidem Calphurnius Agricola missus est.—Ad Parthicum vero bellum, senatu consentiente, verus frater ejus missus est. Vit. M. Anton. Philos. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 169.

rection,

A. D. 177.

rection. (1) An ingenious Roman orator, in his speech made to an emperor upon such an occasion as this, compares him to the pilot of a vessel, who, by artfully guiding the helm, while others worked the ship, deserves the whole honour of the prosperous voyage, after a difficult navigation. It is surprizing that we have no particulars of the British wars, during this emperor's reign; nor can we so much as fix the limits of his empire here when he died.

At this period we must place king (2) Lucius, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more fully, in the history of the British church. The testimony of grave authors leaves no room to doubt of there having been such a prince; but that which ennobles and eternizes his fame, has debased and clouded his history; I mean his being a prince and a Christian. The monks, from this circumstance, thought themselves entitled to lay their sacrilegious hands upon his memory; the truth has been stifled under their ornaments, and scarce any more of this prince remains, beside the name he bore, and the religion he professed.

Commodus emperor.

The war breaks out in Britain.

Antoninus was succeeded by his son Commodus, who was joined in the imperial dignity in his father's life-time. We know in general, from the Roman writers, that the war broke out with great fury under

this emperor. The abridger of Dio says, that Commodus had many wars with foreign nations; but that with the Britons was the most dangerous of all. The northern Britons, it is probable, again broke through the Roman walls, and invaded them with great fury, putting all they met with to the sword. Commodus, fearing their progress, sent Marcellus Ulpianus against them. The virtues of this general bring to our minds all that we read of the first Romans; he was a pattern of moderation and temperance; as to his living, he indulged himself in nothing above his soldiers; and he had a greatness of soul, which placed him above all suspicion of being corrupted. Vigilance was a virtue very necessary against so active an enemy as the Caledonians were, and this he possessed in the greatest degree, from nature as well as habit. His custom was to write twelve billets every night, which he circulated amongst his officers, as intimations of his being awake, and of his expecting the like of them. These virtues, notwithstanding the softness of his disposition, gained him many singular advantages over the Britons; but his merits had almost brought him to the same fate which his predecessor Agricola met with. Commodus could no more bear with the virtues of the latter, than Domitian could suffer those of

A. D. 185.
Xiphilin.

Marcellus Ulpianus sent against the north Britons. His character.

His virtue endangers his safety.

(1) I am not quite certain whether this passage from Eumenius has not been misapplied by some of our antiquaries. Camden applies it to Antoninus the philosopher; but Casaubon, in his notes upon Capitolinus, has, I think, with much better reason, applied it to Antoninus the pious, who was a more sedentary prince, agreeable to the character given in this passage, which I shall give my reader: *Fronto Romanæ eloquentiæ non secundum sed alterum decus, cum belli in Britannia confecti laudem Antonino principi daret, quamvis ille in ipso urbis palatio residens gerendi ejus mandasset auspiciis. Veluti longæ navis gubernaculis præsentem, totius velificationis et cursus gloriam meruisse testatus est.* "Fronto, not a second, but a principal, ornament of Roman eloquence, when he ascribed to Antoninus the glory of finishing the British war (though that prince intrusted others with the management of it, while he himself remained in his palace at Rome) asserted, that, like the pilot of a gally, he deserved the praise of all the sailing and the voyage."

(2) Bishop Stillingfleet's conjecture, with regard to this prince, ought to have a place here. "But I do not deny," says he, "that there was such a person in this island, or that he had royal authority in some part of it, or that he was converted to Christianity at that time, or that the Christian church here flourished by his means. That there was such a person, who was a king and a Christian, is proved (besides the concurrence of so many authors from Bede's time) from the two coins mentioned by archbishop Usher (de Prim. p. 39, 40.) one silver, and the other gold, having an image of a king on them, with a cross, and the letters of L V C, as far as they could be discerned. But if it be farther asked, in what part of Britain this king Lucius lived, I shall only propose my conjecture, and leave it to the judgment of others. It is well known that the Romans were so well satisfied with the fidelity of Cogidunus, that they bestowed some cities upon him. And Tacitus saith, he continued firm to the Roman interest to his time. And where kings were faithful to them, the Romans were kind to their posterity, and kept them up in the same dignity as long as they behaved themselves as they expected from them. Of this we have a clear instance in Herod's posterity; for Archelaus, Herodes Antipas, and Philip, his sons, succeeded into their shares of his kingdom. Then Herod Agrippa, his grandchild by Aristobulus, was made king by Caius Caligula, whose government was enlarged by Claudius; and his brother Herod had the kingdom of Chalcis given him. Some time after his father's death, Claudius bestowed first the kingdom of Chalcis upon his son Agrippa, then the tetrarchy of Philip, which was enlarged afterwards by Nero; and he continued till the war, and was the last king over the Jews. Now, from hence, we observe, that the Romans thought it no ill policy, in some cases, to continue the same royal dignity to the children of those, who deserved so well of them as Cogidunus had done. And it seems most probable to me, that where Ptolemy places the Regni were the cities which Cogidunus had the rule over; not from the name, but from the circumstances of those places, which have fewer Roman monuments or towns than any other in Britain, and therefore were most likely still under their own prince, who kept up the British customs. Wherever the Romans inhabited, they may be traced by their ways, by their buildings, by their coins, by their urns, by their inscriptions; but scarce any thing of this nature could be found in Surrey, or Suffex, by the most diligent enquirers." The learned prelate's conjecture, in one respect, carries with it a great air of probability. The words of Bede are *Quorum temporibus cum Eleutherus vir sanctus pontificatus Romanæ ecclesiæ præfesset, misit ad eum Lucius Britanniarum rex epistolam, obsecrans ut per ejus mandatum Christianus efficeretur.* That is, "In whose times, when Eleutherus was bishop of Rome, Lucius, king of Britain, sent him a letter, begging him that he might become a Christian through his means." All the monkish authorities are unanimous in asserting this prince to have been king of Britain; though it is plain that nothing can be more absurd and ridiculous than such an assertion. But as to the learned prelate's conjecture, that this Lucius was king of the Regni, I am afraid the fact, upon which he founds it, is false. Besides Leland, many others have discovered a great number of Roman pieces of antiquity in several places of Surrey. The remains of Roman camps, military ways, tumuli, exploratory mounds, &c. upon the downs near Dorking and Leatherhead, are very striking. In short (except the northern counties) I know none in Britain that shew more evident marks of the Romans being settled here than Surrey does. That the Romans have been likewise settled in Suffex is very certain, from several remains of their antiquity; though it must be owned there are not near so many here as in Surrey, which may easily be accounted for, by its lying entirely out of their way. The fact, upon which this reasoning is founded, is mistaken, and the reasoning itself is inconclusive. That Cogidunus reigned in Suffex, is probable from the inscription I have already given; see note 5, p. 23. But it is very improbable that Lucius was his successor, though it is almost certain that, about this time, he reigned over some part of Britain; but that it could not be over the Regni, is, I think, pretty plain from the very reasons the right reverend author has given to support that opinion. The Romans were too good politicians to suffer any dependent of theirs, if vested with regal power, openly to profess and encourage a religion different from their own. Neither Antoninus the philosopher, nor his son Commodus, are of a character so indulgent to Christianity. But there were many nations at that time in Britain, independent enough of the Roman power to follow what religion, and to obey what princes, they pleased.

A. D. 188.

the former: however, with difficulty, he escaped falling a victim to the tyrant's jealousy.

The Roman discipline declines.

There is some difference among authors, with regard to the successor of Marcellus in the prætorship of Britain; but it is certain, that, after he was recalled, there was a great relaxation of the Roman military discipline here. Their armies, which, before, were generally commanded by senators, were now headed by knights, and the senators discharged. (1) The blame of this

Xiphilin.

Conjecture groundless.

Romans in Britain mutiny, and depute some of their body to carry their complaints to Rome.

They are met by Commodus at the gates,

to whom they accuse Perennis;

who is shamefully put to death by the soldiers, having been delivered up by the emperor.

The army in Britain not satisfied with this.

Pertinax comes to Britain.

fell upon Perennis, the then præfectus prætorio, and first minister to the emperor Commodus, who, abandoning himself to every criminal excess, committed all the affairs of the empire to his minister. Some writers have fancied, that Perennis was, about this time, prætor in Britain; but there is little reason for this conjecture: his authority, however, seems to have been so absolute at Rome, that the unpopularity of those removals were all thrown upon him. This bred such a ferment in the British army, that it proceeded, at last, to an open mutiny, which ended in a deputation of fifteen hundred of their body, who were sent to Rome, by their fellows, to demand justice. These deputies having come to the very gates of Rome, were met by Commodus in person, who demanded the reason of their approach. Their answer was, that they came to inform him of a conspiracy entered into by Perennis, with a view of advancing his son to the imperial throne. Perennis was the minister of his master's government, but not of his pleasures, and therefore had not sufficient hold of his affections to screen him from the resentment even of this inconsiderable body. The emperor, glad, perhaps, of this opportunity of sacrificing one, whom virtue had rendered both odious and formidable, delivered him into the hands of the enraged soldiers, who ignominiously put him to death.

But the fall of this minister was not sufficient to appease the discontent of the army in Britain; the grievances they complained of still continued; and they even talked of chusing a new emperor. Helius Pertinax, who was himself afterwards emperor, by his own personal merit, had raised himself to command the army sent against the Parthians, and was, at this time, in high reputation with the Roman soldiers. This general was thought the most proper person to quell the mutiny in Britain, though mentioned by the soldiers themselves as a fit successor to the empire. (2) Commodus, accordingly, wrote to desire him to pass over to Britain, and take upon him the command of the army. Pertinax obeyed, and gave a noble instance of fidelity in the

discharge of his trust; for the legions not being able to prevail with him to declare for himself, proceeded to violence, whereby Pertinax was wounded and left for dead in endeavouring to suppress them. Notwithstanding this, he, at last gained his point, and quelled the mutiny: being sensible, however, how unpopular he had become with the army, and how difficult it would be to reconcile himself to their affections, he desired to be recalled; but who his successor was does not appear.

(3) Clodius Albinus is the next prætor we meet with in Britain, under Commodus; but how long he continued in that station is uncertain. We are told, by a Roman historian, that this Albinus was a man of great birth and courage, and had commanded the Roman armies in Gaul with such success, that Commodus offered to have created him Cæsar, which the other wisely refused. A false report having obtained that Commodus was killed, Albinus, who thought his descent from a family eminent in the Roman republic raised him above the imperial dignity, in an assembly of the soldiers enveighed against the usurpation of emperors. He set before them the terrible consequences attending that government, under such monsters as Nero, Vitellius and Domitian. He then put them in mind of the Roman glory, under consuls, in which his own ancestors, the Albini Posthumi, had so considerable a share: and concluded with telling them, that he himself had refused the title of Cæsar. (4) An account of this speech being carried to Rome, it was no wonder if it nettled the emperor; his resentment, however, was not so violent as might have been imagined; all he did was to remove Albinus from the government of Britain, and appoint Julius Severus in his room.

There is some reason to doubt whether Albinus submitted to this removal; I am apt to think he never did. The Romans in Britain began now to look upon themselves as independent of the court of Rome. Their separation from the continent, the difficulty of transporting legions to reduce them, their having the one half of the island their friends, and their being sure that the other half would become so, whenever they should declare against the emperor, all contributed to confirm their contumacy. The great qualities of Albinus had gained their affections, which had been long averse from Commodus; so that there is reason for believing he still continued in his command, especially as no mention is made of any thing being done by his successor.

Commodus, before his death, notwithstanding all the disaffection that Britain had

A. D. 193.
His signal loyalty.

Is recalled at his own request.

Clodius Albinus prætor.

Julius Capitolinus.

On a report of the emperor's death he harangues against the usurpation upon the ancient republic.

Albinus removed.
Julius Severus appointed to succeed.

Reasons for the army in Britain continuing contumacious.

(1) Hic tamen Perennis qui tantum potuit, subito quod bello Britannico militibus equestri loci viros præfecerat, amotis senatoribus, prodita re per legatos, exercitus hostis appellatus lacerandusque militibus est deductus. *Ælius Lampridius.*

(2) Occiso fane Perenni, Commodus pertinaci satisfecit, eumque petiit per literas ut ad Britanniam proficisceretur: pro-fectusque milites ab omni seditione deterruit, quum illi quemcumque imperatorem vellent habere, et ipsum specialiter per-occisus, certe inter occisos relictus. Denique postea veniam legationis petiit accepto successore alimentorum cura ei mandata est deinde proconsul Africæ factus est. *Lampridius.*

(3) Quum Britannicos exercitus regerit jussu Commodi. *Script. Hist. Aug. p. 402.*

(4) Hæc concio Romam delata est, quæ Commodum in Albinum exasperavit, statimque successorem misit Julium Se-verum. *Ibid. p. 403.*

A. D. 195:
The frenzy of
Commodus.

Pertinax em-
peror.

The senate
addresses him
to associate
Albinus,
which he re-
fuses,

and publishes
letters written
by Commo-
dus to ruin
his credit with
the army.
Pertinax mur-
dered.

The empire
purchased by
Didius Juli-
anus.

He is, after a
short reign,
succeeded by
Sept. Severus.

Niger compe-
titor for the
empire.

Heraclitus
sent to Britain.
Albinus re-
fuses to re-
sign his com-
mand there.

shewn to his government and person, as-
sumed the name of Britannicus, with the same
consistency as he had assumed that of Pius
upon creating his mother's adulterer consul,
and Felix upon his murdering Perennis. He
was succeeded by Pertinax, who reigned but
three months and three days. The repu-
tation of Albinus was so high at this time,
that the senate addressed Pertinax to affo-
ciate him in the empire; but Pertinax,
who dreaded the republican principles of
Albinus, not only refused to do this, but pub-
lished a (1) letter, which Commodus wrote
to all his prætors and præfects, charging Al-
binus with ambitious views, in courting the
senate. As nothing could be more disagree-
able to the army than any step which looked
like restoring the credit or the power of the
senate, this discovery exasperated Albinus so
much, that it is said Didius Julianus, at
his instigation, murdered Pertinax, and pur-
chased the now vacant imperial dignity.

Didius Julianus, after a very short reign,
gave way to Septimius Severus. (2) The hi-
storian tells us, that Julianus, all his time,
thought himself sure of the army in Britain;
so that there is reason to believe that there
was a good understanding between him and
Albinus, and that the Britons were in his
interest. After the death of Julianus, a
competitor for the empire started up in the
person of Pescennius Niger. Severus, sen-
sible of the latent ambition of Albinus,
sought to strip him of his command in
Britain, and, for that purpose, sent one
Heraclitus to succeed him; but Albinus,
secure in the affections of his army, (3) re-
fused to resign his command. Though this
was, in effect, a disowning Severus as em-
peror; yet he thought fit to dissemble till

such time as he had rid himself of Pescen-
nius Niger. This dissimulation carried him
so far, that he preferred Albinus to the title
of Cæsar. The republican virtues of Albinus
were too weak to resist this bait, of which, af-
ter an awkward apology to his army for the
inconsistency of his conduct, he accepted.
He was now at the head of a brave nume-
rous army, devoted to his will; and Severus
carried his dissimulation to still a greater
point, by cajoling him with all the badges
and distinctions of association in empire.

The policy of Severus, in this conduct,
was both well laid and successful; he was
in no great danger of Albinus extending his
influence beyond the limits of Britain, and,
in case of any bad success with Pescennius
Niger, he was sure of a powerful resource.
Niger, however, being defeated, he began
to think how he could rid himself of Al-
binus, whose promotion stood in the way
of his own family, hitherto politically neg-
lected. Murderers were sent into Britain
to poison Albinus; but he being apprized,
torture drew from the murderers a confes-
sion of the emperor's treachery. Albinus
then thought proper to set up for himself;
accordingly he declared war against Severus,
and took upon himself the title of emperor
and Augustus.

Had the ambition of Albinus been con-
tented with reigning in Britain, there is
little room to doubt that he might have
lived and died an independent prince.
(4) But he passed over to the continent of
Gaul, and advanced as far as Lyons, where
he was met by Severus, at the head of a
Roman army, highly exasperated, through
his arts, at the conduct of Albinus. (5) The
two armies having joined battle, the cou-
rage

A. D. 196:

Artifice of the
emperor:

The em-
peror's at-
tempt on the
life of Al-
binus,
who assumes
the title of
emperor, and
declares war
against Se-
verus.

Then passes
over to Gaul.

(1) Has literas quum Pertinax invenisset in Albinus odium publicavit. Quare Albinus occidendi Pertinacis Juliano autor fuit, Julius Capitolinus in vita Clodii Albinus ad finem.

(2) Est Julianus quidem neque Britannicos exercitus, neque Illyricos timebat. Ibid. p. 305.

(3) There is great reason for doubting this fact; for the same author, in the life of Pescennius Niger, acquaints us, that Heracleas was sent, ad obtinendam Bithyniam, "to seize Bithynia." I have, however, admitted the fact, notwithstanding Salmasius being so strongly of opinion, that Bithynias ought to be read instead of Britannias, because of the difference of names betwixt Heraclius and Heraclitus, and because the authority of no copy is pretended for reading Bithynia instead of Britannia.

(4) Ως δε απηγγελη τω Αλβινω μημελλων ο Σεβηρος, αλλ' ηδη παρεσομενον υπηλκοντι, και τρυφωσι μεγαλην ταραχην ενεβαλλε. Πισταιωθεις δ' απο της Βρετανιας ες την ανηκειμενην Γαλλιαν ες τραστοπεδυσεν. Herodian, lib. iii. cap. 20. "For after Albinus understood that Severus was just at hand, he shook off his supineness, and the indulgence of his pleasure, which hitherto had employed his mind, and, in a great fright, instantly having left Britain, he pitched his camp on the opposite shore in France."

(5) Γενομενης δε συμβολης καρτερως, επι πλειστον μεν ισορροπον εμενον εκατεροις της νιχης η τυχη. Και γαρ οι Βρετανοι ανδρεια τε και θυμω φονικω, εδεν των Ιλλυριων απολειποιναι γεναιων εν στρατων μαχομενων η θαλερον εαδια ην η τρωπη ως δ' τινες των τοτε ισουρησαν, η παρ' χαριν αλλα προς αληθειαν λεγοντες, πολυ τι υπερεσχεν η φαλαγγς του Αλβινου στρατου, καθ' ο μερ' ελειακτο Σεβηρος, και ο συν αυτω στρατος, ως φυγειν τεαυτον, και τυ υπησ εκπεσειν, απορριψα δε την χλαμυδα την βασιλικην λαθειν. Ηδη δε διωκομενων και παιανιζομενων των Βρετανων, ως δη νειννηκοτων, επιφανιναι Λασιον τραηγον οσα Σεβηρος, συν τω στρατω ηρχεν ακμησι τε οντι και εξω μαχης γεγοσι. Herodian, lib. iii. cap. 21, 22. "After they were engaged, the battle was long doubtful, so equally matched were their forces, the Britons no way yielding to the Illyrians either in courage or fierceness; therefore, in the first charge of those two powerful armies, victory inclined to neither side. Some authors of that age, who write not from affection but with impartiality, tell us, that the army of Albinus had by far the better against that wing which was commanded by Severus; so that the latter fled, and fell from his horse, and endeavoured to conceal himself by throwing away his imperial habit. But the Britons being full in pursuit, and exulting as if already possessed of victory, Lætus, one of Severus's generals, immediately presented himself with a fresh army." We are told by Xiphilin, that the two generals had fifty thousand men on a side. The same author gives us a very particular account of this battle, which, as it appears on one side to have been fought by Britons, I shall transcribe in these notes; for, as it was not fought in a British quarrel, it has no right to a place in the history. "The battle between the two competitors for the empire, was fought near Lyons. There were fifty thousand men of a side, with Severus and Albinus at the head of the respective forces; for, in all appearance, this battle was to determine not only their fortunes, but their lives. Severus had never been present in an engagement before, yet he surpassed Albinus in the art of war, as he was exceeded by him in birth and learning. In the first encounter, Albinus had the advantage over Lupus, one of the lieutenants of Severus, and had cut off great part of his men. The second had a mixture of different and reciprocal successes. The left wing of Albinus's army was, at the first shock, put into disorder and routed. Now, while Severus's men, instead of pursuing them, stopped short to plunder their baggage and equipage, the enemy, having ditches before them covered with earth and leaves, advanced upon the very borders of them, gave a volley of arrows, and retired out of a seeming fear. The soldiers of Severus's army, being provoked at this attack, and at the same time despising the retreat that followed it, advanced towards them with eager haste, as if the ground had been firm and secure, and fell directly into the snare. The next that followed them fell upon them. They who were backward enough to stop and retreat, broke the ranks of those who were behind. There was

A. D. 206.

A bloody battle between him and Severus near Lyons.

At first, victory declares on his side; but, at length, changes to that of Severus.

Albinus, seeing he had lost the battle, falls on his own sword.

Lupus prætor of the northern parts of Britain.

The success of the Caledonians against the Romans is the supposed reason for the prætor's sending for Severus.

who is glad of the opportunity to go into Britain.

The Caledonians and Meatae unite against the Romans.

rage of the Britons routed the army of Severus, who betook to shameful flight, having cast away his diadem and imperial robes; but Lætus, Severus's general, with a fresh body of men, restoring the fight, changed the fortune of the day, and Albinus, seeing the battle lost, fell upon his own sword.

Severus was now sole master of the Roman empire; but we have no account from history of his reduction of Britain after the death of Albinus. Our historians, from the authority of (1) Herodotus, generally agree, that, after the death of Albinus, Severus divided the government of Britain into two provinces. We are certain that Virius Lupus was prætor in the northern parts; but who the other governor was does not so clearly appear.

We are in the dark, with regard to all the particular transactions in Britain under the prætors, till the arrival of Severus himself in this island; but, in general, it is certain, that things must have been in the greatest disorder. There are the strongest reasons for believing that the Caledonians had driven the Romans back as far as Adrian's wall, and that the latter were upon the point of being driven farther still southward, when Virius Lupus, the prætor, was obliged to send for Severus in person.

Severus, at this time, was sixty years of age; his person full of infirmities, but his mind as active as ever. The dissolute lives of his sons, and the degeneracy of discipline amongst his soldiers, made him glad of this opportunity to reform the one, and revive the other; beside the agreeable prospect which a successful expedition offered of his acquiring the surname of Britannicus. The two people complained of by the prætor, were the Caledonians and the Meatae, the former inhabiting Scotland, the others that tract of land lying between the walls raised by Antoninus Pius and Adrian. These two people, having joined together, had agreed to attack the Romans, and shake off their yoke; the Roman prætor having in vain endeavoured to purchase the friendship of the Meatae.

Severus, though not able to walk by reason of the gout, set out upon the expedition in his litter, with all the alacrity and spirit of a young man. Britain, by this time, was considered as the most important province of any belonging to the Romans; and Severus seems to have employed the

whole power of his empire in securing it from farther insults. The army he carried over, when joined with that he found here, was much superior to any force the Britons had ever seen in one body. Severus, advancing towards Adrian's rampart, found the devastations committed by the Britons to be beyond expression. Here the Britons sent a deputation to appease him, and to treat of peace; but this by no means agreeing with the emperor's intentions, he dismissed the deputies, and proceeded in his military dispositions, having first appointed his younger son, Geta, for the administration of civil affairs among the southern Britons, and carrying his other son along with him in his expedition.

By all the histories which have come to our hands, Severus, who was himself a great soldier, attended by, and at the head of, an almost invincible army, met with difficulties which must have made him drop his design, had he not aimed at the extension rather of his glory than of his dominions. But the surname of Britannicus was too magnificent a distinction for him to forego through any consideration of loss. His first care was to cut down woods, to level heights, to lay

The description we have of the Britons, who were subdued by Severus, renders them a very terrible people. We are told that they used to swim through the marshes and fens, being quite naked; that they painted their bodies with several figures of different animals; they were bloody and warlike; their arms a little shield and spear, with a sword hanging from their naked bodies, but without breast-plate or helmet. As this agrees pretty much with the accounts we have from Cæsar and other authors, I think there is little or no reason to doubt that these Britons, against whom Severus marched, were of the same extraction and original, and indeed the same people with those whom Cæsar found here, only inhabiting different parts of the country. There is some variation among authors with regard to the progress of Severus's arms. We are told, by Herodian, that he had a great

A. D. 206.

Severus advances towards Adrian's wall. The Britons send him deputies, he proceeds notwithstanding.

He commits the civil government to Geta, his younger son.

Herodian, Xiphilin.

He makes roads, &c.

Herodian.

A description of the Britons in those days.

The clashing of authors with regard to the progress of Severus,

"was a very great destruction of men and horses that fell into these ditches. They who were beyond them were galled by the darts to which they were exposed. Severus, hearing of the danger they were in, advanced at the head of his guards to give them succour; but, instead of bringing any relief, he exposed himself and his troops to the hazard of being all cut off. His horse was killed under him; and his person, thus dismounted, ran a very great risk. When he saw his men routed, he rent his cloaths, and threw himself into the midst of them sword in hand, to bring them back to the charge by his example and the sting of his reproaches, or at least to be involved in their misfortune. Some of them, awed by his presence, stopped, and, facing about, fell foul upon one of their own parties, whom they mistook for their foes. Then they attacked their real enemies, pursued them in their turn, and put them to the rout. The horse, commanded by Lætus, charged them in flank at the same time, and finished the defeat. This Lætus had been unconcerned in the action as long as the event appeared doubtful, in hopes that Severus and Albinus would destroy each other, and those soldiers which should survive the battle might chuse him emperor; but when he saw that Severus had won the field, he pursued his enemies, and finished the great decision. Albinus fled to a house near the Rhone; but, when he found it invested, he slew himself. I relate the matter just as it passed, and not as Severus was pleased to describe it."

(1) The words of Herodian are *Διοίκησας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Βρετανίαν, καὶ διελὼν εἰς δύο πηγμονίας τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξουσίαν*. Lib. iii. cap. 24. "The affairs of Britain, therefore, being settled, a double government was appointed in the island."

many

A. D. 206.

A. D. 207.

many skirmishes with the Britons; and, by Dion, that he neither fought any battle, nor saw any enemies in a body; and that they exposed their flocks and herds as baits for the Roman soldiers to carry off, that thereby the Britons might have an opportunity of surprizing, and cutting them in pieces. Both these historians agree that the Britons followed the maxims of Cassibelan in making war, by suddenly attacking open straggling parties, and as quickly retreating, before any general action could ensue. That this way of making war was very successful, is plain from the intolerable fatigues which the Roman army underwent. We are told, by Dion, that some of their soldiers were so much harrassed and fatigued by their march, that they begged of their companions to put an end to their wretched lives, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy; and that Severus lost fifty thousand men in this expedition. The expence, the trouble,

the fatigues, the losses this emperor had suffered, were of greater advantage to the Caledonians than any victory. Trusting to the inaccessible passes of their country, they enjoyed the distresses of the Romans, while they themselves were safe from their approaches. Severus, however, obstinately pursued his expedition; a proof of the prodigious army he had raised, since he was, after the loss of fifty thousand men, in a condition to proceed. Xiphilin says, that he forced the Britons to a peace; and that he was carried to the very extremity of the island in a close chair. But Herodian, who is more general in his account, takes no notice of this peace, and gives us reason to believe that none was concluded till after the death of Severus. Xiphilin farther informs us, that, by (1) treaty; the barbarians were obliged to relinquish to him part of their country. It is certain that Severus carried a new (2) wall quite across the island, so very near to the rampart of

Severus forces the Britons to accept of peace.

They are obliged to give up some lands. Severus draws a wall from sea to sea.

Who loses 50,000 men in his northern expedition.

(1) Though we have no account of the British history, independent of the Romans, at this time, yet, from a circumstance which deserves to be related here, we learn that one of their princes was named Argentocoxus. The wife of this prince was one day rallied by the empress Julia, with whom she was grown familiar, with the favours which the British ladies bestowed promiscuously upon different men. "It is true, Madam, replied the British fair, we are proud to please men of merit; and we do, in the face of the sun, with the bravest of our countrymen, what your ladies do in corners with the meanest and most scandalous of theirs." This lady has, I think, had great injustice done her by our severe historians; for while they applaud her wit, they give up her virtue. I shall therefore, on this occasion, give the reader the remark of Sir William Temple, which is equally elegant and solid; and, though far from justifying this practice, at least, sets it in a clear light. "One custom there was among the Britons, which seems peculiar to themselves, and not found in the stories of any other nations, either civil or barbarous; which was a society of wives among certain numbers, and by common consent. Every man married a single woman, who was always after and alone esteemed his wife; but it was usual for five or six, ten or twelve, or more, either brothers or friends, as they could agree, to have all their wives in common. Encounters happened among them, as they were invited by desire, or favoured by opportunity. Every woman's children were attributed to him that had married her; but all had a share in the care and defence of the whole society, since no man knew which were his own. Though this custom be alledged as a testimony how savage and barbarous a people the Britons were, yet I know not why it should appear more extravagant than the community of women in some other countries; the deflowering of virgins by the priest the first night of their marriage; the unlimited number of wives and concubines; not to mention the marriage of sisters among the ancient Egyptians and Athenians, and the borrowing and lending of wives among the Romans. On the other side, it may be alledged, for some excuse of these our ancestors, that by such a custom they avoided the common mischiefs of jealousy, the injuries of adultery, the confinement of single marriages, the luxury and expence of many wives or concubines, and the partiality of parents in the education of all their own children: all which are considerations that have fallen under the care of many famous law-givers." Temple's Introduction.

(2) As I have done of the other pretences, so I shall give some account of this. Notwithstanding what is said by some eminent writers, it is certain this wall was quite different from that of Adrian, though in the main it ran through the same tract of ground; but, by Mr. Horsley's account, it extended farther at each end than did that of Adrian. It has, all along on the south, a paved military way, though not always running parallel, in breadth about seventeen foot, and sometimes coincides with Adrian's north agger; but where the latter is too distant or inconvenient, it proceeds separately. Mr. Horsley believes that there might have been likewise a smaller military way, for the conveniency of small parties passing from one turret to another. This wall likewise has a large ditch on the north; but there is no direct proof that ever an agger belonged to it. It had certain castella, or towers, placed upon it at proper distances, generally less than a mile, one from another. These, excepting one, which was perhaps older than the wall, were sixty-six foot square, the wall itself forming the north side of each. It likewise had turrets, probably four betwixt every two castella, at the distance of three hundred and eighteen yards one from another; and, by the few remains of them, appear to have been four yards square at the bottom. Thus the centinels placed upon them, being within call one of another, a ready communication was kept up through the whole extent of the wall. Upon or near this wall were seventeen forts, or stations, each larger considerably than the castella, and these stood at uncertain distances one from another; but they were thickest and strongest at the two extremities, and in the middle. It runs generally on the top of high ground, both for strength and prospect; and often through places, through which it would have been impracticable to have carried Adrian's vallum; and extends, in the whole, sixty-eight miles, a hundred and sixty-nine paces. The thickness of it appears not to have been every where equal; sometimes it measures seven foot, four inches, at the foundation; but where the sea water has come up to it, as at Boulness, nine foot. The wall itself was built of freestone; the stones in the heart of the wall being broad and thin, set edgewise, and cemented by pouring upon them liquid mortar. The foundation sometimes is strengthened with oaken piles. The breadth and depth of its ditch is uncertain; but seem to have been about ten foot deep, and twelve foot or more over. The whole was begun at Segedunum, or Cousins-house on the Tine, and carried westward to Timocelum, or Boulness. This wall is mentioned neither by Xiphilin nor Herodian, though the former mentions that the Meata dwelt near the wall which divides the island into two parts. It is, however, mentioned by Spartian in the following words: Arabas in dedicationem accepit. Adiabenos in tributarios coegit. Britanniam (quod maximum ejus imperii decus est) muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad sinum oceani munivit: unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit. "He received the submission of the Arabians; he compelled the Adiabeni to become tributary, and fortified Britain (which is the greatest glory of his reign) with a wall drawn cross the island from sea to sea; whence also he took the name of Britannicus." And Aurelius Victor says, Ob hæc tanta Arabicum, Adiabenicum, et Parthici cognomina patres dixerunt. His majora aggressus, Britanniam quæ ad ea utilis erat, pulsus hostibus muro munivit, per transversam insulam ducto utrimque ad sinum oceani. For these so great exploits, the senate complimented him with the surnames of Arabicus, Adiabenicus, and Parthicus. He still proceeding to greater things, having repelled the enemy in Britain, fortified the country which was suited to that purpose, with a wall drawn cross the island from sea to sea." The same author, in an abridgment, makes the extent of this wall to be but thirty-two miles, as Eutropius makes it to be but thirty-five. "But as to that abridgment of the Roman history, under the name of Aurelius Victor (says Mr. Innes in his Critical Essay) the author is uncertain, as well as the time he lived in, and the genuine and undoubted work of Aurelius Victor, as we shall see presently, gives much the same account of Severus's wall as Spartian; that it was bounded on each side by the ocean, without any further account of its dimensions. As to Eutropius, though the vulgar editions give but thirty-two miles to Severus's wall, there is just ground to believe, that the ancient copies had a C or L before the numerical letters XXXII; since St. Hierome, near Eutropius's time, who follows him, hath CXXXII. Orosius, about the same time, gives the same dimension; and, after them, Cassiodorus, Ado, Nennius, and others, who give all CXXXII miles to Severus's wall: in which it is highly probable, that the numerical letter, L, hath been, by error of the transcriber, altered into that of C, these two letters being easily confounded in ancient MSS. and there being no place in Britain that hath CXXXII miles of breadth; which have apparently given occasion to critics to cut off the C in the editions of Eutropius, whereas there is no likelihood of St. Hierome's adding C to the number he found in Eutropius." Critical Essay, p. 15.

A. D. 208.

Where the
lands surren-
dered lay un-
certain.

Adrian (1), that some authors think it was built upon the same foundation. Now we are to presume, that wherever Severus built this wall, he would naturally include within it that tract of country given up by this treaty. Hence, if there really was such a peace, it is very probable that the Caledonians possessed lands to the southward of Adrian's wall, when Severus entered upon his expedition, and that these were the very lands given up by the treaty: though I am not ignorant that some learned writers are of opinion, that the above cession was of all that space which lies between the Scots wall, raised by Lollius Urbicus, and that of Adrian, which they suppose had been inhabited by the Meatae. But I can see no ground for this surmise, when the improbability of Severus leaving so large a country without that wall is considered; for it plainly appears, from its strength, that he intended it as a barrier of the Roman empire in Britain. Beside, the manner in which the proprætor Lupus wrote to him is a plain intimation that the Caledonians had advanced a considerable way to the south of Adrian's wall when Severus landed upon the island.

Severus re-
turns to York,
leaves his el-
der son to
command the
army and
carry on his
works.

It is probable that the wall built by Severus was finished during the time the treaty between him and the Caledonians subsisted. He was now very aged and infirm, and had returned to York, leaving the command of the army with the direction of his great works to his son Antoninus, afterwards known by the name of Caracalla. This young prince, who possessed all his father's

bad, but none of his good, qualities, excepting his patience in military toils, had been long in (2) plots and conspiracies against his life, and sometimes openly had attempted to murder him. The parental weakness of the old emperor still pardoned him; but the son being now at the head of the army, the Caledonians, either unused to the violences committed by his command, or at least by his connivance, or thinking this a favourable opportunity, again took arms, together with the Meatae. The old man, still full of spirit and resentment, was carried to the camp, where, in a speech to his soldiers, he applied a verse of Homer, implying, that they should put all to the sword, even the children in the mother's belly. The inconsistency of authors, who write of those times, leave us in the dark as to the immediate consequence of this menace. Whether he again marched in person against the Caledonians, or committed the management of the war to his son Bassianus; but, from a circumstance we find in Spartian, we have reason to think, that he lived to see peace re-established. This author tells us, that, before he died, his words were, “(3) I received the government when it was in universal distraction; I leave it in tranquility even to the Britons. Old and gouty as I am, I leave to my Antonini my empire, firmly established, if they prove worthy men; but feebly, if they are worthless (4).”

A. D. 210.
Caracalla's
character.

The Caledo-
nians and
Meatae again
take arms.
Severus re-
turns to the
camp, ha-
rangues his
soldiers.

Severus himself assumed the name of

(1) These mistakes, however rectified by the conjectures of ingenious men, led so great a man as Buchanan into a surprising error. He tells us, that the wall built by Severus, was drawn betwixt the friths of Clyde and Forth. His words are as follow: *Finem Romani imperii vallum duxit, inter Bodotriæ et Glottæ æstuarium, ubi antea Agricola finire provinciam decreverat. Id vallum, qua Carrontem amnem attingit, præsidium habuit, eo situ et viarum descriptione, ut modicæ urbis instar esset, quam nostrorum quidam falso Camelodunum fuisse, existimant.* “He drew a ditch, as the boundary of the Roman empire, betwixt the friths of Forth and Clyde.”

(2) Though these incidents happened in Britain, yet, not being proper to be inserted in the body of a General History, I shall give them in the words of Xiphilin. “In the mean time, the debauched course of life that his son Antoninus led, gave him very sharp disquiets; he foresaw that he would certainly get rid of his brother Geta when he had an opportunity, and he knew that he had lain snares for himself. This wicked son went out of his tent one day, making loud complaints of Castor, the most deserving of any of his father's officers, to whom Severus intrusted his most secret thoughts, and the guard of his head-quarters. He had persuaded some soldiers to join with him in his clamours, and to make a disturbance; but they were hushed at the sight of Severus, who appeared in the instant, and ordered the most mutinous to be seized and punished. Another time, as Severus and Antoninus went to meet the Caledonians, in order to receive their arms, and to confer with them about the conditions of peace, being both on horseback at the head of the army that followed them, the army of the enemy being also near at hand, Antoninus stopped his horse, drew his sword, and was going to stick it into the back of Severus his father. Those who were behind cried out, and, by their shrieks, stopped his hand. Severus turned back at the noise, saw the naked sword, and said not a word. Having, some time after, ascended his tribunal, and dispatched some affairs, he went to the prætorium and sent for his son, Papinian, and Castor. Then, putting a sword in the midst of them, he upbraided Antoninus with his insolent design of attempting upon his life, and of committing so horrid a crime in presence of the allies and enemies of the Roman people. It is easy for you, added he, to kill me, if you have such a desire; I am old, and almost without motion; but if your own hand abhors the action, employ that of Papinian, præfectus prætorio, who will not fail to execute what you command him, since you are in possession of the imperial dignity. Severus was satisfied with speaking to him after this manner, without using great severity, though he would often blame Marcus Aurelius for not putting Commodus to death. He would sometimes threaten Antoninus hard; but then he was in anger, and his threats were vain and insignificant, since he really had a greater tenderness for his children than for the republic. Yet one cannot excuse him for having been the cause of the death of the younger, and for having, in some sort, delivered him over to his brother, who was to put him to death.”

(3) *Turbatam rempub. ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Britannis relinquo, senex et pedibus æger, firmum imperium Antoninis meis relinquens, si boni erunt; imbecillum, si mali.* *Ælius Spartianus in Vit. Severi.*

(4) There is another passage in Spartian, which gives light to two important particulars; first, that Severus died while a peace subsisted with the Caledonians; secondly, that the wall he had built must have been in the north of England. I will give the passage as I find it: *Post murum aut vallum missum in Britannia, quum ad proximam mansionem rediret, non solum victor, sed etiam in æternum pace fundata, volvens animo quid omnis sibi occurreret, Æthiops quidam e numero militari, claræ inter scurras fumæ et celebratorum semper jocorum, cum corona e cupressu facta eidem occurrit. Quem quum ille iratus removeri ab oculis præcepisset, et coloris ejus tactus omine et coronæ, dixisse ille dicitur joci causa totum fuisse, totum vicisti, jam deus esto victor. Et in civitatem veniens, quum rem divinam vellet facere, primum ad Bellonæ templum ductus est errore aruspiciis rustici, deinde hostiæ survæ sunt applicitæ.* “After the British wall was finished, when he had returned, not only victorious, but the founder of an eternal peace, to the next dwelling, as he was ruminating on the omen that might offer, a certain Æthiopian of the army, who was a celebrated jester, met him with a cypress crown upon his head. The emperor, in a passion, ordered him to be taken out of his sight, being touched by the ominous crown, and the colour of its wearer; when the other, for the joke's sake, is reported to have said, You have been all, you have vanquished all, now be a god in your conquests! And when he came to the city, and wanted to perform a sacrifice, he was led, by the mistake of a country soothsayer, to the temple of Bellona, and then dark-coloured sacrifices were offered.” From this passage, which Spartian gives us as happening immediately before the death of Severus, it should appear, that at the time of his death he had concluded a peace, which, he thought, would be eternal. In the next place, the historian speaks as if there had been but one station betwixt the wall and the civitas, which must have been York; so that the wall spoken of here, cannot be supposed to have been that in Scotland.

Britannicus,

A. D. 238.
He assumes the surname of Britannicus major, having given his son Geta that of Britannicus. He is succeeded by his two sons.

Britannicus, sometimes being called Britannicus major, to distinguish him from his son Geta, to whom he likewise gave the name of Britannicus (1).

He was succeeded in his empire by his two sons, Bassianus and Geta, whom he left in a joint government. The former, now named Caracalla, soon after his father's decease, made peace, as we are told by Herodian, with the Caledonians; but I am apt to think that this was rather a confirmation of the peace already concluded in his father's life-time. Be that as it will, it is pretty certain, that, upon his departure for Italy, the main boundary of the Roman empire in Britain was the wall built by his father. It is probable, however, that the Romans had several advanced stations to the north of the wall, in the country of the Meatae; but these we cannot suppose to have been of any consequence, farther than to serve as exploratory posts, that the main body of the wall might not be surprized. The departure of these two emperors from Britain may be fixed in the year 211. Now follows a large chasm with regard to the Roman affairs in Britain. We have no mention of any immediate governor succeeding to Varius Lupus; the first we meet with is in the year 238, under the reign of Gordian III; his name is Mæcilius Fuscus; and we should have had no intimation of this legate, had it not been for an (2) inscription found in the bishopric of Durham. All we learn of him, is that he repaired the barracks and arsenals which had fallen into decay. The next legate, whose

A. D. 259.
Cneius Lucilianus governor here.

name we meet with, is Cneius Lucilianus, and he too is recorded only in another inscription (3) implying that he built a bath, with an exchange, or portico. This legate may be placed about the year 240. We have another legate preserved in another (4) inscription, his name Nonius Philippus, under the consulate of Atticus and Prætectatus, which fixes the time of his being legate here to the year 242, the year before the emperor Gordian was slain.

We have nothing material relating to the British history, during the reigns of the succeeding emperors, till we come to that of Publius Licinius Galienus, under whom thirty tyrants sprung from the corruption of his government. Britain, by being severed from the continent, was more inaccessible than any other part of the Roman empire, therefore more difficult to be reduced, and more liable to those petty usurpations. Hence it would appear, that six of those tyrants, namely, Lollianus, Victorianus, Posthumus, the elder and the younger Tetricus, with Marius, declared for themselves in this island. But all the proof we have of this is only presumptive, from the number of their coins, particularly those of Victorinus and Posthumus, which are found in England, especially about Colchester (5).

Marcus Aurelius Flavius Claudius, who succeeded Galienus, might have reunited the Roman empire under one head, had he not died suddenly as he was preparing to reduce Tetricus, who then held the western provinces, and possibly was in possession of Britain (6).

The time of the two emperors departure from Britain.

Mæcilius Fuscus Roman governor in Britain.

Several petty tyrants.

(1) Geoffrey having found, says bishop Stillingfleet, that Severus the emperor died in Britain, thought it most for the honour of our country to kill him fairly in battle; and therefore, by power of fancy, he creates one Fulgenius to be general against him, who being overpowered here at home, went and fetched in the Picts out of Scythia, and with their aid fought Severus and killed him, and was killed together for company; all which was Geoffrey's own proper invention. And then having found that Severus left a son, Bassianus, that was his successor in the Roman empire, he makes his Britons set up this Bassianus to be their king on his mother's account, who must be the sister of Fulgenius. Then having found that Britain was governed by Carausius some time after, though he knew not when, putting these together, he makes the afore-mentioned emperor Bassianus (being betrayed by the Picts that came in with his uncle Fulgenius) to be killed in the fight by this Carausius, though there was a distance of some seventy years between them. But that was nothing with Geoffrey; he wrote, I dare say, what might be true, for aught he knew. Nor has Geoffrey erred alone, but has also led John Fordun and Hector Boethius, the Scotch historians, into the same error; who, as the said learned bishop observes, makes this Fulgenius, whom they call a British consul (his name a little altered into Fulgentius) to have headed the Scots and Picts in this war with Severus. But I need say no more of this; for Geoffrey being once exposed, as he deserves, those that write from him will need no other confutation.

(2) Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus pius felix Augustus principia et armamentaria colapsa restituit per Mæciliium Fuscum legatum Augustalem propraetorem curante Marco Aurelio Quirino praefecto cohortis primae legionis Gordianae.

(3) Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus pius felix Augustus balneum cum basilica a solo instruxit per Cneium Lucilianum legatum Augustalem propraetorem curante Marco Aurelio Quirino praefecto cohors primae legionis Gordianae.

(4) IOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO
PRO SALUTE IMPERATORIS MARCI ANTONII GORDIANI PII FELICIS INVICTI
AUGUSTI ET SABINIAE FURIAE TRANQUILLAE CONJUGIS EJUS TOTAQUE
DOMU DIVINA EORUM ALD. AUG. GORDIANA OB VIRTUTEM APPELLATA POSUIT
CUI PRAEEST AEMILIUS CRISPINUS
PRAEFECTUS EQUITUM NATUS
PROVINCIA AFRICA DE TUSDRIO
SUB CURA NONNII PHILIPPI LEGATI
AUGUSTALIS PROPRAETORIS ATTICO ET PRAETEXTATO CONSULIBUS.

(5) Porphyry, the philosopher who lived about these times, called Britain "a soil fruitful in tyrants."

(6) There is an inscription in Cumberland to the following effect, as read by Mr. Horsley :

IOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO
COHORS PRIMA AELIA
DACORUM TETRICIANA
ROMANA [VEL TETRICIANORUM] CUI PRAEEST
PUBLIUS OLULICIUS
DESIGNATUS TRIBUNUS.

This cohort is likewise called Gordianiani in other inscriptions; for particular legions, long before this time, affected the names of the leaders whom they chose to follow; and probably this legion had declared for Tetricus.

We

A. D. 277.

We have now no occurrence in Britain for seventeen years, viz. between the years 259 and 276, when Probus was emperor. Under him Proculus and Bonofus (the latter said to have been a Briton by birth) assumed the imperial purple, and laid claim to Britain, Spain and Gaul. It would appear, from the historian's words, that they were abetted by the Britons. Bonofus had great military merit, and, under several emperors, had raised himself from a low to a high rank in the army. He was noted for intemperance in drinking, which, we are told, he converted into a political quality; for he generally invited the embassadors of foreign nations to entertainments, where, after making them drunk, he got from them their secrets and designs, which he communicated to his masters (1). He was defeated by Probus soon after his declaring himself emperor.

We have a very remarkable circumstance in the reign of this emperor; for the historian tells us, that he permitted the Britons to have vines, and to make wine (2).

Zozimus.

We are told, by another historian, (3) that, having subdued the Vandals and Burgundians, he transplanted a great many of them into Britain, where they were of great service to the Romans in several insurrections that afterwards happened.

Under the same emperor a governor was recommended to him for Britain, by his general and minister Victorinus Maurus. The name of this governor is uncertain; by some thought to be Cornelius Lælianus, and, by others, Saturninus: but, whoever he was, he set up for himself. Victorinus, reproaching himself with the disloyalty of his favourite, took a sudden resolution of crushing the rebel. The better to succeed, he passed over to Britain, where he was received by the tyrant with great affection. By this time he was in arms, so that Victorinus might have found it difficult, if not impracticable, to have reduced him by force,

The emperor's general in Britain sets up for himself.

Victorinus passes into Britain.

he therefore watched his opportunity, and dispatching him by night, quelled the rebellion. As we have no chronological order in these matters, it is very probable that, upon this occasion, the Vandals and Burgundians, whom we have already mentioned, were very serviceable in preserving the imperial authority in this island.

Carus, who succeeded to the imperial purple in the year 282, associated with himself his two sons, Carinus and Numerian. To the former he gave Britain, with other provinces. This prince is represented by the historian as a monster of impurity; and we may easily suppose, that, vested as he was with imperial authority, the Britons, as well as the other provinces, smarted severely under his sway; but he gave way to Dioclesian, a brave and an active prince, who admitted Maximian to a share of the empire with himself, and each of them appointed a Cæsar; for so the heirs apparent to the imperial dignity were termed (4).

The irruptions of the northern nations began now to be very troublesome to the Roman empire, and the coasts of Gaul and Britain were infested by the fleets of the Franks and Saxons. For this reason a commission was given to one Carausius, a Menapiian by birth, of mean extraction, but one who had raised himself to great reputation and command in sea affairs, to check these barbarians. Carausius, having an eye to his own profit, rather than to the discharge of his duty, suffered the pirates to continue their descents upon those coasts; but, falling upon them in their return, laden with booty, he stripped them of all, though without returning the effects to their first owners, or accounting for them to the imperial exchequer. Thus the emperor, the empire, and even the pirates themselves were robbed by this commissioned freebooter. His practices reaching the ears of Maximilianus his principal, orders were given to put him to death. The independency

A. D. 289.

Britain assigned by Carus, the emperor, to his son Carinus.

Franks and Saxons infest the British coasts, and those of Gaul. Carausius commissioned to restrain them.

He prefers his own interest to the people's. To enrich himself, suffers the enemy to make a great booty, of which he spoils them in their return, and keeps to himself.

He is ordered to be put to death.

(1) Si quando legati barbarorum undecunque gentium venissent, ipsis propinabat, ut eos inebriaret, atque ab his per vinum cuncta cognosceret. Ipse quantumlibet bibisset, semper securus et sobrius. Vopiscus.

(2) Casaubon, on this passage of Vopiscus, has a very impertinent note. He tells us, that he cannot see with what propriety the Britons can be said to have obtained this privilege, because, says he, all the world knows the soil of Britain is not now fit for vines, and it is the same now as ever. But the fact is otherwise; for though perhaps in Casaubon's time, no vines grew in this island, yet it is certain a great many do now. We are far from pretending that the British soil is equal to that of the continent for this culture; but if there now grow great quantities of grapes in Britain, of which even some wine is made, though not much, we may easily suppose that, in those days, before the ground was impoverished by frequent culture, when possessed of all the luxuriancy of nature, our ancestors had much larger quantities of vines than we have now; nay, it is very possible they might have made wine enough to satisfy themselves in their then sober, frugal manner of living. There is a passage in Suetonius, from which I am apt to believe that neither the Britons, nor the other provinces, were entirely destitute of wine before this time; for he tells us, that "Domitian, in the virtuous part of his reign, observing that the great quantities of vines which were planted, had occasioned the other parts of agriculture to be neglected, made an edict, that no new vineyards should be made in Italy, and that, at least, half of the vines in the other provinces should be cut down." His words are, Ad summam quondam ubertatem vini, frumenti vero inopiam, exultans nimio vinearum studio negligi arva, edixit nequis in Italia novellaret; atque in provinciis vineta succiderentur, relicta, ubi plurimum, dimidia parte.

(3) There is a remarkable intrenchment upon Gogmagog-hills, which, with some colour of reason, we may suppose to have been made by these Vandals. I shall give Camden's words: "This camp seems to be the place that Gervase of Tilbury calls Vandelbiria, because the Vandals, when they ruined some parts of Britain, and cruelly destroyed the Christians, did encamp there; pitching their tents on the top of a little hill, where lies a plain surrounded with trenches, with only one entrance, and that like a gate."

(4) We have an inscription in Cheshire, which the learned, I think with great justice, ascribe to Dioclesian and Maximian. It is upon an altar, which was found in Forrest's-street, in the city of Chester, in the year 1653; and is as follows:

PRO SALUTE DOMINORUM NOSTRORUM INVICTISSIMORUM AUGUSTORUM GENIO LOCI FLAVIUS LONGUS TRIBUNUS MILITUM LEGIONIS VICISSIMÆ VICTRICIS ET LONGINUS FILIUS EJUS DOMO SAMOSATA VOTUM SOLVERUNT.

A medal, inscribed F. L. CONSTANTIVS. NOB. C. was found along with the altar; which medal, according to Camden, carried upon it the face of Constantius.

with

A. D. 290.

with which the Roman commanders acted about this time upon the frontiers of the empire, now more infested than ever with barbarians, produced the swarms of tyrants which infested those times. The enormity of their offences were their motives for empire; they were generally too great delinquents to be less than emperors. Carausius was one of this number; and, upon hearing the doom which had been passed upon him by the emperor, he assumed the purple. Maximian, upon this news, set out with a fleet under his command to reduce him; but Carausius, who knew how enervated the Roman power by sea was now become, retired to Britain, where the Roman legions submitted to his authority. He soon equipped a fleet here far superior to that of the empire, while Maximian durst not face him. He now triumphed upon the sea, and appears to have been the first who improved the happy situation of Britain to that state for which nature designed her, I mean the sovereignty of the ocean. This quickly gave him that of the land; for Maximian, finding it impracticable to reduce him, thought it wisest to leave him in possession of his claim. A peace being clapped up between them, (1) Carausius continued for seven years the independent sovereign of Britain. We are told, by the writers of those days, that Carausius manned his fleet from all nations, and out of all professions, to whom he promised a proportionable share of the plunder gained by his ravages on the neighbouring

He therefore assumes the purple.

The emperor sets out against him.

Who thereupon retires to Britain, where the Roman legions receive and own him.

Maximian leaves him in quiet possession, and makes peace with him.

coasts. But his empire was not confined to Britain alone; he was likewise in possession of Gessoriacum, or Boulogne, which he fortified very strongly.

The British historians inform us, that Carausius established his footing in Britain by calling in the Picts to his assistance, to whom he gave Scotland; but how ill this is founded, will appear in the notes (2). We are told, by a little better authority, that Carausius repaired the wall of Severus; be that as it will, his power became formidable to the Roman empire, and Constantius suddenly laid siege to Boulogne, which, at that time, was likewise under the dominion of Carausius, and, by him, strongly fortified. While the Roman general was preparing to carry on the siege with great vigour, Alecctus, a principal officer under Carausius, laid hold of that opportunity to murder his master, and to seize his government, in the seventh year of his reign.

It appears that this usurped power in Britain was equally terrible to the Romans, since we find the new usurper in peaceable possession of his power for three years. But Constantius, who was a brave and an active general, took the first opportunity, after reducing and settling the continent, to make a descent upon Britain. The Roman marine, as I have already observed, was, at this time, in very bad condition, and Alecctus seems to have been the master of the main. The enemy's fleet, however, having rendezvoused from different ports, favoured by a

A. D. 300.

He is possessed of Boulogne, which he fortifies.

Nennius, Buchanan.

Carausius repairs the wall of Severus.

Constantius besieges Boulogne.

Carausius murdered by Alecctus, who seizes on the government.

Constantius lands in Britain.

(1) We have many medals of Carausius, expressive of this peace, generally bearing two emperors shaking hands, with the inscription CONCORDIA AUGG. that is, Concordia Augustorum; which is, at least, a partial proof that Carausius was, by this treaty, acknowledged as emperor. In another coin, which we have in Camden, he has the following titles: IMPERATOR CAIVS CARAVSIVS PIVS FOELIX AVGVSTVS; and on the reverse, PAX AVGVSTI, with the letters SC, senatus consulto; by which we are to understand that this peace had the sanction of the senate.

(2) That the Caledonians and Picts were the same, is equally demonstrable as that the Caledonians and the Britons were the same. I have already given some account of the Caledonians, and shall here only put my reader in mind that Herodian, in the account of the expedition of Severus, which we have already seen, calls the Caledonians Britons; but describes them as Picts, or painted. They mark, says he, their bodies with various pictures of all manner of animals; and therefore they clothe not themselves, lest they hide the painted outside of their bodies. This passage, which was wrote about the year 240, corresponds with what Claudian says, on the same subject, one hundred and sixty years after.

ferroque notatas

Perlegit exanimis, picto moriente, figuras.

Claud. de bello Getico.

"Surveying, with attentive eyes, below,

"The pictures drawn on his expiring foe."

There is another passage in the same author, which plainly intimates, that Picti was a name given this people by the Latins, from their custom of painting their bodies; for, speaking of Theodosius, he says,

Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos

Edomuit

Claud. Panegy. in 3. Conf. Honor.

"The guileful Moors and Picts (so justly call'd

"From painted forms) his conqu'ring arms enthrall'd."

But the first writer who expressly mentions the Caledonians and the Picts as the same people, is the panegyrist Eumenius, who wrote in the year 297. This he does in several passages. The first, when speaking of the glory which Constantius had of reducing Carausius, though strengthened by a Roman legion, and subduing the British empire. He sets those actions in opposition to Cæsar's expedition to this island, who, he said, had not near so many difficulties to encounter with: for, says he, at the time of Cæsar's invasion, the Britons were ignorant of sea affairs, and the Romans were very expert in them. Then he proceeds, Ad hoc natio etiam tum rudis, et soli Britanni Pictis modo et Hibernis assueta hostibus, adhuc feminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt. "Add to this, that the nation, at this time, was barbarous; and "the Britons alone being accustomed only to Pictish and Hibernian foes, who, to this day, are half naked, easily yielded "to the Roman arms." I shall not trouble my reader with the ridiculous construction which Buchanan and Mackenzie put upon these words, as if soli Britanni ought to be understood in the genitive case singular. But I cannot help thinking, that the words are far from justifying bishop Stillingfleet's construction, as if the Britons, being the only people who then inhabited Britain, were quite a different people from the Picts. The panegyrist's meaning is, that the Britons were, in Cæsar's time, a rude people; and, when not supported by a foreign power, as Carausius and Alecctus had been, such of them as engaged with Cæsar, easily yielded to the Roman arms; they being used to no other enemies besides the Picts and Irish, who, even at that time (viz. in the days of the panegyrist) were a half-naked race. At the same time it must be owned, there is some obscurity in construing the words. But, in another passage, the same panegyrist expressly mentions the Caledonians and Picts as being the same people; Non dico (says he) Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum. From this passage, which can be liable to no misunderstanding, it is plain, that there were other nations in Britain who were Picts, as well as the Caledonians. The next writer who mentions the Picts, is Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote towards the middle or latter end of the fourth age, who tells us (lib. 27.) that "the Dicalledonians, or the Caledonians, were one nation of "the Picts, and the Vecturiones another." Now we are to consider, that the Romans, having conquered the south of Britain, diffusing their manners gradually northward, had quite worn out, amongst the southern Britons, the custom which Cæsar tells us they had of painting their bodies. But the unconquered nations, that is, such as lay north of the Roman pretensions, disdaining the Roman refinements, still retained their custom of painting their bodies. It was therefore extremely natural for the Romans to distinguish them by that striking custom from the other Britons, and to call them Picti, that is, the painted part of the Britons. Whoever has the curiosity to see this matter fully and judiciously handled, may have recourse to Mr. Innes's Critical Essay.

A. D. 300.

Alektus hated,
and where-
fore, by the
Britons.

Constantius
burns his own
ships.

The Britons
join him.

Alektus sets
himself at the
head of some
troops.
Is encountered
and slain by
Asclepiodo-
tus.

fog, escaped that of Alektus. This tyrant, disconcerted by his guilt, finding the Romans landed, acted the part of a mad-man. His fleet, which lay off of the isle of Wight, appears to have been his principal strength; for, either from a horror of the fact he had committed, in murdering his master, or from his subsequent tyranny, or for his partiality to the foreigners who manned his navy, or from all those causes, he was hated by the Britons. On the other hand, the reputation of Constantius was so great, that the Britons looked upon him as their deliverer. No sooner were his soldiers landed upon the British shore, than he ordered his ships to be burnt, thereby intimating his resolution that his men should conquer or die. The Britons looked upon this action as a proof of his sincerity to free them from the dominion of the tyrant, and his insolent crew of foreigners. They flocked to his standards, implored his pity, and put themselves under his protection. No sooner did the tyrant perceive the Romans were landed, than he gave himself up for lost: however, he came ashore, and put himself at the head of some troops; but he was soon encountered by Asclepiodotus, captain of the guards to Constantius. The battle was unequal, between a crew of lawless robbers, as the foreigners were who served under Alektus, and a well-disciplined force. Notwithstanding this, the tyrant appears to have behaved with great personal bravery; but more properly with despair; for, divesting himself of every badge of distinction, he rushed

upon the Romans, who soon dispatched him. His death was followed by a great slaughter of the Franks, as the nations who composed his army were called; but such of them as escaped from the rout had almost completed the desolation they had formerly begun; for they retired to London, and, as they thought themselves still masters of the sea, they purposed to pillage that city, and to sail over to the continent with their booty. But part of the Roman navy, which, in the late fog, had been separated from their fellows, had, by this time, got up the Thames, and, falling upon the Franks, put almost every man of them to the sword. This was a happy deliverance to the Britons, especially to the inhabitants of (1) London; and Britain was again united to the Roman empire, after having been dismembered from it for ten years (2). Constantius having reduced some of the British nations who lay northwards, and who, perhaps, living independently under Carausius, were unwilling to resume the Roman yoke, returned to the continent.

The emperors Dioclesian and Maximian having resigned the weight of empire to their two Cæsars, Britain fell to the share of Constantius Chlorus, who hitherto possessed the title of Cæsar, or heir apparent to the empire. There is great reason for believing that Carausius, during the short time of his reign, had improved the country in civil arts. Particular mention is made by the Roman panegyrist, that the reduction of Britain had occasioned the return (3) of many excellent artificers

A. D. 304.

A great
slaughter of
the Franks
ensues.

Those who
escape retire
to London,
with design to
pillage that
city, and
make off with
this booty to
the continent.

Are prevented
and put to the
sword.

Britain re-
united to the
Roman em-
pire.

Britain falls to
the share of
Constantius.

(1) "After the death of Constantius medals were coined in London, to testify the city's gratitude to him, whereon was his effigies on one side, and, on the other, a temple between two eagles, with this inscription, *Memoria felix*; and under the temple, *P. L. N. Pecunia Londin. Notata*, as some explain it; for, by the eagles and inscription, it appears, that these coins were intended for the apotheosis of Constantius; and so Joseph Scaliger and Camden understand them." *Stillingfleet's Origin. Britan.* p. 72.

(2) It is surprising to me what Rapin could mean by saying, that Asclepiodotus, after the death of Alektus, assumed the imperial dignity, and was afterwards himself slain in battle. There is not the least foundation for this in history; for Geoffrey of Monmouth I cannot call an historian. The account I have given of Carausius and Alektus, is all taken from undoubted history. I shall, however, in compliance with the practice of former historians of this country, set down what Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us with regard to this matter. This I do the rather because I am by no means satisfied with the history of this revolution, as we have it from Roman writers. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us, that "Alektus, going about to punish those Romans and Britons who had adhered to the party of Carausius, and been partakers in his robberies; who, resenting this severity, chose one Asclepiodotus, a Briton, to revenge it, exhorting him to set upon Alektus, then in London, whilst he was celebrating a feast to his gods: at whose arrival, Alektus, forsaking his sacrifice, and marching out with the choicest of his soldiers, joined battle with him; but being slain, Gallus, a captain of Alektus, still held London; to the reducing whereof, Asclepiodotus (now made king) summoned the *Dæmati* and *Venedoti* (i. e. the inhabitants of that part of the island now called Wales) to his assistance. With these forces he beleaguered the city, and, with warlike engines, battered down a great part of the wall. Gallus, perceiving himself not able to hold out any longer, came to a parley, and surrendered the town upon condition to march out armed; which being agreed to, Asclepiodotus enters Walbrook, whence it had its name. But the *Venedoti*, contrary to the articles, fell upon Gallus, and slew him at a brook's side, now called from his name, Galbrook, or Walbrook." But, it is certain, there never was any king of Britain called Asclepiodotus, who was indeed no more than the præfect to Constantius; nor had he any such captain as this Gallus, as we can any where find, except in this author. Though this story has all the air of a romance, yet, as I hinted before, the Roman account of this revolution hangs very ill together. We are told, that Constantius, halting into Gaul, besieged Boulogne, the harbour of which he blocked up to prevent its being relieved by Carausius; and that he himself was advancing with a fleet, when he received an account that Alektus had slain Carausius. Upon which, that he might have no time to fortify himself in the sovereignty, Constantius ordered his fleet, from different harbours, to pass over to Britain; and that Alektus lay off of the isle of Wight in order to intercept them. By the same account Alektus was slain by Asclepiodotus, immediately upon the former's landing in order to oppose Constantius. Now I should be glad to know if, as Eumenius makes it, this was all one continued action, whence it happens that no less than three years is assigned to the reign of this Alektus. Again, if Constantius set out from Boulogne to pass over to Britain, how came Alektus to lie in wait for him, with his fleet, at the back of the isle of Wight? Besides, the whole of this story is absolutely inconsistent with the Roman chronology. Our historians have placed the adoption of Constantius as Cæsar, in the year 287. The revolt of Britain, under Carausius, from the Roman government, is supposed to have happened in the year following. The association of Carausius in the empire, they have placed in the year 290; his death, in the year 297; that of Alektus, in 300; and the death of Constantius, in 307. So that here is a period of twenty years and upwards, betwixt the adoption of Constantius and his death; whereas it is certain, that the adoption of Constantius, as Cæsar, did not happen, at the soonest, before the year 291. Some historians bring it down so late as the year 294 (see *Helvici Theatrum Historicum*); but these, I believe, are mistaken. Supposing then that Constantius was made Cæsar in the year 291, and that he died, as we are certain he did, in the year 306, this allows but fifteen years for the whole of his reign, both as Cæsar and Augustus, which is two years longer than Eutropius makes him to have reigned; *Obiit in Britannia Eboraci (says he) anno tertio decimo, atque inter Divos relatus est. Lib. x. cap. 1.*

(3) We learn this fact from the panegyrist so often mentioned, in the following words: *Quinetiam illa, cujus nomine mihi peculiariter gratulandum, devotissima vobis civitas Hedunorum, ex hac Britannicæ facultate victoriæ plurimos quibus illæ provinciæ redundabant, accepit artifices, et nunc exstrukione veterum domorum, et refectione operum publicorum, et templorum inauguratione confurgit: nunc sibi redditum vetus illud Romanæ fraternitatis nomen existimat, quum te rursus la-*
beat

A. D. 307.

Zozimus.

Who makes
it his re-
sidence.

artificers to the continent. These we may easily suppose had been entertained by Carausius, and had so greatly contributed to the beauty, convenience and magnificence of the island, that Constantius chose to make it the residence of his empire. This partiality in favour of Britain was perhaps assisted by his indulgence for a lady whom he had made the companion of his bed; I mean Helena, the mother of the famous Constantine, and, according to some of our best authors, a native of Colchester. Whatever may be in this, the city of London was, at that time, very considerable, both for commerce and buildings. Whether she was the wife, or the concubine of Constantius, imports not us; it is certain she was a woman of great merit, and very dear to Constantius. Reasons of state might occasion his not owning her publicly for his wife, as the motives of ambition obliged him, soon after his being adopted Cæsar, to match into a higher family (1).

We are not made acquainted, by any Roman author, of the motives which induced Constantius to undertake an expedition against the Caledonians after his return to Britain. We are told, in general, that he made such an expedition before his death, and that he conquered the Scots and Picts; but, from the silence of the writers, who have mentioned this expedition, as to its particulars, there is great reason for believing, that all he did was driving those na-

tions northwards of Severus's wall, and shutting them up in the bounds prescribed them by his predecessors. An author who lived in those days makes this the more probable, by saying, that he reinforced the garisons towards the borders, and established a general peace. But all accounts agree, that, upon his return to York, which appears to have been the place of his residence, he fell sick and died.

Authors are greatly divided with regard to the native country of his son, the great Constantine. The royal translator of Bede's Ecclesiastical History pronounces him a Briton; and the most unquestionable (2) authorities of those times favour, nay maintain this opinion. The jealousy of his father's colleague in the empire forced this young prince to fly from Rome to Boulogne in France, which he did in a very artful manner, just at the time when his father fell sick. He arrived from thence at York time enough to perform his last duties to his father, who pronounced him his heir and successor in his empire. Notwithstanding all the efforts of Constantius, Britain was, at this time, far from being quiet under the Roman government; the Scots and Picts still continued their inroads, and the new emperor's first cares were applied to quell their commotions. We are ignorant in what manner this was done; but Constantine introduced into the Roman government maxims hitherto unknown, and destructive of

A. D. 308.

Eusebius.

He dies at
York.

King Alfred.

Constantine
flies from
Rome, arrives
in Britain.Goes to York,
is declared
heir and suc-
cessor to the
empire by his
father.The Scots and
Picts continue
their inroads.

beat conditorem. Paneg. Maximian. Aug. dict. The same author, in another oration, speaking of the state of Britain under the tyranny of Alectus, says, that it was in as dismal a condition as if it had been overflowed by the ocean; but then the oratorical licence of panegyrist reaches very far, so that we should be very cautious how we build any facts upon what they say. However, thus much seems to be pretty certain, that Carausius was a man of merit, and intended to have settled an empire in Britain; for which end he had made a great collection of workmen, and other artificers, from the neighbouring countries. Being treacherously slain by Alectus, the latter threw himself entirely upon this army of foreigners, and was very oppressive to the Britons, who, we have reason to believe, lived very happily under Carausius.

(1) Various are the opinions of authors with regard to this celebrated lady. I think, when all arguments are weighed, it may fairly be concluded that she was a Briton. Our antiquaries tell us, that it was by her means London was first walled about; and Wales, to this day, boasts of many proofs of her munificence. "Not far from hence, says Camden, near a small village called Festineog, is a high road, or military way, of pitched stones, which leads thorough these difficult and almost unpassable mountains: and seeing it is called, in British, Sarn Helen, or Helen's way, it is but reasonable that we suppose it made by Helena, the mother of Constantine the great, whose works were many and magnificent throughout the Roman empire. This was probably of a very considerable extent, unless we should suppose the same Helen was author of several other highways in Wales; for, besides the place here mentioned, it is also visible at one end of Craig Verwyn, where it is called Fordh gam Helen Luedhog, i. e. the crooked road of Helen the great, or puissant. And I observed a way called Fordh (or Sarn) Helen, in the parish of Lhan Badarn Odyn, in Cardiganshire; as also, that a great part of the road from Brecknock to Neath in Glamorganshire, is distinguished by the same name. At this parish of Festineog, it is called otherwise Sarn y Dhûal (a name whereof I can give no account) for the space of three miles, viz. from Rhyd yr Hâlen to Kastell Dôl Wydhêlen; and some presume, that Pont Aber Glaslyn, and y Gymwynas in Caernarvonshire, is a continuation of the same road." Camb. Gib. Ed. p. 790. I must not dissemble here, that several ancient fathers, such as Eusebius and Jerom, Cassiodorus and Bede from Orosius, call her the concubine of Constantius; and that, near her own times, she was looked upon to be no better than an inn-keeper's daughter. As to the first of these reproaches, I have already, in part, answered it; and Eutropius confirms my conjecture of her being married to Constantius, by saying, that Constantine was the son of Constantius by an obscure marriage. As to the meanness of her birth, it is her glory, since she proved herself so worthy of a better fortune. This is a reproach in common to her, with one of the greatest empresses of this or any other age; I mean, a late empress of Russia.

(2) I cannot help here transcribing the excellent criticism of bishop Stillingfleet upon this occasion. "It is not (says he, Orig. Brit. p. 90.) probable the churches of Britain should be left out, considering Constantine's relation to Britain; for he was not only proclaimed emperor here on the death of his father, but, if the panegyrist who lived in that time may be believed, he was born here. For, comparing Constantius and him together, he saith, that his father delivered Britain from slavery, Tu etiam nobiles illic oriendo fecisti. The question now is, whether these words relate to his birth, or to his being proclaimed Cæsar here? Livincius is for the latter, after Lipsius; but I see no reason to decline the natural and proper sense, viz. that he brought a great honour to Britain, by being born in it. Eumenius, in another panegyric, applauds the happiness of Britain, that had the first sight of Constantine Cæsar. This is likewise capable of both senses; but he immediately falls into a high commendation of Britain, for its temper, fertility, riches, and length of days. If this were Constantine's own country, this was done like an orator; if not, to what purpose is all this? And then he parallels Britain with Egypt, where Mercury was born, which shews that he spake of the place of nativity. Besides, the former panegyrist made his oration to Maximianus and Constantine together, upon his marriage of Theodora his daughter; but it is not so probable that he would, to him, so much own Constantine's being made Cæsar in Britain, for that was not according to the rules of government in the court of Maximianus and Dioclesian; for as Galerius told Dioclesian, when he would have had four augusti; No, saith he, that is against your own maxim, which is only to have two augusti, and for them to name two Cæsars; therefore it is not likely that the orator should, to Maximianus's face, own him to be made Cæsar without the consent of those who were then augusti. But if he speaks of his being made Cæsar by Galerius, it is very doubtful whether he were then in Britain; for Lactantius saith, he took time to consider about it, and was very hardly brought to it. But Nazarius and Proxagoras both say, that Constantine went into Gaul soon after his father's death, and therefore Gaul first saw him Cæsar, according to the constitution of the empire at that time. So that this one testimony of the panegyrist weighs more with me than ten Cedrenus's, or Nicephorus's, who say he was born in the east."

A. D. 313.

His mistaken policy, its effects.

He raises a great army in Britain, which he carries with him to Gaul. He conquers the Franks.

Proceeds to Italy against Maxentius. The number of horse and foot which composed his army.

Maxentius overthrown and slain.

Constantine avows his religion.

The British soldiers mostly Christians.

Mr. Dodwell.

every principle upon which the greatness and power of Rome was founded. His predecessors in the empire, after the example of their great republicans had always kept the strength of their armies upon their frontiers, both to check the inroads of barbarians, and to awe the disaffected in the empire. Constantine, either from mistaken policy, or that he might facilitate that great change he was now undertaking in religion, drew his forces out of the frontiers into the towns and the heart of his several dominions. This had doubly an ill effect, as it left them exposed to the invasions of their barbarous neighbours, who, soon after, over-ran and overthrew the whole Roman empire, and burdened the great towns, which, thereby, became disaffected to the imperial government, and were, upon all occasions, ready to join with the invaders. Britain, among other countries, felt the effects of this conduct. Constantine, whose title to the empire was very disputable, while he was here raised a great army of Britons, whom he took along with him into Gaul; there he conquered the Franks, who, by this time, were considerable enough to communicate their (1) name to that country. From thence he passed into Italy, against Maxentius, who now held Rome, and was declared emperor. Constantine's army was ninety thousand foot and eighty thousand horse, all of them excellent troops, and he himself the best general of his time. There is all the reason in the world to believe that the Britons composed great part of this mighty army, which, soon after, overthrew and slew Maxentius.

The Roman empire being now reunited under one head, Constantine ventured to declare for that religion which had been long the purpose of his heart. In this design, we have no reason to doubt, he was greatly encouraged by the disposition of his British soldiers, who were now mostly Christians. As religion has ever a great influence upon civil government, the Roman government in Britain, about this time, received a considerable alteration.

Though we have the name of no governor, either in histories or inscriptions, from the year 282 to the year 308; yet it is probable that the government by prætors still continued till towards the time of Constantine the great, or rather his father Constantius. A learned Englishman has proved, that the adoption of two Cæsars by the two emperors Dioclesian and Maximian, gave rise to the four præfecti

prætorio, who were, after that time, the substitutes of the imperial power. The government of Britain fell to the share of the præfect of Gaul, who ruled it by a vicarius, whose name, in the time of Constantine, was Pacatianus. The same emperor made four divisions of government in Britain, or rather added two divisions to the two he already found. The Britannia prima, or that part of Britain which was first subdued, as we have already seen, contained all between the Thames and the sea; the Britannia secunda, all that lay west of the Severn to the Irish sea, comprehending Wales. The two divisions added by Constantine were the Flavia Cæsariensis and Maxima Cæsariensis; the former including, according to Mr. Horsley's map, all Cornwall, Devonshire, Somersetshire, part of Wiltshire, and part of Gloucestershire. The Maxima Cæsariensis contained all the northern counties of England, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Lincolnshire, and, according to a learned antiquary, included the debateable lands, between the pretences of Severus and Antoninus Pius; but, in this account, the reader is not to suppose that it is possible to come near to exactness, since all the lights we have are so confused and undetermined. We shall soon have occasion to treat of this subject more at large.

Whether Constantine returned to Britain, after making himself master of the Roman empire, is justly matter of great doubt. A passage or two in (2) Eusebius makes it probable, that, in his absence, the southern Britons renewed their incursions into the Roman territories, which occasioned a return of Constantine into this island (3). We have no particulars of his actions upon his second return, or how long he continued here.

This great man died about the year 337, after proving himself a jealous emperor, an inhuman parent, a bloody tyrant, a wretched politician, a great general, and a zealous Christian. His sons, who inherited all their father's bad qualities, divided his empire among themselves, in pursuance of his last will. Britain, France, Spain, and part of Germany was the portion of Constantine, the eldest. His power prompting his ambition, led him to invade the territories of his brother Constans; but he fell in the attempt. Britain then became an acquisition to the surviving emperor; but the Scots and Picts, ever vigilant, ever active to improve to their own advantage the least

A. D. 337.

The præfect of Gaul governs Britain by a vicar, who, in the time of Constantine, was Pacatianus.

Britain is divided into four parts.

Constantine dies.

His character.

The empire divided by his sons.

Britain falls under the dominion of Constans.

(1) There are medals of this emperor, struck upon his subduing Francia.

(2) Euseb. Life of Constantine, book i. ch. 25.

(3) But Geoffrey (says Mr. Tyrrel, p. 88.) could he be believed, gives us a very plausible account why Constantine came now again into Britain, which is to this effect: That Octavius, duke of the Gervises, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, had seized upon Britain for himself; the circumstances of which I omit, to shorten the story. As also how one Trahern (who is there supposed to be this emperor's uncle by the mother) obtained a great victory over this Octavius; but that, upon Trahern's being killed at Verulam, by the treachery of a nobleman of Octavius's party, he again returned into Britain, and making a confederacy with the northern nations, renewed the war: whereupon Constantine, coming upon Octavius on the sudden, soon overcame him; yet suffered him, though conquered, still to reign here as a tributary to the Roman empire. But it is not likely Constantine would have given so great an encouragement to rebellion; nay, what is yet more improbable, he makes this Octavius to have governed this island, even to the days of Gratian and Valentinian; which must needs be false, since the coins of all those Roman emperors, who succeeded between Constantine and Valentinian, are found in this island; whereas no coin or monument of this Octavius was ever yet to be seen. And further, none of the historians of this age do mention any such king of Britain, as it is likely they would have done, had they known of such a person.

A. D. 353.

which brings the emperor to Britain.

Magnentius deprives him of his empire and life, and assumes the purple.

The Roman Britons declare in his favour.

Magnentius kills himself.

Britain falls under the dominion of Constantius. He erects a court of confiscation. Sends over an inquisitor. To what end.

Character of the imperial inquisitor.

revolution upon the continent, again made an irruption into the Roman territories here. This attempt seems to have been sudden and seasonable, since it obliged Constantius to pass over into Britain in the middle of the winter. Along with him came his brother Constantius, through curiosity, perhaps, to see an island, which was now the fairest wreath of the imperial garland, honoured by the residence of his grandfather, and distinguished by the birth of his father; or perhaps because associated in empire here with his brother. We are in the dark as to the particulars of this emperor's conduct in Britain. Soon after, his native vices broke forth, and he became so despicable and so odious, that Magnentius, by birth a Gaul, but by family a Briton (1), deprived him of his crown and life, and then assumed to himself the imperial purple.

Constantius was now the only surviving son of the great Constantine. He laid claim to the undivided inheritance of his father; but the relation which Magnentius had to Britain, and perhaps the dissolute lives, joined to the oppressive government, of the Constantine family, prevailed with the Roman Britons to declare in his favour. But Constantius, who was superior in genius to, and less vicious than, his brothers, appears to have a strong party both here and in Gaul: Magnentius, however, made head against him for three years. There is reason to believe, that his party was favoured by (2) Gratianus Funarius, the imperial general in Britain; because, when the latter returned home, his conduct here was an article of accusation against him, which occasioned the loss of his commission, and the confiscation of his estate. The war between Magnentius and Constantius continued for three years; at length, the fortune of the latter prevailing, Magnentius was reduced to put an end to his own life, which he did at Lyons in France.

Upon his death Britain returned to the allegiance of Constantius, who, to the eternal stain of his name, says the historian of his days (3), erected a court of confiscation, and sent over one Paul, a Spanish notary, as inquisitor-general in Britain. His business was to find out and prosecute the abettors of Magnentius, and then confiscate their estates to the imperial exchequer. By his character he was extremely well fitted to his post; with an appearance of kindness, and under the mask of friendship, he committed the most outrageous violences upon the estates and persons of the unhappy Britons. It was not enough that their wealth fell a sacrifice to his avarice, unless their lives likewise gratified his cruelty. Hence proceeded condemnations to the mines, to fet-

ters and to imprisonment. One Martin, the imperial vicar here at that time, was of a quite different character from this rapacious Spaniard. He often expostulated with him upon his injustice, his violences, and his impolitic procedure, which might effectually alienate the affections of the people from the interests of their common master. His expostulations proved vain; the avarice of the inquisitor was not more insatiable, than his cruelty was unrelenting. At last, Martin, thinking to strike an awe into the Spaniard, threatened to leave the island. The latter, eminent for insidious arts (4), dreading lest Martin should discover his practices to the imperial court, and that his trade of rapine might be spoiled, contrived to draw the generous Roman into some appearance of a crime. His cunning was so well laid, that it almost had the desired effect, and Martin, with many Romans of his party, were upon the point of being adjudged to fetters by the imperial commission. His own innocence, and the villany of the inquisitor, prompted his indignation to a dangerous attempt; for he drew his sword and aimed a thrust at the Spaniard, who had the good fortune to escape it. This disappointment rendering the other desperate, he buried in his own breast the sword which had so ill seconded his generous resentment. This accident unhappily served all the purposes of the Spaniard's avarice and cruelty. He returned to the head quarters all in blood, as a witness of the danger he had escaped, from the conspiracy that had been formed for his destruction. He dragged along with him, in chains, the friends and officers of Martin, and tortures, in every shape of cruelty, were applied to the unhappy sufferers, which were followed by banishments, proscriptions, confiscations, and the death of the parties.

Historical justice calls upon me to inform the reader, that this Spanish inquisitor met with the reward of his demerits, by being afterwards burnt alive, in the reign of Julian, the adopted successor of Constantius.

In the mean time, the northern Britons, either encouraged by the weakness, or exasperated by the severity of the Roman government, continued their inroads upon their frontiers. Julian, commonly afterwards called the apostate, beheld their devastations, unable to check them. Embarrassed as he was with his own affairs on the continent, where he resided, he durst not venture over to Britain in person: however, he sent one Lupicinus, an officer of his court, able in war, but haughty in demeanor, insatiable in avarice, and boundless in cruelty, to oppose the invading foes. Strange infatuation of a great prince, who had eyes to take in

A. D. 359. That of Martin, imperial vicar.

The inquisitor endeavours to ensnare Martin.

Who, disappointed of his revenge, kills himself.

The unhappy effects of Martin's resentment.

The inquisitor burnt alive.

The northern Britons make incursions.

Lupicinus sent to Britain.

(1) His father was a Briton.

(2) He was called Funarius, from a rope, which, in his youth, he carried about to sell; and, though five soldiers attempted to take it from him, they could not, with all their force, do it. Upon his return home, and the loss of his commission, his goods were confiscated to the emperor, because he was reported to have entertained Magnentius. Horsley, p. 97.

(3) Ammianus Marcellinus, book 14.

(4) Ammianus Marcellinus says, that he was called Catena, from his dexterity in entangling people into plots and conspiracies.

A. D. 366.

the most extensive concerns of government, and yet was blind to the faults of a favourite minister! Lupicinus, raising an army of Heruleans, Batavians, Mæfians and light horse, advanced to Boulogne, where he embarked his forces, and sailed over to Britain. Having landed here, he marched to London, that he might make proper dispositions to open the campaign. Historians are silent with regard to his success here; we may therefore fairly presume, that he did nothing to boast of. But his great power in the army raised a jealousy in his master Julian, who, at this time, was at variance with Constantius, and therefore took care to stop all correspondence with Britain, till such time as his own affairs were settled.

of whom Julian becomes jealous.

Alypius the emperor's deputy in Britain.

Affairs coming to an open rupture between the emperor and his Cæsar, we do not find that the Romans in Britain interested themselves on either side; nor did Lupicinus leave the island till Julian was declared emperor. We have no account of British affairs in his reign, other than that one (1) Alypius was deputy of Britain under him.

Britain greatly harrassed by the Picts and Scots, &c.

Valentinian, the emperor, sends Severus to Britain to check these invaders.

He is succeeded by Jovinus.

The Roman affairs here in a desperate situation.

Jovinus represents it to the emperor,

When (2) Valentinian, the next emperor in whose reign the British affairs are mentioned, came to the imperial purple, the Roman Britain was at its last gasp, by the incursions of the Picts, the Scots, and other (3) barbarous nations. They were opposed by Nectoridus, the count of the sea-coast, who was slain in the field; and Bulehobaudes, another general officer, who fell in an ambush. As soon as these accounts came to Valentinian, he sent away an officer of his court, one Severus, to check the invaders; but, as we have no particulars of his administration and command, the insurrection, probably, about this time, was too powerful to be suppressed. The historian tells us, that Severus was recalled, and succeeded by Jovinus. Upon this general's arrival in the island, he found the Roman affairs in a dangerous, nay almost in a desperate, situation. The victorious Britons had broken through the Roman pretences, and all their footing here was upon the point of being utterly lost, without some speedy reinforcement from the continent. For this purpose Jovinus dispatched one of his officers to the court of his master, to report the state of the island, and represent the necessity of an immediate supply. When this report was examined, the imperial court found that it required a general of the greatest reputation and experience to retrieve

their affairs in Britain. Accordingly, Theodosius, the most eminent soldier of his time, was pitched upon for this expedition. This commander having drawn select detachments from the imperial forces upon the continent, entered upon his expedition with a strong army, and in full expectation of driving back the invaders to their own bounds. The Picts from the north seem to have been, at this time, the most formidable enemies of the Roman name. They were divided into two nations, the Dicaledonii, and the (4) Vecturiones. We likewise meet with other two people upon this occasion, the Atacotti, whom we have already mentioned, and the Scots, a roving race, invited to leave their native seats by the prospect of plunder, and the hopes of a more comfortable subsistence, than the natural barrenness of their own country could afford them. It appears, from the tenor of the historian's relation, that the former seat of war between the Romans and the Caledonians (for under that name the Picts are comprehended) was abandoned. The Romans had been driven southward by their victorious enemies; and, when Theodosius landed, the historian intimates, that he found his countrymen and the provinciated Britons pushed southward as far as the Britannia prima.

A. D. 367. who sends hither Theodosius. He enters on the expedition with a strong army.

The invaders are of different nations,

who had driven the Romans, &c. a great way to the southward.

Theodosius lands at Richborough.

He surprises the invaders, and strips them of their spoils,

This immediate danger, which threatened an extirpation of the Roman interest in Britain, made the imperial court neglect the affairs of Gaul, equally harrassed by the Franks and Saxons, as Britain was by the Caledonians. The latter was the great object of their arms and cares; and Theodosius having landed at Richborough from Boulogne, advanced to (5) London, where he ordered a rendezvous of all his forces, among whom were the Batavians, Heruleans, the Jovii and Victores, all of them, at that time, in high reputation for military virtues. The Picts and their forces, at this juncture, were either so intent upon plunder, that they disregarded safety, or were surprized by the expedition of Theodosius, while they were roving in detached parties, laden with plunder. Theodosius, dividing his army into three parties, took advantage of their dissipated strength, and easily forced them to abandon the spoils of the miserable tributaries. As these chiefly consisted in cattle and prisoners, it is probable that the ravages of the Caledonians were confined to the fields alone, without keeping possession of the towns and walled places belonging to the Romans, and which we have reason to believe were generally abandoned to the fury

(1) This Alypius is the same who was afterwards sent, by Julian, to rebuild Jerusalem, from which attempt he was deterred by some supernatural eruptions of fire.

(2) He was Son of Gratian Funarius, already mentioned.

(3) Ammianus Marcellinus, in this place, makes particular mention of the Atacotti, and calls them *Bellicosa hominum natio*. There is a good deal of dispute among the learned with regard to these Atacotti, which word is very differently spelt. Most probably they were a barbarous sort of Britons, living in the north of Scotland.

(4) We are told, by modern critics, that these two words signify southern and northern. Their conjecture is founded upon the etymology of the names; but it is both confirmed and explained by Bede. He tells us (book iii. ch. 4.) that the southern Picts were converted to Christianity by St. Ninian, a Briton, and were separated by a terrible ridge of hills (*arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis*) from the northern Britons, who were converted by St. Columba. This ridge of hills can be no other than the Grampians.

(5) We learn, from Marcellinus, that "London, by this time, had lost its British name London, and was called by the Latin word Augusta." *Ab Augusta profectus, quam veteres appellavere Londinium.* Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 28. cap. 3.

A. D. 368.

the greater
part of which
he restores to
the owners.

of the invaders. Theodosius reserved to himself no part of the recovered spoils, but as much as was absolutely necessary to refresh his army, the rest he returned to their original owners. This generosity had the best effect upon the Britons themselves, many of whom, as appears from the historian's relation, were inclined to favour the invaders.

He examines
into the mi-
serable state of
the province.

The Caledonians, and their allies, being thus driven back, the Roman general had time for consulting the proper dispositions to finish the campaign with success. For this purpose he returned to London, where the people received him as their deliverer, and considered him as their protector; but, when he came to examine the state of the province, he found there was a necessity that civil, as well as military, virtue; that cunning, as well as courage, should be applied to repair the miserable devastations of the province, and to prevent future insults from the barbarians. The character he had of the latter, from deserters and prisoners, increased his apprehension. A general battle might prove fatal to his countrymen, should the chance of the day be ever so little against him, and the courage and resolution of the enemy gave him every thing to fear. At the same time he considered them as united in no principle, but the prospect of plunder, and acting under no command but that of blinded passion: add to this, that their numbers appeared to have been swelled by many southern Britons, who had joined their cause, and who, if farther exasperated, might communicate their disaffection to their other countrymen. From all these considerations Theodosius contented himself, at first, with acting upon the defensive, and politically endeavoured to divide the enemy. To bring this about, he published an act of indemnity to all the rebels, encouraging them to repair to his standard. This had its desired effect; and his army being thereby considerably increased, he had some thoughts of taking the field: but the unsettled state of the province he was to leave at his back, and the various cares of government he had now upon his hands, prevailed with him to suspend that resolution, till he might have some assistants to ease him of his public toils. For this purpose he sent for one Civilis, a strict justiciary, to serve as his deputy in civil matters; and one Dulcitius, a commander of great reputation, to act as his lieutenant in the field.

He sends for
Civilis and
Dulcitius to
assist him.

He advances
against the Ca-
ledonians.

His actions
and character.

Having thus taken all possible precautions, he was bold enough, says my author, to venture to leave London, and advanced against the Caledonians. We have no particulars of his campaign, but that he proved a great support to the sinking Britons; that he made the most advantageous dispositions, and seized the most important posts for cutting off the enemy; ever exciting, by his own

example of resolution, patience, and perseverance, the most common soldier to do his duty.

A. D. 369.

His success was answerable to his merits. The invaders were repelled, the castles and forts, which had suffered from their ravages, were repaired; and it is told, to the immortal honour of Theodosius, that he laid the foundation of a lasting peace with the Caledonians.

He changes
the face of
affairs.

But a conspiracy happened at this time, which, had it taken effect, must have disappointed Theodosius in all his aims. One Valentinus, a native of Pannonia, a man of bold and desperate ambition, his practices too dangerous, his spirit too restless for regulated government, had been banished from the continent into Britain, which appears, at that time, to have been the general place of banishment. As he was an exile at large, he had here room for all the workings of his spirit, and had lain a scheme for seizing to himself the government. For this purpose he engaged his fellow-outlaws, all of them greedy of an opportunity of revenge, and had debauched many soldiers from their allegiance. A conspiracy of this kind could not remain long a secret; it soon came to the ears of Theodosius, who had address enough to crush it. He seized the ringleaders, and delivered them over to public justice. He then gave a noble proof of his moderation and wisdom. He considered that his master's affairs in Britain were yet unsettled; that the public enemies, though repelled, were not reduced; and that the least disorder in his own army might again throw all into confusion. At the same time reflecting, that the heads of the conspiracy being lopped off, the inferior members might return to their ordinary functions, he put a stop to all farther inquisition. By this means he saved the guilty from despair, which might have produced some fatal convulsion in his own army, and have encouraged a new invasion from the enemy.

A conspiracy,
by whom con-
trived,

how carried
on,

crush'd by
Theodosius.

The prudence
of his con-
duct.

This conduct, the effect of long experience and natural sagacity, left him perfectly at liberty to provide for the security of the barrier. He repaired the walls, he restored the cities, he replaced the garrisons, and re-established the discipline upon the frontiers (1).

He performs
wonders,

He had long observed, that the celebrated wall was, in reality, but a feeble defence against the tides of the barbarians, when they beat upon it without any intermediate obstruction. Theodosius, therefore, resolved to strengthen the barrier of the Roman empire in Britain, by erecting all the lands which lay between the wall of Severus and that of Lollius Urbicus into a separate province, and repairing the wall of Antoninus in Scotland. Authors are indeed divided, with regard to the limits and extent of this province; but I think we cannot, with

erects a new
province,

repairs the
wall of Anto-
ninus,

(1) In integrum restituit civitates, et castra multiplicibus damnis afflicta. Instaurabat urbes et præsidaria castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et prætenturis, recuperatamque provinciam, quæ in ditionem cesserat hostium, ita rediderat statui pristino, ut et rectorem legitimum haberet, et Valentia deinde vocaretur, arbitrio principis. Arcanos, genus hominum a veteribus institutum, paulatim prolapsos in vitia, a stationibus removit. Ammianus Marcellinus ubi supra.

A. D. 369.

gives the name of Valentia to his new province. He punishes the Areans,

the least historical probability, conceive it to have been other than the territory of the Meatae, or the debateable lands between the two walls (1). The new-erected province was called Valentia, in honour of the reigning emperor, and was governed by a lawful deputy of its own. His next exploit was the punishment of the Areans, an order of men who had perverted their first institution, which was to give notice

to the Romans of the enemy's motions and designs, but had, upon many occasions, served as spies to the barbarians. Having, by these means, restored tranquility and security to the Roman government in Britain, he returned to the continent, and was received by his master with all the honours due to his great merits and important services (2). The senate too paid their debt of gratitude to his merit, by considering him

A. D. 370.

returns to the continent, leaving the Roman government in Britain quiet and secure.

(1) I should be unpardonable if I did not here give my reader an account of the celebrated Notitia, so far as it regards Britain. It was published by Pancirollus, under the title of, Notitia utraque dignitatum tum orientis tum occidentis ultra Arcadii Honorique tempora; and contains a list of the several civil and military officers and magistrates of the Roman empire in those times. The time of its writing is uncertain, but it was probably composed towards the end of the reign of the younger Theodosius.

C H A P. XLIX.

Under the government of the honourable the vicegerent of Britain are, Consular governors of those parts of Britain called

Maxima Cæsariensis, Valentia;

Presidial governors of the parts called Britannia prima, Britannia secunda, Flavia Cæsariensis.

This same honourable vicegerent has his court composed in the following manner:

A principal officer of the agents, chosen out of the ducenarii, or under officers;
A principal clerk, or secretary;
Two chief accountants, or auditors;
A master of the prisons;
A notary;
A secretary for dispatches;
An assistant, or surrogate;
Under assistants;
Clerks for appeals;
Serjeants, and other inferior officers.

C H A P. LII.

Under the government of the honourable the count of the Saxon shore in Britain:
The commander of a detachment of fortenses, at Othona;
The commander of the Tungrian soldiers, at Dover;
The commander of a detachment of soldiers of Tournay, at Lime;
The commander of the Dalmatian horse, stiled Branodunensis, at Brancaster in Norfolk;
The commander of the Stableian horse, stiled Gariannonensis, at Borough-castle, near Yarmouth;
The tribune of the first cohort of Vetasians, or Betasians, at Reculver;
The commander of the second legion, called Augusta, at Richborough;
The commander of a detachment of the Abulci, at Anderida;
The commander of a detachment of scouts, at Portsmouth.

There belong to the court of this honourable count as follow:

A principal officer from the court of the general of foot, in ordinary attendance;
Two auditors, as before, from the above-mentioned court;
A master of the prisons from the same court;

A clerk;
An assistant;
An under assistant;
A register;
Clerks of appeals;
Serjeants, and other under officers.

C H A P. LIII.

Under the government of the honourable the count of Britain, The province of Britain.

The court of the same honourable count is as follows:

A principal officer from the court of the general of the soldiers, in ordinary attendance, changed every year;
A master of the prisons, as before;
Two auditors, one from each court above-mentioned;
An assistant;
An under-assistant;
Clerks of appeals;
Serjeants, and other under officers.

C H A P. LXIII.

Under the government of the honourable the duke of Britain,

The prefect of the sixth legion, at York;
The prefect of the Dalmatian horse, at Broughton in Lincolnshire;
The prefect of the Crispian horse, at Doncaster;
The prefect of a body of Cuirassiers, at Templebrugh;
The prefect of a detachment of the Barcarii Tigrienses, at Moreby;
The prefect of a detachment of the Nervii, called Dictenses, at Ambleside;
The prefect of a detachment of soldiers employed on the watch, at Kendal;
The prefect of a detachment of scouts, at Bowes;
The prefect of a detachment, stiled Directores, at Brugh;
The prefect of a detachment, called Defensores, at Overborough;
The prefect of a detachment of Solenses, at Greta-bridge;
The prefect of a detachment of Pacenses, at Piera-bridge;
The prefect of a detachment of Longovicarii, at Lancaster;
The prefect of a detachment, stiled Derivationensis, at a station on the river Derwent;
Also along the line of the wall;
The tribune of the fourth cohort of the Lergi, at Cousinshouse;

The tribune of a cohort of the Cornovii, at Newcastle;
The prefect of the first wing of the Asti, at Benwell-hill;
The tribune of the first cohort of the Friscagi, at Rutchester;
The prefect of the wing, stiled Saviniana, at Halton-chesters;
The prefect of the second wing of the Asti, at Walwick-chesters;
The tribune of the first cohort of the Batavi, at Carrawbrugh;
The tribune of the first cohort of the Tungri, at House-steads;
The tribune of the fourth cohort of Gauls, at Little-chesters;
The tribune of the first cohort of the Asti, at Great-chesters;
The tribune of the second cohort of Dalmatians, at Carvoran;
The tribune of the first cohort of Dacians, called Aelia, at Burdowald;
The prefect of the wing, called Petriana, at Cambeck-fort;
The prefect of a detachment of Moors, stiled Aureliani, at Watch-cross;
The tribune of the second cohort of the Lergi, at Stanwicks;
The tribune of the first cohort of Spaniards, at Brugh;
The tribune of the second cohort of Thracians, at Drumbrugh;
The tribune of the first marine cohort, stiled Aelia, at Boulness;
The tribune of the first cohort of the Morini, at Lanchester;
The tribune of the third cohort of the Nervii, at Whitley-castle;
A body of men in armour, at old Penrith, or Brampton;
The prefect of the first wing, called Herculea, at old Carlisle, or Elenborough;
The tribune of the sixth cohort of the Nervii, at Elenborough, or old Carlisle.

The same honourable duke has his court made up of the following officers:

A principal officer from the courts of the generals of the soldiers, in ordinary attendance, changed yearly;
Masters of the prisons from both;
Auditors yearly from both the courts;
An assistant;
An under assistant;
A register;
Clerks of appeals;
Serjeants, and other under officers.

(2) This expedition of Theodosius is celebrated by Claudian, in several passages, with great spirit and beauty; speaking of it in one place, he says,

Quem littus adustæ
Horrescit Libyæ, ratibusque impervia Thule,
Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos,
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone sequutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas;
Et geminis fulgens utroque sub axe trophæis,
Tethyos alternæ refluas calcavit arenas.

These verses are so well translated by the right reverend editor of Camden, that I shall give his translation to my reader:

“ Scorch'd Libya's borders tremble at his pow'r,
“ And Thule's cliffs, that scorn the lab'ring oar.
“ He the light Moors in happy war o'ercame,
“ And Picts, that vary nothing from their name.
“ With wand'ring arms the tim'rous Scots pursu'd,
“ And plough'd, with vent'rous keels, the northern flood;
“ Spurn'd the bold tide, as on the sand it rolls,
“ And fix'd his trophies under both the poles.”

In

A. D. 370. him in the same light as they did their republican dictators Furius Camillus and Papirius Curfor, and erecting a statue to his memory amongst those of their most celebrated heroes.

The Scots and Picts renew their incursions.

Fraomarius in Britain.

But the Scots and Picts were soon encouraged, by his departure, to renew their incursions into the Roman territories here. Upon which, Valentinian sent over one Fraomarius, who, as my author says, had been at the head of a petty nation in Germany, ruined by a late incursion, but vested with no higher authority than that of a tribune.

In another passage he has the following lines :

Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,
Qui medio Libyæ sub casside pertulit æstus,
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni
Littoris, ac pariter boreæ vastator et austri,
Quid rigor æternus ? cæli quid sidera profunt ?
Ignotumque fretum ? maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Hiberne.

The last line has given occasion to abundance of controversy amongst antiquaries. Sir George Mackenzie has observed, that the word Ierne is not to be understood of Ireland, but of a country of Scotland of that name, near to which the Romans had a camp, the remainders whereof are still discernable, and in which there are stones found, with Roman inscriptions, designing the stations of the legions ; and Strathern, in Scotland, is more subject to long frosts than Ireland is. Bishop Stillingfleet acknowledges, that this is ingeniously observed. " But, says he, I do not understand what the Roman inscriptions prove, as to the Scots being in those parts of Britain ; if the question were about the Romans, they would be of some use. I do not deny that Strathern had its name from the river Ern, and the country might, in Latin, be called Ierne, from thence. But how doth it appear that Claudian, or the Romans, knew it by that name ? We are certain that Ierne commonly passed for Ireland among them ; and that it was then accounted the country of the Scots, as appears from the express testimony of Orosius, who lived in that age. And Dempster, who fixes the Scots in Britain long before, yet is so convinced, by Claudian, that they were in Ireland, that he supposes them driven thither by Theodosius, and then destroyed by him. And Claudian explains himself elsewhere, when he saith,

" ————— Totam cum Scotus Iernen
" Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

" Where it seems ridiculous to say, that the Scots put all Strathern into commotion. And this Ierne had the sea lying betwixt it and Britain, in whose name Claudian speaks ; and Buchanan understands this of Ireland." By this argument the learned prelate endeavours to cut off the Scots from the honour of being settled inhabitants of Britain at this time ; but that nation is very unwilling to give up this point, perhaps with great justice. Sir Robert Sibbald, a learned Scotch antiquary, in his discourse upon the Thule of the ancients, has made a vigorous defence for the antiquity of his countrymen in Britain, against the attacks of the English antiquaries. " This Ierne, says he, or, as some read it, Hyberne, can be no way understood of Ireland, properly so called ; first, because Ireland can never deserve the epithet Glacialis, since, by the testimony of the Irish writers, the snow and ice continue not any time there ; secondly, the Romans were never in Ireland ; whereas, according to the forementioned verses, Theodosius passed our friths of Forth and Clyde, called, by him, Hyperboreæ undæ, and entered Strathern, which, to this day, bears the name Ierne, in which Roman medals are found, and the Roman camps and military ways are to be seen, the undoubted testimonies of their being there ; and therefore is to be understood, in the same poet's lines upon Stilico, who was employed in the British wars :

" Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
" Munivit Stilico, totam cum Scotus Iernen
" Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Thetis.
" Illius effectum curis ne bella timerem
" Scotica, nec Pictum tremere."

After some accurate criticisms upon these and other verses, the learned knight proceeds to tell us, " that the Scots were called Hiberni, as being at first a colony from Ireland, and as possessing that tract of the isle of Britain which is called, by the ancient writers, Ierne Glacialis, and Ierne simply ; and, by the writers of the middle age, Hibernia, as you may see in the Roman martyrology, of St. Beconus, bishop of Aberdeen in Ireland. Now, says he, never any Irish writer could ever yet say, that in Ireland, properly so called, there was a town called Aberdeen, or a river called Don. And that this part of Britain, then possessed by the Scots, was called Hibernia, is clear from the testimony of venerable Bede, who calls it Hibernia in the beginning of the chapter, and in the next page calls the same country Scotia." Though these reasons carry with them some weight, yet both the English and Scotch writers appear to have strained this point farther than it ought to go on either side. For, in the first place, a poetical image is a very bad foundation for fixing an historical fact, and therefore neither party have any great reason to be proud for having the above passage construed in their favour. Claudian himself appears to have wrote from very lame and general information, otherwise he is guilty of an anticlimax unpardonable in a poet, by placing Ierne (whether we suppose it to be Strathern or Ireland) after the Orkneys and the Thule, since the progress of Theodosius northward is the very exploit he means to celebrate. We are therefore to seek for the truth in a mean : for it must be ingenuously confessed, that the meaning of Claudian, in this passage, is to celebrate a naval expedition ; which can by no means be applied to a few paultry friths which he was obliged to sail over in pursuit of the Scotch Hibernians : therefore it is but fair in us to look upon Ireland as the Ierne here mentioned. On the other hand, the English authors, who, I think, were all of them churchmen, and who attacked the Scots on this head merely because it affected an ecclesiastical constitution, have been by far too peremptory in asserting, that the Scots had no settlement in Britain before the sixth century. The authority of Bede is flatly against them, who, in explaining the term *transmarinæ gentes*, given by Gildas to the Picts and Scots, tells us, that they were called *transmarinæ gentes*, people from beyond seas ; not that they dwelt out of the island of Britain, but that their habitations in the island were separated from those of the Britons by the two arms of the sea, or the friths of Clyde and Forth. This passage entirely cuts off the inference which archbishop Usher and bishop Stillingfleet would draw from the words of Gildas, as if the Scots had not been settled in Britain at the time of the invasion mentioned by Gildas, which happened about the year 422. Beside, we are to consider, that Gildas reckons the Picts to be a *transmarina gens*, though no writer has ever yet disputed their being settled in Britain long before this period. Upon the whole, the settlement of the Scots in Britain, before the sixth century, seems rather to have been proved than disproved. But then, the settlement they made admitted of such a flux and reflux of their countrymen betwixt Britain and Ireland (which, 'tis plain, they have, till this time, considered as their mother-country) and the passage betwixt the western parts of Scotland, where they settled, and Ireland, was so short, that it is no wonder if the names of the countries were as much confounded, as the persons of the people seem to have been mixed. If the reader is interested enough in this dispute to desire full satisfaction, he may consult the learned Mr. Innes's critical essay on the ancient inhabitants of the north part of Britain.

As to his exploits here, we are in the dark. The emperor Gratian, too feeble of himself to sustain the toils of empire, associated with himself the young Theodosius, son to the celebrated conqueror of the Picts. This young gentleman had served under his father in Britain, with one Maximus, a Spaniard, of great quality, great merit, and at the head of the Roman army here when Theodosius was raised to the imperial purple. Maximus was inwardly nettled at the preference given to Theodosius, who was the younger officer ; and the army in Britain

A. D. 383: Gratian associates young Theodosius.

A. D. 385.

Maximus declared emperor in Britain. He restrains the Picts and Scots.

Division between the Scots and Picts.

The former take refuge in Ireland, &c.

were so averse from Gratian's government, that they were ready to join in any attempt for a new revolution. These were motives too interesting, and too inviting, for Maximus to resist the calls of ambition: he, therefore, suffered himself to be declared emperor. As he was endowed with every quality that could adorn the imperial purple, he conciliated the love of the Roman inhabitants in Britain, by giving a vigorous check to the ravages of the Picts and Scots. At this period we fall in with a great revolution among the northern inhabitants of Britain; for we are told, by the Scotch historians, that Maximus found means to disunite their ancestors from the Picts; by which the former were so pressed by the three nations of Romans, Picts and Britons at the same time, that they were forced to abandon the island, and, for some years, took refuge in Ireland, the lesser isles, and upon the continent. Scotch historians are unanimous in their accounts of this revolution; but, if such a revolution actually happened in this age, there are stronger reasons for supposing it to have been effected by Theodosius, than by this Maximus, whose residence here, after being declared emperor, appears to have been of too short duration for bringing about so remarkable an event.

Whatever may have been in this, Maximus thought that his empire was now established beyond the power of any rival. This success elated his mind and extended his views. Fatally for Britain, he threw his eyes upon the continent; where, like Albinus, he resolved to make good his claim as emperor. For this purpose he raised a great army of Britons, and drew off all the Roman forces from the barrier. At the head of this army he sailed over to the continent, and arriving at the mouth of the Rhine, he won over all the imperial forces in Germany to acknowledge his title. Thus the dread of a British army, for some time, gave law to the whole Roman empire; for Maximus, fixing his residence at Triers, extended his wings (to use the image of our oldest British historian) to Spain and Italy. His power was irresistible; he levied contributions, he quelled the restless Germans, and his name filled his boldest rivals with terror.

But the Britons at home were now threatened with those chains, which their countrymen abroad were imposing upon others. Their conduct and condition, at this period, is a proof of the degeneracy which a military government must, sooner, or later, introduce among the bravest people. The Romans had long held them in a state of servitude, and all the protection they met with from the arms of their masters, was owing to advantages arising from their servile duties. Their choicest youth were enlisted in the Roman armies; and the habits of military life, with their residence in foreign countries, made them soon forget they were Britons. Their country-

men who remained, though born with all the advantages of nature, were without all ideas of liberty, and all possession of property, excepting what they held by a precarious tenure from their insolent inmates. Thus they were without any motive, either to animate their courage, or to interest their affections; their very children being forced from them, for the purposes either of foreign conquest, or domestic subjection. It is no wonder, if a race thus enslaved, thus addicted only to the meanest arts, ceased to be men; and sunk to a state of impotence, below what it is possible for a Briton, of later days, to believe.

For, after Maximus had, by his British army, crushed all opposition to his power, the northern Britons again broke through the barrier of the pretences. From the expressions of the British and Saxon historians, the condition of the Britons, in that period, was very miserable; and, though the Roman government still continued here, yet they enjoyed no benefit of Roman protection: for the officers, who were left behind were rude in military affairs; and the southern provinces appear to have been harassed by their northern foes for upwards of twenty-three years. All we learn of British affairs, in this period, is that one Crysanthus, a man of great merit, was sent over, by Theodosius, to act as his lieutenant here. This officer, we are told, did a great deal towards settling the affairs of his government; and, if we may credit historians, who begin now to be dark and doubtful, he left it with great reputation; but whether this was owing to his civil or military toils, is partly to be questioned, since we find that he afterwards exchanged his sword for a crozier, having been consecrated bishop of the Novatians at Constantinople.

It is about this period the Scotch historians have fixed the restoration of their monarchy. They have given heroes to their country, with all those shining qualities which are so much in fashion with writers who deal in high antiquities. This invention has, I own, been of great use in keeping up the spirit of those people, for the honour of whose ancestors it was designed; and I believe no nation has ever been without a mixture of fable in their history, in a greater or less degree. Its effects have been wonderful, and have often stimulated noble pride, in emulating the merits of ancestors; therefore, as such a vein could be of no detriment to the state, the encouraging it may, in some respect, be looked upon as a public service. The less inquisitive ages, who were just polished from barbarity, but, as yet, not refined by arts, have been ever too proud to own either the humble virtues, or the ignoble means, by which, perhaps, their ancestors rose to empire, and have, therefore, struck out a new creation of historic wonders. The Scots have had their share of this spirit; and no other art could ever have supported them, under

A. D. 387.

The northern Britons break through the pretences.

Crysanthus sent to Britain by Theodosius, as his vicegerent.

Crysanthus is created a bishop.

At this period of time the Scots fix the restoration of their monarchy.

Maximus raises a considerable army of Britons. Passes over to the continent. The imperial army in Germany acknowledge him emperor.

Gildas.

The situation of the Britons.

A. D. 391. under their various disadvantages of living upon a barren soil, struggling with powerful neighbours, and being rent by civil dissension. Under such circumstances, credulity becomes virtuous, and imposture meritorious. They produced princes and patriots, whose emulation equalled, in fact, all the virtues which their imaginary ancestors possessed only in fable. I hope the reader will pardon this apology for my rejecting the high antiquities of a people, who gave a race of monarchs to England, upon whose right the hereditary title of the present royal family is founded. But an author, who writes to an inquisitive age, which requires no supplemental aids of history, ought to stick to truth, and to be fearless of all consequences. We now return to the main thread of our history.

We have seen the Roman Britain drained of its strength by the tyrant Maximus. He was opposed by Gratian, who, after being deserted by part of his forces, was put to flight, and murdered by Maximus. This success having confirmed the power of the latter, he created his son Fl. Victor first his Cæsar, and then his partner in the empire. His ambition extending with his fortune, he drove the emperor Valentinian out of Italy; but the latter flying to Theodosius, the emperor of Constantinople, obtained the assistance of an army, at the head of which, Theodosius attacked and defeated the tyrant; who, being abandoned by the Britons, his sole support, was, by them, delivered up to the conqueror, and, by him, put to death. The Britons of his army then dispersed themselves over the continent, and, most of them settling in Armorica in France, ignobly avoided being witnesses of the calamities which, soon after, fell upon

their mother-country, and which their endeavours might have prevented.

This conduct, probably, was owing to the advantages which the imperial party in Britain had obtained over that of Maximus, during his stay upon the continent; for we have reason to believe, that the Britons returned to their allegiance immediately after the departure of the tyrant. As a proof of this, we find that Gratian's wife actually was in Britain at the time Maximus was pursuing Gratian; and some historians say, that the pretext of her being arrived from Britain (1) gave the traitor Andragathius the hint of a stratagem how to dispatch him.

The Roman empire, after several revolutions of government, was, soon after the defeat of Maximus, united in the person of Theodosius. This prince left his empire divided between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. Britain, as belonging to the western division, fell to the latter, yet a minor, and under the tuition of the celebrated Stilico. Whether this general ever was in Britain has been doubted by some; though I think it is probable he was. Thus much, however, is certain, that it was by his means that the incursions of the Scots and Picts were again quelled; they were driven beyond the Scottish wall. This expedition is fixed, with the greatest probability, before Stilico entered upon his consulate, which he did in the year of Christ 400; therefore we are not to confound this assistance, brought by Stilico, with the succours afterwards afforded to the distressed Britons, in consequence of two famous embassies they sent for that purpose (2). A learned antiquary is of opinion, that the name of the Roman governor in Britain at this time was Victorinus; for, notwithstanding

The empire divided by Theodosius between his two sons. Britain falls to Honorius, under the tuition of Stilico, by whom the Scots were driven beyond the Scottish wall.

Cambden.

(1) The death of Gratian is differently related. Zozimus says, that, after his defeat by Maximus, he was obliged to fly, with three hundred horse, towards the Alps, and was killed, near the bridge of Sigidunum, by Andragathius, whom Maximus sent after him. Other authors tell us of a wife invented by this Andragathius; and that he found means to make Gratian believe that his wife was come out of Britain to see him, which he believing, approached the litter where he thought she was; and that Andragathius, who was concealed in the litter, suddenly leaped out of it, and murdered him.

(2) All our English historians, but especially Rapin (who seems, through all the Roman period of this work, to have wrote from the very worst translators of those who had translated from the original authors) have been miserably mistaken with regard to the times of the three applications made by the Britons to the Romans for succours, and consequently the chronology of this part of our history becomes extremely perplexed. The accurate Stillingfleet, from the words of Gildas, is strongly of opinion, that the first application was made between the time when Maximus carried over the British forces to the continent, and the setting up Gratian for emperor. That the Picts and Scots attacked south Britain in that time, and that the Roman forces relieved them, is without dispute; but then it is plain, from the relation of Bede, that this juncture did not produce the first of the three famous embassies. I am apt to believe, that Victorinus was, at this very time, governor, or at least an officer, for the Romans in Britain. The following elegant compliment, paid him by Claudius Rutilius, in his Itinerary (book i. verse 500.) proves, at least, that he had a command here about this time:

Conscius oceanus virtutum, conscia Thule,
Et quæcunque ferox arva Britannus arat.
Qua præfectorum vicibus frænata potestas
Perpetuum magni fœdus amoris habet.
Extremum pars illa quidem discessit in orbem,
Sed tanquam medio rector in orbe fuit.
Plus palmæ est illos inter voluisse placere,
Inter quos minor est displicuisse pudor.

Therefore there was no occasion for any formal embassy from the Britons, to engage the imperial court to move to their assistance. Stilico was too active a minister to neglect the care of Britain at a time when the evacuation, by the tyrant Maximus, gave him so fair an opportunity to re-establish the Roman authority here. His success was glorious; and, as such, is celebrated by Claudian, the poet of his praise, who introduces Britain speaking in this manner:

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hybernem
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Thetis.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremere, nec littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.

Thus englished by the right reverend editor of Cambden:

“ Him Thule, him the vanquish'd ocean knows,
“ And those vast fields the fiery Briton ploughs.
“ T' abuse their pow'r where yearly prefects fear,
“ A blest increase of love rewards his care.
“ Tho' that great part another world had shewn,
“ Yet he both worlds as easy rul'd as one.
“ 'Tis nobler gentle methods there to use,
“ Where roughest means would merit just excuse.”

“ Me, when of peace a barb'rous foe bereav'd,
“ His cares protected, and his courage sav'd:
“ Propp'd by his hand, when Ireland's hostile tide,
“ Bore all her youth to wound my fenceless side,
“ Fearless, the fight of Scots and Picts I bore,
“ And all the swarms of Saxons on my shore.”

A. D. 408.

Britain in
quiet from
the insults of
the Picts and
Scots.But this tran-
quility of
short duration.The emperor
Honorius's
letter.

Zozimus.

The conse-
quence of it.The Britons
chuse an
emperor,
whom they
soon put to
death.And make
choice of a
second, who
meets the
same fate.Their third
choice is Con-
stantine.

ing all the ravages of the northern people, and the distractions of the Roman government, the provincial Britons still preserved their allegiance to the imperial court, and the Roman forms of government were still kept up here. The cares of Stilico, and the seasonable checks he had given to the inroads of the Scots and Picts, seemed, for some time, to restore Britain to a state of tranquility. But this lasted no longer than the barbarians were awed by the neighbourhood of Roman arms; for, in the year 402, Rome itself being upon the point of falling into the hands of the Goths, Stilico was obliged to recall from Britain the forces he had sent to its relief.

This event gave the barbarians another opportunity of again attacking the dispirited Britons. There is no room to doubt that the imperial officers here took care to lay before their master the desperate state of his affairs in Britain; for we learn that Honorius wrote a letter to his provincials, encouraging them to make head against their enemies. We are not, with some writers, to imagine, that this letter was intended to absolve them from their allegiance to the imperial court; but that it was meant only to excite them to exert all their courage, that their dependence might be less chargeable to their master. I am, however, inclined to believe, that this letter gave a handle for the Britons to think of erecting themselves into an independent government. Accordingly, they proceeded to the choice of an emperor, which fell upon one Marcus; but he not answering expectation, was soon put to death. They next threw their eyes upon one Gratian, a countryman of their own; him they adorned with all the distinctions of imperial dignity: but he too soon experienced the fate of his predecessor, after a reign of four months. The choice of the people then fell upon one Constantine, a man of spirit and resolution.

The first action of this prince was to raise a strong body of natives, for the defence of his kingdom against the inroads of the barbarians. Whether this was only a pretence for raising men, or whether he actually re-

pelled the so much dreaded inroads, does not so clearly appear. Thus much is certain, that the fate of his two predecessors, and the calls of his own ambition, led him to follow the example of Maximus, with whom he may be fitly compared, for his fortune, conduct, success, and the fatal effects of his government. For, having collected all the remains of the British youth, which, either through unripeness of years, or other accidents, had staid behind Maximus, he passed over to the continent. This evacuation gave the finishing blow to the Roman interest in Britain.

Constantine having landed at Boulogne in France, the omen of his name, joined to the terror of his arms, soon effected an universal defection of all the forces on this side the Alps from the imperial authority. His conduct and courage upheld his fortunes; for, notwithstanding the defeat and death of his two generals, Justinian and Nevigastes, by the imperial forces, he bravely defended Valentia, till the terror of a new reinforcement, in his favour, from Britain, obliged his enemies to abandon the siege. His after-success was such, that he was associated in the imperial dignity by Honorius; and his son Constans, who, from a monk, became a prince, bravely reduced Spain to his own authority, being created Augustus by his father. It is foreign to our purpose to follow the fortunes of Constantine through all their traverses; all that belongs to this history, is to inform the reader, that his bold attempts ended in the death of himself and all his family, about the year 411.

It was while this tyrant was besieged in his capital of Arles, that we have reason to believe the Britons made their first application to Honorius for assistance. Their state, exhausted of their forces, lay now at the mercy of their old enemies. It is more than probable that this application was made to the emperor through count Constantius, at the time he was freeing Gaul from the Gothic tyranny, about the year 414. Though there was little room to hope, in the then distracted state of the

A. D. 414.

He drains
Britain of the
flower of its
youth, and
goes over to
the continent.His imme-
diate success.He is asso-
ciated by
Honorius.
His son Con-
stans reduces
Spain.The period in
which the
Britons pro-
bably first ap-
plied to the
emperor for
assistance.

In another passage of the same poet it appears, that Stilico restored peace to the Britons.

domito quod Saxone thetis
Mitior, aut fracto secura Britannia Picto.

But, in the mean time, there is nothing which can induce us to believe, that this was in consequence of any embassy from the Britons. As to the expressions of Gildas, no stress can be laid upon them. He speaks in an oratorical, and not in a chronological sense. He wants to touch the passions for his countrymen, whose distresses he throws altogether in one group. Let us, therefore, have recourse to Bede, for settling the chronology of these three events. In the first place, then, he tells us, that the election of Gratian happened in the year 407, or two years before the Gothic irruption into Europe, under Alaric. Now Stilico was killed in the year 408. He likewise informs us, that, after the sack of Rome by the Goths, the Romans lost all power in this island. He then proceeds to inform us of the irruption of the Picts and Scots; and assigns, as a reason for their success, the evacuation of Britain, drained of its best forces by the ambition of the tyrants, who can be no other than first Maximus, and then Constantius. Exin (says he) Britannia in parte Britonum, omni armato milite, militaribus copiis universis, tota floridæ juventutis alacritate spoliata quæ tyrannorum temeritate abducta nusquam ultra domum rediit: prædæ tantum patuit, utpote omnis bellici usus prorsus ignara. He then proceeds to tell us, that their hostilities were so violent, they were obliged to send to Rome for succours. Bishop Stillingfleet, in opposition to this express testimony of Bede, says, that it seems not probable that any supplies should be sent through Gaul, while Constantine remained there, the army, through which they were to pass in Gaul, taking part with Constantine, against Honorius: but, under favour of this great man, the Roman affairs in Gaul, at this very time mentioned by Bede, had taken a very favourable turn; and count Conitantius, who was the imperial general there, had both leisure and opportunity enough to have sent them over a legion about the year 414; and, soon after, the Roman affairs took a still more favourable turn. So that, if we fix the two first embassies, and the succours sent, to have happened between the years 414 and 419, no manner of absurdity can remain, with regard to Bede's relation; since it is plain that the two first embassies, and the rescues following upon them, happened in a very short time, perhaps in less than twelve months of one another.

Roman

Thus englished by the right reverend editor of Cambden:

"That seas are free, secur'd from Saxon power,

"And Picts, once conquer'd, Britain fears no more."

A. D. 445. Roman empire, that the emperor would be able immediately to recover his authority in Britain; yet it would have been impolitic in him to have suffered the door to be shut against all his power, by permitting the barbarians to become absolute masters here. Besides, if the Britons were relieved for the present, gratitude might prevail with them to resume their allegiance to Rome, or at least to wait for a fit opportunity of declaring themselves in favour of their old masters. The imperial court, therefore, touched with their tears, and the promises of an eternal subjection, if speedily relieved, (1) sent a legion, completely armed and provided, to their assistance. These succours drove back the invaders to the Pictish territories with great slaughter, and counselled the Britons to rebuild their barrier upon the enemy's frontiers, in order to prevent their incursions. They then took the first opportunity of leaving the island, which the venerable historian says they did with great joy and triumph.

A legion of Romans sent to aid the Britons,

repel the invaders,

and return.

Bede.

The Britons, in a rude manner, rebuild their barrier against the Scots, &c.

But, if better built, it had been no defence. The reason wherefore.

(2) But the Britons, upon the departure of their allies, had no artists left among them for conducting such a piece of military architecture. However, they went to work the best way they could; and, beginning about two miles west of the monastery of Abercorn, carried a kind of a wall, built of turf, more than stone, westward to Dumbarton.

This work, had it been executed in a more masterly manner than it was, would have been no defence against the dreaded irruptions of the barbarians. (3) The Scots, by their frequent intercourse between Argylshire, or the western parts of Scotland, where they were settled, and Ireland, had

great plenty of small vessels, which we are to believe they managed with great dexterity. They did not, therefore, wait to attack the defenceless works of the Britons, but waisted themselves over the friths in great numbers. The desolation they brought with them, and the unresisting behaviour of the Britons, are compared, by my last mentioned authority, to the cutting down standing corn, then trampling and treading it under foot. Again the Britons applied to Rome for relief; again they represented their country as on the verge of immediate ruin, and implored the pity of the imperial court, not to suffer the barbarity of foreigners to extinguish the glory of a province so long eminent under the Roman sway. A legion, perhaps the same that had just before left Britain, was again sent to their assistance, who, arriving in the autumn, attacked, routed, and drove over their friths the barbarians, little expecting such a visit. The northern nations on the continent had, by this time, like an inundation, overspread the face of the Roman empire; it was, therefore, impracticable for the then emperor to make any settlement of his forces in Britain. The Roman general, who was here at that time, was named Gallio, of Ravenna; and, notwithstanding the pressing emergency of his masters upon the continent, yet he was unwilling to leave the Britons exposed and defenceless to the future attacks of their enemies. He exhorted them again to stand to their arms, and to repair their barrier. But the former wall, built between the friths of Clyde and Forth, proving entirely ineffectual for their protection, they fell to work to repair that of Severus, in the north of England (4).

A. D. 445.

The Britons a second time implore the assistance of the Romans.

A second aid sent them, which drives the barbarians beyond the friths.

Gallio, the Roman general, in Britain.

The Britons repair the wall of Severus.

The

(1) Ob harum ergo infestationem gentium, Brittones legatos Romam cum epistolis mittentes, lacrymosis precibus auxilia flagitabant, subjectionemque continuam dummodo hostis imminens longius arceretur, promittebant. Bede Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 12.

(2) At insulani murum quem jussi fuerant, non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus construunt, utpote nullum tanti operis artificem habentes, ad nihil utilem statuunt. Fecerunt autem eum inter duo freta vel sinus de quibus diximus maris, per millia passuum plurima; ut ubi aquarum munitio deerat, ibi præsidio valli fines suos ab hostium irruptione defenderent: Cujus operis ibidem facti, id est valli latissimi et altissimi usque hodie vestigia certissima cernere licet. Incipit autem duorum ferme millium spatio a monasterio Aebercornig ad occidentem, in loco qui sermone Pictorum Peanfahel, lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun appellatur; et tendens contra occidentem terminatur juxta urbem Alcluith. Bede Hist. Ecclesiast. gent. Angl. lib. i. cap. 12.

(3) Verum priores inimici ut Romanum militem abisse conspexerant mox advehi navibus irrumpunt terminos, cæduntque omnia, et quasi maturam segetem obvia quæque metunt, calcant, transeunt. Bede from Gildas.

(4) The description of this last wall, though very full in Gildas, is, notwithstanding, very perplexed. In Bede it is very clear, and yet our antiquaries differ greatly with regard to its situation. The learned primate of Armagh, archbishop Usher, notwithstanding his usual accuracy, seems to be greatly mistaken on this head. He thinks, that this last stone wall, built by the Britons, was built where they had raised their turf wall just a little before: for he imagines, that men of common sense would never retire a hundred miles, and leave all that space of territory to their enemies, just after beating them; or that they would abandon the narrowest part of the island, in order to fortify that part which is almost three times broader, and therefore must cost three times the expence and labour. The author of the appendix (numb. 5.) to Bede's history, published at Cambridge in 1722, has likewise mistaken this matter, though he is right as to the main of that dissertation: for he imagines the wall built by Severus to have been of turf, and upon the foundation of that of Adrian. He likewise mentions a stone to have been found at Carlisle, inscribed, Septimo Severo imperatori qui murum hunc condidit. But, in the first place, I do not remember any good authority to prove that such a stone ever was found. Secondly, every reader, that knows the least of antiquity, must be immediately sensible, from the stile of this inscription, that it is not monumental. Lastly, though such a stone had been found there, it is no proof that the wall of Severus was built of turf, since the vicinity between it and Adrian's rampart must make it very difficult to ascertain to which wall any stone found thereabouts could belong. Taking it, therefore, as an undoubted fact that the wall of Severus was built of stone, the last wall, built by the Britons, must have been built between the friths of Clyde and Forth, or else there must have been two walls built in the north of England. The former opinion is maintained by the learned primate above-mentioned; but, against it, we have the express testimony of Bede, who, speaking of the last wall, says, that it was built of stone by the Britons, with the assistance of the Romans; that it was eight foot broad, and twelve foot high; that it ran due east and west; and that it was built from station to station, or rather between those forts which had been erected for the defence of the Romans. But I shall give his own words: Quin etiam, quod et hoc sociis quos derelinquere cogeantur aliquid commodi adlaturum putabant, murum a mari ad mare recto tramite inter urbes quæ ibidem ob metum hostium factæ fuerant, ubi et Severus quondam vallum fecerat, firmo de lapide conlocarunt: quem videlicet murum hætenus famo sum atque conspicuum, sumptu publico privatoque, adjuncta secum Britannorum manu construebant, octo pedes latum et duodecim altum, recta ab oriente in occasum linea, ut usque hodie intuentibus clarum est. Besides that, the author of the Capitula Gildæ, cap. ix. p. 3. edit. Gal. published by Dr. Gale, from an ancient MS. says expressly, that the first of these two walls was between Kaer-eden, a most ancient city, within two miles of Abercorn, towards the east; and ending at Alcluyd, or Dunbrinton, towards the west; and that the last wall was at a great distance from the first, built in Northumberland, and began at Wall's-end, near Tinmouth, and ended at the sea of Galloway, that is Solway-frith. Fordum, lib. iii. cap. 3, and

A. D. 446.
Reason for
this.

The reason why they thus changed the seat of this barrier may be easily accounted for, when we consider that the latter wall being extended from sea to sea, their territories were more inaccessible than when their enemies had but two narrow friths to pass, as was the case with the barrier in Scotland. In the next place, the countries between the two walls having ever been debateable lands, and often possessed by the northern Britons, it was a wise and a right conduct in the southern Britons to give them up.

The Scots el-
bow the Picts.

The Romans had declared they were to expect no farther assistance from them. The Scots, by this time, were grown so numerous, that they were elbowing the Picts; and the latter had no other way of defending themselves, but by both joining in attacking the debateable territory. This was taking away the bone of contention, and removing from the Scots at least the necessity of farther incroachments. It has been objected, indeed, by a learned primate, that the extent of the southern wall required too many hands to defend it; but we are to

They join and
attack the de-
bateable lands.

Usher.

consider, that it was built along the Roman stations, which, by this time, were converted into inhabited towns; that the many exploratory castles, with which it was filled, gave the Britons, upon all occasions, an opportunity of seeing where they should be attacked; that the number of defendants were at least as numerous, in proportion, as those of the assailants, whom we cannot suppose would have attacked it on all quarters at once; therefore it was easy for the Britons, by their situation on their wall, to fly to the defence of any one part of it, upon the shortest warning.

The Romans advised them to another precaution, which was to build castles on the sea coast, at some distance from one another, wherever they apprehended an invasion from the barbarians. At the same time they furnished them with patterns, by which they were to make arms for their own defence; and, giving them their best advice for their future conduct, they took their last farewell of the island.

A. D. 446.

The Romans
advise and in-
struct the Bri-
tons for their
security,

and leave Bri-
tain for ever.

67, hath much the same description of both these walls. As he is the honestest, the oldest, and the most industrious of the Scotch historians, it will be proper to acquaint the reader, that he tells us, that king Fergus married the daughter of one Graim, a Britain, who was guardian to his grandson, during his minority, after the death of Fergus; that this Graim overthrew the wall built in Scotland, whence it is called Graim's dyke. At the same time he makes a particular distinction between this wall and that built where that of Severus stood. The former, he saith, begins from the east, upon the south-side of the Scottish shore, near a village called Karedin, and then, for twenty-two miles, crosses the land, leaving Glasgow on the South, and ends on the bank of the river Clyde, near Kirk-patrick. The other, he saith, begins on the east, in the southern bank of the Tyne to Gaitheved, or Goatshead, where Severus, saith he, a long time before had made a wall and a trench over-against Newcastle, and so it is continued to the river Esk, called Scottishwath, for sixty miles, and ends near Carlisle, on the west. The same author says, that when the Scots made a new incursion, they opened passages in the wall with iron crows, and other instruments, and this they called to thirl the wall; and that the part of the wall thus attacked was called Thirl-wall. Now the venerable prelate admits, that there is a place called Thirl-wall, upon the borders of Northumberland and Cumberland. Upon the whole, the objections of the learned primate are by no means to be put in competition with the express authority of Bede, and the other strong presumptions for placing this wall in the north of England. At the same time, the mistake of Bede, in supposing this wall to have been entirely built by the Britons, is easily accounted for, when we reflect that he did not know Severus had built a stone wall in the same place; therefore, seeing a stone wall there, it was natural for him to conclude, that this must have been the wall raised by the Britons immediately before the Romans left the island. But, as it is an undoubted fact that Severus did build a stone wall there, and as the building such a wall from the foundations, and in a very short time, was a work infinitely beyond the power of the rude Britons and a small handful of Romans; I say, from all these considerations, we may fairly conclude, that all they did, upon this occasion, was to repair the wall of Severus; even that was a work prodigious for their then circumstances: and Bede tells us, it was done both by a public and a private expence, *Sumptu publico privatoque*.

THE

HISTORY of the ENGLISH CHURCH,

FROM THE

First Propagation of CHRISTIANITY in BRITAIN, to the Year of our LORD Four hundred and three.

The author's
plan in the
history of the
church.

IN the general view which I intend to exhibit of ecclesiastical affairs to my readers, at the end of every period of this history, I shall endeavour, as much as I can, to confine myself to the following particulars.

First, To give place to no ecclesiastical proceedings, points of doctrine, articles of faith, or heads of controversy, but as they

are immediately connected with civil history, the peculiar province to which this undertaking belongs.

Secondly, As I write the history of England, in points of fact and matters of controversy, which fall under my attention, I must be directed by the authority of the English church, in those ages, when, after emerging from a long night of barbarism,

rism, she became the sanctuary of learning, and the pattern of purity; when the modes of her religion underwent the test of the truest critical learning, and the authority of her establishment was founded upon the impartial result of severe enquiry; when she separated the dross of worship from the gold, and retained only as much of popery as popery had of Christianity.

Lastly, I shall fairly give a place, in the notes, to the discussion of those few points of fact which have been urged by the church of Rome, or by any particular sect of Christianity, as affecting either the credit of the English history, or the authority of their civil and ecclesiastical rulers.

It cannot be supposed that, from the scanty materials we have for a history of the early propagation of Christianity, we can be able to give any certain accounts of the first propagation of our religion here. The preaching of the gospel by Joseph of Arimathea, and the settlement of a church at Glasfenbury in Somersetshire, are, indeed, told with great plenitude of monkish proof; but neither the facts themselves, nor even the tradition of them, can bear the test by which every matter ought to be tried that is delivered as history; I mean an enquiry

Glasfenbury tradition groundless.

into the age, the credit, and the opportunities of knowledge which those authors had, upon whose testimony the fact rests (1). As to the other evidences, drawn from charters, seals, and the like, they have been so often detected of palpable forgery, that, to take any farther notice of them, is below the dignity of criticism (2).

We need not therefore have recourse to fiction, since historical truth furnishes us with the strongest proof that Christianity was introduced very early in Britain. We have even the strongest presumptions from the writings of those Christian authors who lived nearest to the time of our Saviour, and had the best opportunities of information, that the Christian religion was brought hither by St. Paul himself, or at least in the time of the apostles. Eusebius, a very inquisitive writer, and in great credit with Constantine, the first Christian emperor, says, that the apostles passed over the ocean, and (3) arrived at what are called the British islands. Theodoret, another very early historian, who flourished in the year 420, and was a bishop, says, that St. Paul brought salvation to the islands that lie in the ocean. And, in another passage, he expressly names the Britons, as a people whom St. Paul con-

Christianity early in Britain.

(1) "It seems to be a little suspicious, at first view, that so considerable a part of the antiquities of this church should be wholly passed by, by the most ancient and inquisitive writers of our affairs, so that neither the true Gildas, nor Bede, nor Asserius, nor Marianus Scotus, nor any of the ancient annals should take the least notice of this tradition." Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ, p. 6, 7.

(2) Notwithstanding the manifest proofs of forgery fixed upon this account of Joseph of Arimathea's translation to the church of Glasfenbury; yet, as it has universally infected our own histories, and as it gained credit, for many ages, among men of all ranks, from the palace to the cottage, the reader has a right to the whole of the story, as we are told it by William of Malmesbury, in his book of the Antiquity of the Church of Glasfenbury. "After the glorious resurrection, and triumphant ascension of our blessed Saviour, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, the success began to spread, the number of believers increased daily, and all of them maintained such a friendly and charitable correspondence, that they seemed to have but one heart and one soul. The Jewish priests, with the Scribes and Pharisees, growing envious at the progress of Christianity, stirred up a persecution against the church, murdered the proto-martyr St. Stephen, and made the country too troublesome for the rest. Thus the storm blowing hard in Jewry, the disciples dispersing, went off into several countries, according to their respective commissions; and, as they travelled along, preached the gospel to the Gentiles. Among these holy men, St. Philip, as Freculphus relates, lib. ii. cap. 4. arriving in the territories of the Franks, converted a great number of them; and, being desirous to enlarge his master's kingdom, he picked out twelve of his disciples, and dispatched them to preach the gospel in Britain; Joseph of Arimathea, as it is said, being one of the number, and constituted a superior to the rest. These holy missionaries coming into Britain in the year of our Lord 63, and in the fifteenth of the blessed Virgin's assumption, published the doctrine of Christ with great industry and courage. But the barbarous king, and his subjects, being somewhat alarmed at so unusual an undertaking, and not relishing a persuasion different from his own, refused to become a proselyte; but, in consideration of the length of their voyage, and being somewhat charmed with their unexceptionable behaviour, gave them a little spot of ground, surrounded with fens and bushes, to dwell in. This place was called Ynswittrin by the natives, and situated upon the confines of his dominions. Afterwards two other pagan kings, being affected with their remarkable sanctity, gave each a certain proportion of ground, and, at their request, settled twelve hides of land on them, by instruments in writing, according to the custom of the country; from whence it is supposed the twelve hides, now part of the abbey's estate, had their denomination. These holy men being thus settled in this place, which was no better than a wilderness, were, in a short time, ordered by the angel Gabriel, who appeared to them, to build a church in honour of the blessed Virgin, in a place to which they were supernaturally directed; who immediately pursuing their instructions from heaven, built a chapel, the walls of which were made of osiers twisted together. This small structure was finished in the one and thirtieth year of our Saviour's passion, having little of ornament in the figure, but very remarkable for the divine presence, and the beauty of holiness: and this being the first church in this island, the son of God was pleased to grace it with a particular distinction, dedicating it himself in honour of his mother. These twelve holy men above-mentioned, serving God with extraordinary devotion in this place, and making particular addresses to the blessed Virgin, and, in short, spending great part of their time in watching, fasting and prayer, were, as is reasonable to believe, supported, under all the difficulties of their condition, by the assistance and appearances of the blessed Virgin. And, for the truth of this matter, we have St. Patrick's charter, and the writings of the ancients, to vouch for us." We are told, by other authors, that the king, who was thus generous to these saints, was Arviragus. The name of such a man has indeed crept into all our histories, and he has been adopted as a British king; but this has no better foundation than the lines in Juvenal, which are put into the mouth of one of Domitian's flatterers.

Et ingens
Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumph:
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus—
Juv. Sat. iv. lin. 124.

"See, the mighty omen! See!
"He cries, of some illustrious victory!
"Some captive king, thee, his new lord, shall own;
"Or from his British chariot headlong thrown,
"The proud Arviragus came tumbling down."

Dryden's Juv. p. 87.

From this passage, I say, our historians have fixed a king Arviragus upon England; but I think there is no manner of reason for believing we know any more of him than his bare name; nor do the words of Juvenal positively imply that he was a British king. I should rather be inclined to think, from the copulative, that he was not. The temones Britanni, by this time, were very celebrated, and commonly used; and it would give a great turn of humour to the poet's satire, should we consider this Arviragus as one of the charioteers which, we are told, so much engrossed the attention of the court of Domitian.

(3) *Ἐπὶ τὰς καλεσµένας Βρετανικὰς νήσους.* I own I cannot help entertaining some suspicion, from this manner of expression, that it might have been some isle belonging to Britain which Eusebius meant; especially when we consider how great a courtier he was with Constantine, and the great improbability of his speaking in this indefinite manner of a country in which his master and patron had so great an interest.

verted to Christianity. Add to these the testimonies of St. Jerom, and Clemens Romanus, who was cotemporary with the apostles; the latter tells us, that St. Paul preached to the utmost bounds of the west, the common expression, in those days, for the Britannic isles. From these testimonies of authors, who come within the description of historical evidence, we may fairly conclude, that the Britons have as early a claim to be thought converts to Christianity as any of the Gentiles. I cannot here omit a corroborative proof of St. Paul being the apostle of Britain, drawn from the eight years in which we have no account of his labours; for so long it was, from the time of his being set at liberty, in the fifth year of Nero, and his return to Rome, all which time, we are assured, from ancient authors, he spent in the western parts.

From all this we may reasonably, with Gildas (1), fix the first dawn of the evangelic light, in this island, to have happened about the eighth year of Nero, before the defeat of the Britons, under Boadicea, by Suetonius Paulinus. From what I have said of the state of Britain at that period, it appears, that the Romans were then very numerous in this island; there is one circumstance of policy never attended to by our ecclesiastical writers, which might have given the active zeal of the apostle a fair opportunity of introducing his master's doctrine to the Britons at that time. The Romans, who looked upon the number of inhabitants as the strength of their colonies, observed a maxim, in which they have been imitated by all the wisest people of after-ages; this was, ever to encourage the resort of inhabitants, of all kinds, to their infant settlements. St. Paul, who was himself a Roman citizen, perhaps laid hold of this favourable conjuncture. It is very probable that he might have been encouraged in this design by Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, legate in Britain under the emperor Claudius, who was a Christian.

The Roman historian tells us, that she was accused of foreign superstition, but left to the judgment of her husband and her relations, who acquitted her after a fair trial, according to the ancient usages. The same historian (2) adds, that this lady, ever after, led her life in deep sadness, and continual melancholy: that, for forty years, she made use of no habit but was mournful, and expressed no sentiment but what was sorrowful. These being the characteristics of a primitive Christian, there is no room to doubt of her

religion. When St. Paul was at Rome, her husband was in high reputation; and his wife, through his means, no doubt, became perfectly well acquainted with the dispositions of the Britons, and the probability of the apostle's success in their island. We may add to this the abomination to the Druids worship, introduced by erecting a temple to Claudius, and the scandal which this innovation might have given to the more severe professors of that sect; not to speak of the intolerable exactions to which it gave rise, through the avarice of the priests. It is likewise not at all unlikely that the long continuance of Plautius in this island might have occasioned some intercourse between the captive family of Caractacus and the family of Plautius; and if any of the Britons were converted at that time by St. Paul, he had still a farther opportunity of making himself acquainted with the manners and dispositions of the country, and even of carrying letters of recommendation to their countrymen.

Having given these positive and presumptive proofs of the early preaching of the gospel to the Britons, we are not to look for any series of its success in times when we are so much at a loss with regard to the civil government of the Britons themselves. But, notwithstanding what I have said with regard to the ridiculous tradition of Glassenbury, I am far from thinking that the impostors, who invented these forgeries, were entirely destitute of all encouragement from the truth of history. In short, I believe, in the more early days of Christianity, when it was confined to a few only, and afterwards, in the times of persecution, the professors might have chosen this isle of Avalonia, where Glassenbury now stands, as a proper retirement for the practice of their religious duties. Nay, it is very probable, that some kind of place of worship might have been built, or rather raised here, some time before the Christian religion came to be openly professed.

That there were several Christians here in Domitian's days, is very probable; but, notwithstanding this, we cannot be sure that the Claudia mentioned by St. Paul, in his epistles, was the same with Claudia Rufina, the fair lady so much celebrated by Martial. That she was a Briton, is very certain; but Martial writes of her as in all the bloom of beauty, which, it is thought, she could not well have been in his days, if she was a woman in those of St. Paul. I find, however, some very great

The Claudia Rufina the same Claudia mentioned by St. Paul.

(1) Interea glaciali frigore rigenti insulæ, et veluti longiore terrarum recessu, soli visibili non proximæ verus ille non de firmamento solum (L. sol) temporali, sed de summa etiam cælorum arce tempora cuncta excedente universo orbi præfulgidum sui coruscum ostendens tempore (ut scimus) summo Tiberii Cæsaris (quo absque ullo impedimento ejus propagabatur religio comminata senatu nolente a principe morte dilatoribus militum ejusdem) radios suos primum indulget, id est sua præcepta Christus. §. 6. "In the mean time, Christ, the true sun, afforded his rays (that is, the knowledge of his precepts) to this island, shivering with icy cold, and separate at a great distance from the visible sun; not from the visible firmament, but from the supreme everlasting power of heaven. For we certainly know, that in the latter end of the reign of Tiberius, that sun appeared to the whole world with his glorious beams; in which time his religion was propagated, without any impediment, against the will of the Roman senate, death being threatened, by that prince, to all that should inform against the soldiers of Christ.

(2) Pomponia Græcina insignis femina Plautio, qui ovans se de Britannis retulit, nupta, ac superstitiones externæ rea, mariti judicio permixta. Isque prisco instituto, propinquis coram, de capite famaque conjugis cognovit, et infontem nuntiavit. Longa huic Pomponiæ ætas, et continua tristitia fuit. Nam post Juliam Drusi filiam dolo Messalinæ interfectam, per quadraginta annos, non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi mæsto egit. Tacitus Annal. lib. xiii.

Different opinions with regard to this. authorities, who are of opinion that they are the same (1); and I shall give the reader the reasons why it is not at least impossible for both Claudias to have been but one person. St. Paul, in the second epistle to Timothy, mentions Claudia and Pudens. Now it is certain, from another epigram of Martial, that the British Claudia was married to one Pudens:

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti;
Maſte eſto tædis, ô Hymenæe, tuis.

In English;

“ The British Claudia ſhall my Pudens wed;
“ Bleſs them, thou guardian of the marriage
“ bed!”

And in another celebrated epigram he ſays,

Claudia cæruleis cum ſit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latia pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ? Romanam credere matres
Italides poſſunt, Athides eſſe ſuam.

In English:

“ Though Britain firſt beheld fair Claudia’s
“ charms,
“ Her gen’rous breſt a Roman virtue warms:
“ With Greece, with Rome, her mind, her
“ perſon vies;
“ Fair as the Greek, and as the Roman wife.”

Now, though Martial lived indeed in the reign of Trajan, yet we are told, at the ſame time, that he was intimately acquainted with Silius Italicus, the famous poet, who was conſul at the time of Nero’s death. Therefore, as theſe epigrams are written with the gaiety of a young poet, it is not, I ſay, abſolutely impoſſible that the apoſtle’s friend and the poet’s theme ſhould be the ſame. This circumſtance of Pudens and Claudia, being joined together in the epistle as well as in the epigram, carries with it, I think, fairly ſpeaking, too honeſt a face of probability to be got over by any critical nicety, depending entirely upon the uncertainty of fixing a year or two. This conjecture is ſtill more ſtrongly confirmed by the celebrated inſcription found at Chicheſter (2), where one Pudens is mentioned as giving the ground upon which a Roman temple there was built. Now, as Chicheſter lay among the Regni, who inhabited the firſt acquiſitions the Romans made here; as this Pudens, by giving this ground, appears to have had a property in the country; and as we are certain that Pudens was married to a British lady, where can the abſurdity lie in ſuppoſing that this Pudens became proprietor of thoſe lands in her right? But, to bring this matter ſtill nearer to probability, we are to re-

member, that there is all the reaſon in the world for believing, that the epigram which mentions the marriage of Claudia, was written in Domitian’s reign: therefore, ſuppoſing Claudia to have been ſeventeen at the time ſhe is mentioned by St. Paul, and to have lived ſeventeen years longer, there is nothing abſurd in imagining a fair lady, at that age, capable of inſpiring a gay poet with the ſentiments of love, as well as of eſteem, to which Martial’s compliment indeed ſeems to be chiefly confined. It is certain, however, that ſhe was a very accompliſhed lady, and confirmed the obſervation which Agricola made, about that time, concerning the pre-eminence of genius in Britons, above that of the neighbouring nations; ſince ſhe poſſeſſed all the intellectual, as well as natural, perfections which diſtinguiſhed the firſt wits of Greece and Rome.

Tertullian, who flouriſhed in the reign of Severus, and his ſon Caracalla, a time when the ſtate of Britain was very well known to the Romans, mentions the nation of Britain as having received Chriſtianity; and, from thence, draws an argument, as if Chriſt were the Meſſias, becauſe the utmoſt parts of the earth were thereby given to his poſſeſſion. I am far from laying any ſtreſs upon this paſſage of Tertullian, as if ſouth Britain had been, at that time, generally Chriſtian; and the rather becauſe his words point at the Britons to whom the Roman arms had never yet penetrated, which can be meant only, as the learned biſhop Stillingfleet ſays, of the Caledonians, who lay to the north of the wall. As to the provincial Britons, though there is the ſtrongeſt probability that many of them were, at this time, Chriſtians; yet the paſſage we have in Xiphilin (3), containing the repartee which a British queen gave to the emperors Severa, is a pretty ſtrong proof that the nation in general was not Chriſtian.

The account given by Bede of the famous conversion of Britain by king Lucius is as follows: (4) “ That in the reign of Marcus Antoninus Verus, and his brother Aurelius Commodus, and in the pope dome of Eleutherus, Lucius the king of the Britons, ſent the latter an epistle, entreating him that he might become Chriſtian by his authority; and, ſoon after, he obtained the fruit of his pious ſolicitation; and the Britons preſerved inviolably, intirely, and peaceably the Chriſtian faith to the time of Diocleſian.” But, from what I have already ſaid, the firſt preaching of Chriſtianity in Britain was not owing to this prince. A number of corroborative evidences (5) confirm this meſſage of Lucius

Tertullian mentions the conversion of the Britons;

but this is to be confined to the Caledonians.

King Lucius writes to Rome for miſſionaries.

but this was not before Chriſtianity had taken place in Britain.

(1) This is ſhe whom St. Paul mentions in his ſecond epistle to Timothy, according to J. Bale, and Matthew Parker, archbiſhop of Canterbury; nor is it amiſs in point of chronology, though others differ in that opinion. Cambden, p. 77.

(2) See note 3. p. 45.

(3) See note 1. p. 53.

(4) Anno ab incarnatione Domini centefimo quinquageſimo ſexto Marcus Antoninus Verus, decimus-quartus ab Auguſto, regnum cum Aurelio Commodo fratre ſuſcepit: quorum temporibus cum Eleutherus vir ſanctus pontificatui Romanæ eccleſiæ præſſet, miſit ad eum Lucius Britanniarum rex epistolam, obſecrans ut per ejus mandatum Chriſtianus efficeretur: et mox effectum piæ poſtulationis conſecutus eſt, ſuſceptamque fidem Britanni uſque in tempora Diocletiani principis inviolatam integramque quieta in pace ſervabant. Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Gent. Angl. lib. i. cap. 4.

(5) Pet. de Natal. l. i. c. 24. Notker. Martyrol. 8 calend. Junii. Baron. A. D. 166. n. 2. Naucler. Chron. vol. ii. Gen. vi. Pant. de viris illuſtrib. Germ. p. 1. M. Velfer. rer. Vindel. l. vi. Tſchud. deſcript. Rhæt. c. 18. Munſter. Coſmograph. l. iii. p. 518. Ferrar. nova Typograph. p. 44.

to Eleutherus, and the disagreement, in point of chronology, is but inconsiderable. It is true that Bede, when he mentions this conversion of king Lucius, does seem to intimate, that it was the first time of this nation's receiving the gospel; but then we are to consider that Bede was a Saxon, unfriendly to the Britons; and that the accounts of a more early conversion is expressly given us not only by more ancient and more inquisitive authors of foreign nations, but by Gildas, who was a Briton, and a proper judge of British affairs; but indeed there is no inconsistency between both the accounts. It is certain that Lucius must have been informed of the Christian religion before this message; nay, that, in his heart, he must have been a convert to Christianity; therefore the purport of his message might have been to obtain proper missionaries; men of learning, and duly commissioned, to instruct himself and his subjects in the Christian religion. As to his applying to the bishop of Rome for this, it gives no manner of advantage to any arguments for the pre-eminence of the see of Rome over others. The communication, at that time, with Rome, was frequent and open to Britain; the Britons must therefore naturally be supposed to apply to that bishop to whom they had the most easy access. Nor indeed, in the then state of religion, can we suppose that they knew of any other bishop to apply to. As Lucius therefore was desirous to be solemnly baptized, and as we cannot suppose the succession of priesthood to have been so regularly preserved in a country subject to such commotions as Britain then was, it was natural for Lucius to be in some doubt as to the validity of the mission of the professors in his own country.

The learned primate of Armagh has advanced one very strong circumstance to convince us, that there was such a king as Lucius in Britain at this time; for he tells us, that he had seen two (1) coins with the image of a Christian king upon them, as he conjectured by the crosses, with the letters LVC. Whether the crosses, in so early an age of Christianity as was the reign of Antoninus the philosopher, or of his son Commodus, may be any proof of this fact, or whether it is not a manifest mark of monkish forgery, let others determine. There is another coin, exhibited by Mons. Bouterue, with a man's head; and upon the reverse, a boar and a star; the inscription LVCCIO. If, as that gentleman and others think, this medal relates to Lucius, the first Christian king in Britain, I think it bids fair to settle this king Lucius north of the Roman wall. The northern Britons had for their emblem a boar, as appears from many inscriptions and passages of antiquity. As to the star, I shall not presume to advance any conjecture, but leave it to my reader, whether he chuses to consider it as an emblem of the dawn of the gospel, so often signified as a morning star, or as expressive of the northerly situation of the country.

(1) See Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, in the plates of Scotland i. ix. xvi. Cumberland lxx. Durham xvi.

I must not here omit acquainting my reader, that the names of the two persons sent by Lucius upon this commission to the bishop of Rome, are called, by our historians, Eluanus and Medwinus; and we are farther told, that, after being instructed in Rome in all the principles of the Christian religion, they returned to Britain, where they were very useful and laborious in propagating the faith.

We meet with little concerning the British churches till we come to the persecution of Dioclesian. This prince, suspicious and jealous of his own authority, began a cruel persecution against the Christians, of which those in Britain had a large share. The martyrdom of St. Alban is recounted at large by Bede; and both he and Gildas, with the consent of the most creditable authors of the Romish church, tell us, that a great many more, amongst whom Aaron and Julius are named, suffered martyrdom at that time in Britain. This great persecution, mentioned by the two historians, could not have happened before the year 303, under the consulate of Dioclesian and Maximianus, the first for the eighth time, and the latter for the seventh. In the year following, those two emperors having resigned, they were succeeded by Constantius Chlorus and Galerius; the former, as we have seen, having obtained Britain as part of his empire, was favourable to the Christians, and a long calm succeeded. The confessors for religion, at this time, began to reappear in public, from the woods and caves, where they had been hid during the late persecution. They rebuilt the churches which had been ruined, and renewed every rite of the Christian worship; which remained undisturbed, says Bede, till they were attacked by the Arian madness. We must here observe, by the bye, that Eusebius, in compliment to his great patron Constantine, expressly tells us, that, while Constantius was Cæsar, he observed a different conduct from the two emperors and his colleague Galerius, in keeping his hands unpolluted by Christian blood; and that he permitted the subjects of his government to exercise their religion, without molesting their persons, or demolishing their churches. But it is very plain, from the testimony of unquestionable authors, both of our own and other countries, that Constantius either had not the power or the inclination to shew such favour to the Christians under his government, because it is certain that Britain was immediately subjected to him at the time of this great persecution. I believe, however, that it was rather through want of power, than inclination, to prevent it; especially when we consider that the imperial edicts always took place in the government of their Cæsars. The council of Arles was held in the year 314, and then we have a plain proof of the settled state of the British churches; for we find three bishops subscribing to this council, viz. Eborius, bishop of York, Restitutus, bishop of London, and Adelfius, de

Eluanus and Medwinus the persons sent to Rome by Lucius.

The persecution under Dioclesian.

St. Alban suffers martyrdom, with many more in Britain.

Constantius Chlorus favourable to the Christians.

Eusebius's compliment to Constantine,

but ill grounded.

Three British bishops at the council of Arles.

The reasons for Lucius requiring missionaries from Rome.

Camb. Gib. Ed.

civitate coloniæ Londinensium. Several conjectures are formed by our learned antiquaries, with regard to the name of the latter place (1), some thinking it to be Colchester; but there is all probability in the world that Lincoln was meant by this place, since an ancient chorographer of Britain calls that place Lindum colonia, agreeable to its being called Lindum in the itinerary of Antoninus, and by Ptolemy; so that there can be little doubt that this colonia Londinensium is a mistake of the transcriber for colonia Lindi. I shall not trouble my reader with the traditions, which depend entirely upon the credit of Geoffrey, with regard to the twenty-five flamens, and the three archflamens, formerly settled in the twenty-eight cities of the ancient Britons, and of the equal number of bishops and archbishops appointed by king Lucius to succeed them. But one of the most learned critics of the last age thinks that the name flamen was common to all the priests in the Roman cities, and these generally had an archflamen, who was called the flamen of all the gods (2). Therefore the learned bishop Stillingfleet thinks, upon the whole, that there is no such mighty absurdity in supposing, that, when these flamens were put down, the Christian bishops succeeded in their places.

Ravenna.

Christian bishops succeed the flamens.

Decrees of the council of Arles why sent to Rome.

Though the succession of bishops in the British church, about that time, is not clear, as indeed, in the then situation of their country, how could it? Yet it is plain, from their being admitted to the council of Arles, that their validity was not, at that time, questioned; and this is as strong a proof of their succession as the nature of the thing can admit. The decrees of this council were sent, by the subscribing bishops, to the bishop of Rome, to be promulgated; but not (as the advocates of the Romish church pretend) to be confirmed. As the British bishops formed part of this synod at Arles, we may look upon its principles as the principles of the British church at that time. Now, in their letter to the bishop of Rome, they are far from giving him those pompous epithets adopted by the impiety of after-ages; they call him their dear brother; they say that they were all knit together in one common bond of charity and unity; that they were met at Arles in obedience to their most pious emperor; that they should have been glad of their brother the bishop of Rome's company; but that, since they could not have the pleasure of that, they had sent him an abstract of their canons, that he might publish it through all his diocese. These are sentiments worthy of the purity of the church; but so far from favouring the arrogant claims of the see of Rome, that it is surprizing her advocates should not only give them a place in their writings, but build their arguments upon their authority.

I hope the reader will excuse my dipping thus far into controversy; but the duty of an English historian calls upon him to be as jealous of the independency of the religion, as of the government, of his country. The growing impostures of the church of Rome too fatally connected speculation with fact, and, upon imaginary claims, erected a superiority destructive of civil rights.

We know not the particular number of bishops, at that time, in Britain; but we are sure that there could not be less than seven, and probably there were a great many more. For the twentieth canon of that council ordains, that no bishop should consecrate another alone, but he ought to take seven with him, or at least three; which shews, that the council of Arles supposed there were, at least, seven bishops then in Britain.

Stillingfleet. At least seven bishops in Britain.

There is all the reason in the world to believe, that bishops from Britain assisted at the council of Nice. Constantine, in convoking that council, ordered summons to be made out for bishops from all the provinces, which summons accordingly were served; and if so, there is no manner of reason for doubting, that they were present at the council of Nice. There is the greater reason still for believing this, when we consider the strong attachment which Constantine might reasonably be presumed to entertain for Britain, and the little probability there is, that, after the British bishops had assisted at the council of Arles, they would have been left out of a summons to the council of Nice. At the same time we must not forget that Eusebius informs us, the provident emperor gave orders to have the public carriages ready, and all the expences of their journey defrayed out of the imperial exchequer. As to the particular decrees of this council, I shall not take notice here of those which relate to the independency of the church in general, and therefore of the British church in particular, upon the see of Rome; but refer my reader to the many excellent writings of the English divines on that head, where he will find the matter fully cleared up. It is sufficient for me to say, that this council established the right of ecclesiastical election and jurisdiction in the bishops; that the authority of provincial synods was there settled; and that metropolitans were exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, who must be allowed to have had a patriarchal power within certain limits, but never extending to Britain. And be it remembered, in answer to all the claims of the Romish church, that there is no instance, in those days, of the bishop of Rome consecrating the metropolitans, or bishops of the British provinces; of their summoning them to their councils, or hearing their causes; of their receiving appeals from hence, or exercising any le-

Eusebius. British bishops at the council of Nice.

The emperor defrays the expence of the bishops journeys.

The right of ecclesiastical election and jurisdiction, &c. settled in the above council. Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, had patriarchal power, but not extended to Britain. No jurisdiction exercised in Britain by the bishop of Rome.

(1) Mr. Selden takes it to be Camelodunum, and so written Camalodon, which the ignorant scribes made col. Londinensium. Sir H. Spelman likewise supposes it to be the old colony of Camalodunum. Archbishop Usher thinks it was Colchester.

(2) Flamen Divorum omnium. Jacobus Gutherius de veteri jure Pontificii, l. i. c. 6.

gantine authority within the British dominions. When these intrusions first took rise, shall be seen in the course of this history.

Arianism and Pelagianism in Britain.

As a history of the doctrines of the church is not my present purpose, I am far from thinking myself obliged to pursue all the theological controversy with regard to the prevalence of Arianism and Pelagianism in Britain, though it must be fairly owned in general, that they had but too much effect upon civil affairs; but where they have, they shall be taken notice of in the history.

British bishops at the council of Sardica.

The next meeting at which we find any British bishops present, was the council of Sardica, convoked on account of Athanasius, who had been condemned by the eastern bishops. The see of Rome began now to gain ground; and it must be owned, that some decrees were made in this council which favour an appeal to Rome, and some other usurpations of that see. But this power is greatly circumscribed even by that council, the right of judgment being, in the first instance, vested in the bishops of the province; besides, whatever decrees (1) were made by this council, or rather this assembly of bishops, can never affect the independency of the English church, it having been convoked at a time when the purity of religion began to decline, itself being guilty of some unwarrantable practices.

The see of Rome begins to gain ground.

No appeal to Rome from Britain for a long time after the council.

Again we are to reflect, that this authority was given by a particular council, upon the peculiar circumstances of a case, and could never have been meant to establish any permanency of superiority in the bishops of Rome, since it has been proved largely, that, long after the council of Sardica, no appeal was ever made to the see of Rome from the churches of Gaul, in which province those of Britain were included. But that which absolutely overthrows all pretences of superiority in the more early times, of the Roman church over that of Britain, may be gathered from the very argument that is urged to establish it; for, if there had been any such superiority before this council, to what purpose were the decrees of this council formed? They prove, at least, that no such superiority had ever existed before the year 370. This takes away all manner of claim of primitive, far more of divine, authority, in the bishops of Rome, over our church. But let us add, in the last place, that this council of Sardica, or, as others call it, of Sardis, had little or no reputation in the world, and that its decrees were never universally received by the Christian church.

Reasons for the independency of the British church.

Council of Ariminum.

British bishops sent to it.

I shall forbear to give any particulars with regard to the council of Ariminum, or Rimini, which was held about the year 359, that falling into the province rather of a divine than an historian. All I shall observe is, that the British churches did send bishops to that council, and that it was indeed an Arian council. But we find, from

several passages of Athanasius (2), Jerom (3), and Chrysostom (4), which are certainly in this point proper evidences, that the British churches were never infected with Arianism; since the first of those fathers mentions them as adhering to the Nicene faith, and the other two mention them several times as agreeing with the other churches in the true faith. And we find it laid down, in the fragments of Hilary (5), as a fact, that the Gallican bishops, among whom the British were included, after the council of Ariminum met together at Paris, renounced the decrees of that arch-heretical assembly, and confirmed the profession of the Nicene faith. We are told, by an ancient author, that three of the British bishops, who were present at this council, were obliged to accept of the emperor's allowance for entertainment, being too poor of themselves to defray their own charges, and unwilling to burden their brethren. This poverty of our ancient bishops has been subject to various criticisms. A learned author (6) has made it appear, that the endowments of the clergy upon the continent were large about this time; but adds, very judiciously, that Constantine drawing all the wealth and trade of the empire eastward, and this country having been so long harrassed with wars, and even at that time subject to the incursions of the Scots and Picts, it is not strange, that the British churches should not be in so plentiful a condition as those which were the seat of trade and government.

The profession of the Nicene faith confirmed.

Poverty of the British bishops.

Pelagius, the famous heretic, according to Bede, was a Briton; and, by the assistance of a deprived bishop, whom the same author calls Julianus de Campania, disseminated his doctrines in this island. The true name of this heretic is supposed to have been Morgan, and is claimed by the Scots as a native of their country (7). Pelagius, by the confession of his adversaries, was a man of great subtilty in reasoning, had a peculiar sagacity and quickness of discernment, and great vehemence of expression. As to his morals, St. Augustine himself confesses, that he had the esteem of being a very pious person, and a Christian of note. His doctrine, after many traverses, was brought from Gaul, where it had prevailed, into Britain by one Agricola, who was obliged to retire from France on that account. There is no doubt, that its being strongly supported on the continent, and having a Briton for its author, facilitated the propagation of Pelagianism in this country. The founder part of the clergy, however, alarmed by the progress it had made, applied to the Gallican church for their advice and assistance on this occasion. The latter called a great council, to consult what was proper to be done; and made choice of two eminent bishops, whom they sent over to reclaim the lapsed from their errors, to confirm the sound in their faith. The names of these bishops were Germanicus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus,

Pelagius a Briton.

His true name.

He is claimed by the Scots.

His character from St. Augustine.

Who introduced his doctrine into Britain.

Upon which a council is called by the Gallican church, which sends two bishops to Britain.

(1) Stillingfleet's Orig. Eccles.

(2) Athanasius ad Jov. p. 246.

(3) Hieron. ad Marcel. ad Emagr.

(4) Chrysost. tom. iii. p. 696.—tom. vi. p. 635.—tom. viii. p. 111.

(5) Hilar. Frag. p. 431.

(6) Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 176, 177.

(7) See Mackenzie's Lives of Scotch Writers.

EXPLANATION of the MAP of SAXON-ENGLAND.

A Bban-dun, or Abben-dun, Abingdon, or Abbyndon, in Berkshire.
A ce-manner-*ceaster*, Bath in Somersetsh.
A ce-lea, by some thought to be Okely in Surry, by others, Acly in the bishopric of Durham.
A cran-mynster, or *Æ* xan-mynster, Axminster in Devonsh.
E piner-*chf*, probably Eggecliffe in the bishopric of Durham.
E geler-byriz, or *Æ* glerbunh, Ailesbury in Buckinghamsh.
E geler-*ponb*, or *Æ* gler-*þnep*, Ailesford in Kent.
E gler-punðe, Eilesworth in Northamptonsh.
E lget-*ée*, or Abelpet-*ée*, perhaps Adlingfleet in Yorksh.
E lm, Elm in the isle of Ely.
E rcer-dun, Aston in Berksh.
E rc-tun, Ashton in Northamptonsh.
E rt-feld, Eastfield in Northamptonsh.
E rtun, Easton in Northamptonsh.
E refing-*roce*, Tavistock in Devonsh.
E ðandun, Eddington in the west of Wiltsh.
E ðelbryhter mynster, a famous church, built in Hereford, to the memory of Ethelbert, king of the East-Angles.
E ðelhun-izlonb, a field granted to the church of Peterborough by king Ethelbryth.
E ðelinga ðene, Alton in Hampsh. on the borders of Suffex.
E ðelinga izze, Athelney in Somersetsh.
E þene, the river Avon.
E þene-muð, the mouth of the Avon, on the borders of Somersetsh. and Gloucestersh. where it empties itself into the Severn.
E . Albane, St. Alban's in Hertfordsh.
E lþepingle, Oldwinkle in Northamptonsh.
E mbrybyri, Amberbury, near Stone-henge, in Wiltsh.
E ncaryz, Thorney-isle in Cambridgesh.
E nþerepa, Andover in Hampsh.
E nþed, or *Andneþer-leaz*, a wood, reaching formerly from the southern parts of Kent, along Suffex, into Hampshire; the Kentish part of it is now called the Weald.
E ndneþer-*ceaster*, a city or fort in or near the wood of Andred.
E ngel-cyn, or *Angel-cýnner lonb*, England.
E ngler-*ege*, the isle of Anglesey.
E pulþe, Appledore in Kent.
E runbel, Arundel in Suffex.
E rpan, probably the river Orwel, dividing Suffolk from Essex.
E rpanbun, Ashdown in the south of Essex, according to Camden; but his right reverend editor thinks it is Assington in the same county.
E . Auguriner mynster, St. Austin's at Canterbury.

B.

Baccanels, perhaps Beckenham in the west of Kent.

Babbabyrg, Badbury in Dorsetsh.

Babecanpylla, Bakewell in Derbysh.

Bappe, Barrow in Rutlandsh.

Baring, Basing in Hampsh.

Baſan-cepceſi, Baſdon, Baſde, Bath in Somerſetsh.

Beam-bune, Bampton in Devonsh. on the borders of Somerſetsh.

Beampleor, South Bemſete in the ſouth of Eſſex.

Beapdanz, Bardney in Lincolnsh.

Beapucſcine, Bapucſcine, Berkſh.

Bebbanbuph, Bebbanbuph, Bamborrough in Northumberland.

Beban-foſb, Beſican-foſb, Bedford, the metropolis of Bedfordsh.

Beban-foſb-ſcine, Bedfordsh.

Bebanhearpe, Bedwin in Wilts.

Beneſica, a river near Bennington in Hertfordsh.

Benningtun, Bynningtun, or Beneſingtun, Benſon, or Benſington, in Oxfordeſh.

Beoſepic, Beverley in Yorkſh.

Beoſclea, Barkley in Gloceſterſh.

Beoſg-foſb, Burford in Oxfordeſh.

Beoſnicar, the Bernicians.

Beſanbyrg, Banbury in Oxfordeſh.

Bolhiſde-geaſ, a gate on the ſouth-ſide of the monaſtery of Peterburgh, now called Bulldike-gate.

Borenham, Boſham in Suffex.

Bpadan æ, the name of ſome river in or about Cambridgſh.

Bpadanpelic, ſome of the iſlands at the mouth of the Severn, between the counties of Somerſet and Merioneth, probably that now called Stepſholme.

Bpadenſpob, Bradford in Wilts.

Breccenanmeſe, Brecknockmere, near Brecknock, in Wales.

Breſdene, Bredon-foreſt in Wilts.

Brent-foſb, Brentford in Middleſex.

Breobune, a portion of territory near Peterburgh, given to the church of Peterburgh by Ethelred, king of Mercia.

Breodun, Brecon in Worceſterſh.

Breten-land, Bryten-land, Britain.

Bricgſtop, Bricſtop, Briſtol, on the borders of Gloceſterſh. and Somerſetſh.

Briſge, or Bricge, Briſge, or Bridgenorth, in Shropſh.

Britene, Brytene, Bretene, Britain.

Britar, Bretar, the Britons.

Britric, Bryt, a Briton.

Brunanbuph, Brunburh in Cheſh.

Buccingaham, Buckingham.

Buccingahamſcine, Buckinghamſh.

Buph, Bunch, Peterburgh in Northamptonſh.

Bupnepubū, Bernwood-foreſt in Buckinghamſh.

Burtingtun, Burdizingtun, Buttington, on the bank of the Severn, in Shropſh.

Bypeneſ-ſtan, Beveſtone in Gloceſterſh.

Bypne, Burton, on the bank of the river Trent, in Staffordſh.

E.
 e, Carehouse in Northumberland.
 alne, Caln in Wiltsh.
 annganmenreer, marshes, probably about
 the sea-coasts of Somersetsh. near the hundred
 of Cannington.
 ant-papa-buph, Canterbury, the metropolis
 of Kent.
 ant-pape, the people of Kent.
 epleol, Carlisle in Cumberland.
 ephnum, Charmouth in Dorsetsh.
 eptna, Castor in Northamptonsh.
 earten, Chester.
 ent, Leintond, the county of Kent.
 entingar, Lentrigan, the inhabitants of Kent.
 onter-ige, Chertsey in Surry.

Epnicep-ford, Chisford in the west of Hampf.
Epnicepleag, leah, Somner thinks it is
 Chardley in Buckinghamsh.
Epticepna, Cardifore, about the mouth
 of the river Yare, in Norfolk.
Eice, St. Olythe in Essex.
Eingerune, Liningertune, Kingston.
Eiprecaftern, Eicaftern, Chichester in
 Suffex.
CLEUCESTRIA, CLOECISTRIA, CLAUDIA,
 Gloucester.
Elirtun, Clifton in Dorsetsh.
Elirpn, Chiltern-hills, dividing Oxfordsh.
 from Buckinghamsh.
Elue, Clyff in Northamptonsh.
Eloephoo, probably Abington in Berksh.
Colne, the river Colne in Essex.
Colneceaftern, Colchester in Essex.
Coluderpunh, Coldingham in the marshes of
 Scotland.
Loepe, an old camp, in the middle of the ifle
 of Perbeck, in Dorsetsh.
Loeppealar, the inhabitants of Cornwall.
Lopham, Cofham in Wiltsh.
Lortep-ford, a portion of territory given by
 Ethelred, king of Mercia, to the church of Pe-
 terburgh, perhaps Cosford in Warwicksh.
Lotingham, Cottingham in Northamptonsh.
Louente, Couentry in Warwicksh.
Eneccilade, Eneccagelade, Creeklade in the
 north of Wiltsh.
Eneccanpord, Eneeganpord, Crayford in
 Kent.
Eribantun, Kirton in Devonsh.
Eriuland, Eroyland, Crowland in Lincolnsh.
Eumbja-land, Eumej-land, Cumberland.
Epana-pic, Lantpic, Canterbury.
Eparhucce, Cambridge, according to Somner;
 but more probably Bridgenorth in Shropsh.
Eichelmer-hleape, Cuckamsley-hill in Berksh.
Eymenepora, Cymenshore, near Wittering, in
 Suffex.
Eymenep-ford, Kempsford in Gloucestersh.
Eynet, Kennet in Wiltsh.
Eyniger clife, some place in Northumberland.
Eypanham, Chippenham in Wiltsh.
Eynenceaftern, Eynnceaftern, Cirencester
 in Gloucestersh.
Eypucbyrig, Chirbury in Shropsh.

D.

Dæg-ran, Dæg-ran, Dauston in Cumberl.
S. Daur, the bishopric of St. David's in Pem-
brokeſh.
De-penar, the inhabitants of Devonſh.
De-penarcýne, De-pnarcýne, Devonſh.
Deomob, the ſouth part of Wales, containing the
counties of Merioneth, Pembroke, and Car-
digan.
Deonabý, Derby, the chief town of Derbyſh.
Deonbircýne, Derbyſh.
Deonham, Durham in Glouceſterſh. and Durham
in Norfolk.
De-par, the inhabitants of Deira.
De-rapuda, a wood in Yorkſhire, in which
ſtood the monaſtery of Beverly.
Digelin, Dublin in Ireland.
Doo-erðong, Doſtroy in Northampton.
Dopne, Dover, a ſea-port town, in Kent.
Dumuc, Dunwich, on the ſea-coaſt, in Suffolk.
Dorce-earſten, Dorcheſter in Oxfordſh.
Don-ýræt-ar, Don-ýræt-ar, the inhabitants of
Dorſetſh.
Don-ýrcearſten, Canterbury.
Dun-ýfelſa, Driffield in the eaſt-riding of Yorkſ.
DUBLINIA, Dublin.
Dun-ýtapple, Dunſtable in Bedfordſh.
Dunholm, Durham, the chief town of the bi-
ſhopric of that name.

Eaderbýrīg, Eddesbury in Chesh.
 Eadmunderbýrīg, Bury in Suffol.
 Eadulfer nasse, the Ness in Essex.
 Eart Lentinȝar, the inhabitants of the eastern
 parts of Kent.
 Eart-Engle, Englar, Englan, the East-Angles.
 Eart-Seaxe, Sexar, the East-Saxons, now
 the county of Essex.
 Eczbýrhter stan, Brixton, on the western
 borders of Wiltsh.
 Ege, Eye, near Peterburgh, in Northamptonsh.
 Egonerham, Ensham in Oxfordsh.
 Ellenbun, Wilton in Wiltsh.
 Elig, the isle of Ely.
 Englapelba, Inglesfield, near Reading, in Berksh.
 Engla-land, Ængla-land, Engle-land, England.
 Engle, Englar, Anglar, Anglar, the Angles.
 Eofen-pic, Efen-pic, Euen-pic, Eofen-
 pic ceaster, York.
 Erendic, Ascendyke in Cambridgesh.
 Ercceſtreȝa, Exeter in Devonsh.
 Ertun, Easton in Leicestersh.
 Euerham, Evesham, or Esham, in Worcestersh.
 Exan-ceastre, Excester, or Exeter, in Devonsh.
 Exan-muð, Exmouth in Devonsh.

F.
Faupersfeld, Feversham in Kent.
Feapnubun, Farrington in Berksh.
Feapnham, Farnham in Surry.
Feðanleag, Frethern, on the east bank of the
Severn, in Gloucestersh.
Finchamptede, Fynchamsted in Berksh.
Fokeþ-jran, Folkstone in Kent.
Folier, some place about the limits of North-
ampton and Lincoln.
Fnomuð, the mouth of the river Froome in
Dorsetsh.
Fullanham, Fulham in Middlesex, on the bank
of the Thames.

G.
 Ĵagul-ſond, Camelford in Cornwall.
 Ĵagneſburgh, Gainsborough in Lincolnſh.
 Ĵilbeneburgh, Peterburgh.
 Ĵillingſa, Gillingham, a town and foreſt, in
 Dorſeth.
 Ĵlaptingabyng, Ĵlaptingbyri, Glaſfenbury
 in Somerſeth.
 Ĵleapan-ceanen, Ĵlepe-ceanen, Ĵlep-
 ceſten, Ĵlou-ceanen, Gloſter in Gloceſterſh.
 Ĵleap-ceanen ſeine, Gloceſterſh.
 Ĵnantanbyyge, Ĵnantenbyge, Cambridge.
 Ĵnantabyyge ſeyn, Cambridgeſh.
 Ĵnena-pic, Greenwich in Kent.
 Ĵpper pic, Ipſwich in Suffolke.

p.
 Heefeld in Northumberland.
 Hastings in Suffex.
 Pagurto, Pagurto-éc, Pagurto-e
 Pagurtoberham, Hexam in Northumb.
 Hamton, Hampton.
 Hamton-ryne, Hamph.

þeamsrēde, Hamsted in Berksh.
 þeanbyrig, Swinhead in Huntingdonsh.
 þearfelo, þeðfelo, Bishop-Hatfield in Hert-
 fordsh.
 þeladynn, Ellerton in Yorksh.
 þengerterdun, Hengston-hill in Cornwall.
 þeort-ford, Hertford in Hertfordsh.
 þeort-ford-ryne, Hertfordsh.
 þere-ford, Hereford in Herefordsh.
 þere-ford-ryne, Herefordsh.
 þeðfelba, Hatfield in Yorksh.
 þibeinnia, Ireland.
 þocnepatun, Hookenorton in Oxfordsh.
 þolme, Holme-wood in Suffex.
 þneopāndun, Repton in Derbysh.
 þripum, Rippon in Yorksh.
 þrofer-cearter, þnor-cearter, þroue-
 cister, Roue-cearter, Roue-certer,
 Rochester in Kent.
 þumber, the river Humber in Yorksh.
 þundhoge, Huncot, in the hundred of Spark-
 enhoe, in Leicestersh.
 þuntendune, Huntingdon in Huntingdonsh.
 þuntendune-ryne, Huntingdonsh.
 þweallage, Whaley in the east of Lancash.
 þwepepile, Whorwell in Hampsh.
 þpiccar, the that inhabited about the mouth
 of the Severn.
 þpit-cine, Whitchurch.
 þpirtene, Whittern in Galloway, a province
 of Scotland.
 þyrting þep, Irthingburgh in Northamptonsh.
 þyðe, Hyth, or Hyde, in Kent.

I.
 canhoe, Boston in Lincolnsh.
 ole, a rivulet rising in Shirwood in Northum-
 berland.
 glea, some place between Brixton and Edding-
 ton in Wiltsh. perhaps Clay-hill.
 u, pū, Colmkill, an island lying between Scot-
 land and Ila.
 ncingsapelo, Archenfield in Herefordsh.

K.
 Kereping, Kettering in Northamptonsh.
 Kyrtingrun, Kyrtington in Oxfordsh.

L.
 ambhyðe, Lambeth in Surry.
 egeceapten, Legeceapten, Ligceapten,
 Weſtcheſter, Cheſter, chief town of Cheſhire.
 egeþceapten, Leþþaceapten, Leþþa-
 ceapten, Liþþaceapten, Lþþþaceap-
 ten, Leiceſter, chief town of that ſhire.
 æþneceaptenſcýne, Læðceaptenſcýne,
 Leiceſterſh.

ga, the river Lee; it rises near Weathurstede in Hertfordsh. and, dividing Middlesex from Essex, empties itself into the Thames near Greenwich.

gton, layton in Essex.
 Limene muð, the mouth of the river Limene.
 There are great disputes with regard to this
 word. The Saxon annals place it in the east
 of Kent, on the east of the great wood of
 Andred; the Romans called it Lemanis, Le-
 mannis, or Lemavin, now Lyme; some think
 it the same with Hyth, or West-hyth; some
 believe it be Lym-hill; but Mr. Sommer took
 it to be New Romney.
 Lincolne, Linacelyne, Lincolla, Lincoln, chief
 town of Lincolnsh.
 Lincolneþryce, Lincolnsh.
 Linnir þanna ée, Holy-island.
 Linderige, Lindirri, Linderre, Lindsey in
 Lincolnsh.
 Lene, the county of Louthian in Scotland.
 Lene, Lumbone, Lumbune, Lumbenþyrig,
 Lumbenbuph, London in Middlesex.
 Lgeanbuph, Leighton in Bedfordsh.

elbun, Maldon in Essex.
 enize, Mancyn, Mannie, the isle of Anglesey.
 eplebeonge, Marlborough in Wiltsh.
 egeſetap, the inhabitants of Radnor, and
 the neighbouring towns, in Radnorsh.
 elueſin, Bamborough-castle in Northumber-
 land.
 ugecarten, Manchester in Lancash.
 renſels, Warenpels, Oswestre, or Of-
 aldſtre, on the western border of Shropsh.
 elmelmerbyug, Malmesbury in Wiltsh.
 deſhamptede, Peterburg in Northamp.
 depage, Medway, a river, in Kent.
 ena, a river, emptying itſelf into the Lee,
 between Hertford and Ware, in Hertfordsh.
 nantun, Meſetun, Meſedune, Merton
 in Surry, Merdon in Wiltsh. Mereton in Oxfordſh.
 enrige, Marſey in Eſſex.
 neſepap, the inhabitants of ſenny-grounds.
 haelſtope, St. Michael's mount in Cornwall.
 del-ſeaxe, Middleſex.
 delzun, Middleton in Eſſex.
 etgumni, Montgomery, chief town of Mont-
 gomeryſh.
 nce, Myncar, the Mercians.

re, the Nefs-point in Kent.
 anleaz, Natanleoz, Natley in Hampsh.
 , the river Nynz, rising in the west of North-
 mptonsh. and running through that county.
 eoz, St. Neot's in Huntingdonsh.
 ōburh, Norburh in Northamptonsh.
 ōfolc, the county of Norfolk.
 ō-hamtun, Northampton, chief town of
 at shire.
 ōmannesfpor hundreo, Normancrofs-
 andred in Huntingdonsh.
 ō-muð, the Buoy in the Nore.
 ōan-hymbnar, Nonpŷmbnar, Nonðŷm-
 ar, the inhabitants of the kingdom of
 Northumberland.
 ōanhŷmbpaland, Northumberland.
 ō-peallar, the people of North-Wales.
 ō-peala-cyn, North-Wales.

ge, the Eight, an island in the Severn, in
cestersh.
n-*forb*, Otford in the west of Kent.
-*forb*, Oxen-*forb*, Oxona-*forb*, Ox-
-*forb*, Oxne-*forb*, Oxford, chief city
that shire.
forb-*ryne*, Oxfordsh.

P.
 Pasham, Pasham in Northamptonsh.
 Pashan, Pashan in Northamptonsh.
 Peak, the Peak of Derbysh.
 Pea, Parret, a river in Somersetsh.
 Peaptoot, the Land's-end in Cornwall.
 Peap, Pyhtap, Pyhtips, the Pyets.
 Pea, Peonks, Peonum, Pen in Somersetsh.

P

Pecceneræa, Peſenereæ, Peſenra, Pem-
sey in Suffex.

Peſtropa, Perſhire in Worceſterſh.

Pincanheal, Finkley.

Pont, Portland in Dorſetſh.

Ponteſoca, Porlock-bay in Somerſetſh.

Ponteſmuð, Portſmouth in Hampſh.

Pontland, Portland in Dorſetſh.

Porreuterbyrig, Pontesbury in Shropſh.

Pruuteſ plot, Prevet in Hampſh.

R.

Raculf, Reculver in Kent.

Reabing, Reding, Reading in Berkſh.

Rihala, Ryall in Rutlandſh.

Rogingham, Rockingham in Northamptonſh.

Rugenon, Rowner in Hampſh.

Rumicoſa, Runckhorn in Cheſh.

Rumenæa, Romney in Kent.

Rumerige, Rumſey in Hampſh.

8.
 Sæferne, the river Severn.
 Sandwic. Sandwich-haven in Kent.
 Sæfterbyrig, Shaftsbury in Dorsetsh.
 Sceaþe, the isle of Sheppey in Kent.
 Sceaþbyrig, South-Shobery, on the sea-coast of
 Essex.
 Sciraburn, Sherburn in Dorsetsh.
 Scotland, Scotland.
 Scnobberbyrig, Shrewsbury in Shropsh.
 Scnobberbyrigcýne, Scnobbcýne, Shropsh.
 Sealspu, Selwood in the east of Somersetsh.
 Searbyrig, Searobyrig, Searebeþu, Sæ-
 nerþen, Old Salisbury in Wiltsh.

Seccandun, Seckington in the north of Warwick.
 Seletun, Silton in the north of Yorksh.
 Sempiſgaham, Sempringham in Lincolnsh.
 Sliopaford, Sliford in Lincolnsh.
 Snappun, Snowden-hills in Caernarvonsh.
 Snotingaham, Snotengaham, Nottingham.
 Snotingahamſcýpte, Nottinghamsh.
 Soccabyrig, probably Sockburn.
 Staſford, Stafford.
 Staſfordſcýpte, Staffordsh.
 Stanc, Staines in Middleſex.
 Stanpoderbnycte, Stanfordsbrigg, or Battle-
 brig, in Yorksh.

tanepɪʒ, Stanwick in Northamptonsh.
tanpɒnʒ, Stanford in Lincolnsh.
tɪneɪnʒheale, Whithy in Yorksh.
tɪnɛtɒpɒd, probably Stratford upon Avon in
Warwicksh.
tɪpɛmud, the mouth of Stour near Harwich.
umɒntɒn, Sumerton in Somersetsh.
umɛnɛtɛrɛɪpɛ, Somersetsh.
ʊðbɛɪ, Sudbury in Suffolk.
ʊð-fɔlc, the county of Suffolk.
ʊðɪɪʒ, ʊðɪɪɛ, the county of Surry.
ʊð-ðeaxe, the South-Saxons.
panapɪc, Swanwick in Hampsh.
pɪnɛfɛɪfɛd, Swinhead in Huntingdonsh.

amanepeorðege, Tamworth in Staffordsh.
 ame, Tame in Oxfordsh.
 antun, Taunton in Somersetsh.
 emere, Tameſe, the river Thames.
 emereſepoſ, Tameſford in Bedfordsh.
 enet, the iſle of Thanet in Kent.
 ælpæle, Thelwell in Cheſh.
 neopopoſ, Theotopoſ, Thetford, on the
 borders between Suffolk and Norfolk.
 nojineie, Thorney in Cambridgeſh.
 nonp, Thorpe, a village near Keteſring, in
 Northamptonſh.

Northamptonsh.
Trokenholtz, Trokenhole in Cambridgesh.
Tine, the river Tyne in Northumberland.
Tinemuð, Tinemuð, Tinmouth in Northumb.
Trecearten, Treceaten in Northamptonsh.
Tunbrige, Tunbridge in Kent.
Trenta, Trenta, the river Trent.
Torkfege, Torkfege in the isle of Lindsey.
Troxnea, Troxnea, Christ-Church in Hampsh.
U.
Undale, Undale, Oundle in Northamptonsh.
Ura, Ura, the river Isis.
D.

pham, Warham in Dorsetsh.
 þingrcýne, Warwicksh.
 þingpic, Warwick.
 þinga-straet, Watling-street,
 Leam, Walton, near Peterburgh, in Northamp.
 allar, Dealar, the Welsh, or Britons.
 alon, Palon, Paler, Wales, including He-
 lfordsh. and Monmouthsh.
 alingapord, Palingpord, Wallingford in
 Berks.
 alðam, some place in the isle of Wight.
 apðbyrig, Wardbozew in Oxfordsh.
 ært-Lentingar, the inhabitants of the
 western parts of Kent.

ced, Decepport, Watchet in Somersetsh.
 dmerffons, Walsford in Northamptonsh.
 olub, the river Weland in Northamptonsh.
 nnington, Warming in Northamptonsh.
 rmojingalan, Westmoreland.
 rmyntes, Westminster.
 rt-Seaxe, the West-Saxons.
 rt-Pealar, the inhabitants of Cornwall.
 rcanpus, Westwood, in the west of Wilts.
 rcom, Wedmore in Somersetsh.
 rbandun, Wimbleton in Surry.
 rganleopne, Wenbury in Devonsh.
 rgneacarten, Dignacarten, Worcester.
 rgneacartenpreyne, Dignacarten-
 preyne, Worcestersh.
 rgangame, Wigmore in Herefordsh.
 r, Doheland, the isle of Wight.
 rganabyrug, Carebrook-castle in the isle
 of Wight.

un, Wilton.
unreynne, Wilts.
leppona, Dintlerpoune, Dintlerpoune,
kindorf in Berks.
anceapten, Dintreapten, Dintre-
n, Winchester in Hampsh.
iselo, near Leeds in Yorksh.
eale, Wirhall in Chesh.
bec, Wisbich, on the borders between the
ties of Cambridge and Norfolk.
am, Witham in Essex.
ington, Warrington in Northamptonsh.
rmagne, Withimere, a lake in Cambridge.
gip, Woking in Surry.

erbeorge, Woden's-burh in Wilts.
 etoke, Woodstock in Oxfordsh.
 eam, perhaps Odian in Hamphs.
 eberpleot, Wippoleet in Kent.
 Y.
 nra, Ireland.
 dr, Ireland.

A disputation
at Verulam.

The Pelagians
confuted.

bishop of Troyes. They were very joyfully received here, both by clergy and people; and their labours were so effectual, that they reclaimed many to the faith. The heretics, however, obstinately persisting in their errors, a disputation was agreed upon to be held at Verulam. Both parties being met, and a vast concourse of people assembled, the Pelagians opened the debate; but were so well confuted by the two bishops, that the whole assembly were confirmed in the true faith; and, says the venerable historian, the people, who sat as judges of the dispute, could scarcely refrain their hands from doing violence to the Pelagians, but testified their approbation of the orthodox by loud applauses (1).

I shall here close the account of church affairs, for the first period of this history, without troubling my reader with an account, after Bede, of the several miracles wrought upon private persons by these two holy bishops. The venerable author was certainly, in many respects, much too credulous, and appears to have been deeply tinged with the superstition of his times. He gives us indeed a more material piece of information, relating to the assistance which they gave the Britons in an invasion from their enemies; but as this falls more properly in with the history of the people than with that of the church, I shall content myself with giving, in its proper place, the fact to my reader.

(1) *Populus arbiter vix manus continet, judicium tantum clamore testatur.* Bede, lib. i. cap. 17.

END of the FIRST BOOK, including the History of the ROMANS in BRITAIN.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

From the time of the ROMANS leaving BRITAIN, to the preaching of AUGUSTIN the Monk; containing a period of about One hundred and sixty years.

A. D. 446.

WHILE the Romans continued here, the species, rather than the race, of Britons may be said to have been propagated.

The situation of the Britons when deserted by the Romans.

Their power was the oak, round which our forefathers clung; but no sooner was that withdrawn, than they became cheap and useless weeds, trod down under every barbarous foot, and plucked up by every hostile hand. Unused to all the arts of government, untrained to the exercise of arms, insensible of every generous sentiment of public liberty, they appear, from the account which their own melancholy historian gives, to have lost even the consciousness of manhood and virtue.

The precautions which had been taken by the Romans, and all the instructions they had given the Britons, proved of no service to men, whose greatest unhappiness was to live free. The northern barbarians considered them no longer as enemies, but as a herd devoted to slavery, or doomed to destruction. They renewed their attack upon the wall with all the insolent assurance of conquest; and, instead of military engines to batter it, they brought with them sharpened hooks, with which they caught the inactive Briton, who stood to defend it, and plucking him down, dashed out his brains on the ground. A war of this kind could not be of long continuance. The Scots and Picts, agreeing in nothing but their rapaciousness, soon broke through all obstacles by land, and arrived in great swarms in their curroughs and boats by sea. The Britons, dismayed, appear to have made no

Fordun.
Gildas.
Nennius.
Henry of
Huntington.
The northern
barbarians at-
tack the Bri-
tish wall, and
spread deva-
station.

resistance, and trusted all their safety to flight. This produced a bloody rout, and an universal devastation, which ended in a miserable famine. Our history here, like those times, is full of darkness, confusion and melancholy. All that a writer now can do, is to make some reasonable conjectures, which may strike out a glimmering light, to direct the reader till he falls into a more trodden path.

A. D. 446.
A famine en-
sues.
Gildas.
Bede.

The famine I have taken notice of might have been occasioned by the laziness of the Britons, who, being now without their taxmasters, neglected the arts of industry. Having been so long without property, they knew not how to improve, or even to enjoy, far less to defend, it, when they came to possess it. But this disorder of their public affairs encouraged in them all other criminal affections; ambition, lust, avarice and envy grew up, instead of that generous public spirit, which, at this juncture, might have made them a great and a flourishing people. Some authors attribute the causes of this imbecillity to the great numbers of men carried, by the late tyrants, into the continent; but this was but a partial and a temporary evil. A country so fruitful in men as Britain then was, must, in the space of thirty years, have easily recovered the loss of thirty or forty thousand of its inhabitants. Therefore the true cause of all the miseries of the Britons proceeded from the utter extinction of every virtuous sentiment, through their long subjection to the Romans; while the criminal passions, being now without a curb, raged the more violent,

The cause of it.

The character of the Britons of those days.

Gildas.
The cause of their pusillanimity.

A. D. 446. lent, and proved the more destructive, as they seemed to grow with their misery.

Their enemies, for different reasons, allow them some respite.

In the mean time their enemies, either afraid to advance because of the famine which now became general over the face of the land, or prevented by divisions among themselves, or employed in settling the conquest they had already made (perhaps from all these causes) seem to have given the wretched Britons some time to breathe. As their being restored to an independent state was the greatest of all the calamities that had yet befallen them, they again applied for relief to the Romans: but Rome, by this time, experienced all the miseries which the Britons themselves felt. The Goths, the Vandals, the Hunns, and other barbarous people committed upon the continent the same ravages which the Scots and the Picts had made in Britain. Ælius was, at that time, general to Valentinian: he was a brave, wise, and fortunate soldier: he had gained some respite, if not relief, to his master's empire from the devastations of the barbarians. The fame of this, probably, having reached Britain, encouraged her harrassed inhabitants again to apply to Rome for relief. This they did in so abject a strain, so unlike the bold and the manly sentiments of the brave Boadicea and the noble Galgacus, that the letter they sent will furnish sufficient matter for edifying reflection to the reader. It was directed as follows:

TO ÆLIUS, THRICE CONSUL, THE GROANS OF THE BRITONS.

Then, after complaining of their miserable state, they go on thus: "The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea repels us upon the barbarians; thus we have the alternative of two deaths, of being put to the sword, or perishing in the waves, without all prospect of relief." They then, according to some authors, represented, "that they were the remains of the Britons, the late subjects of Rome." To encourage them the more to fly to their aid, they inform them, "that the enemy was afflicted with famine and mortality."

They are denied aid.

The wretched state to which the Britons were reduced.

Gildas. They recover a little spirit, and make reprisals on the barbarians.

In the then situation of the Roman affairs on the continent, it was no wonder if the request of the Britons was denied. This disappointment appears to have driven them to a despair, which, had it been seconded by manly, stayed resolution, might have retrieved their fortunes, and put their liberty upon an independent footing. Some of them were mean enough, indeed, to throw themselves upon the mercy of their enemy; while others, retiring to woods and mountains, sought a livelihood from hunting. So robust a manner of life strengthening their nerves, and calling forth their natural vigour, prompted them to make reprisals upon the barbarians. This they did with success, as appears from the words of their own historian, notwithstanding all the gloom with which he writes, and the melancholy which seems to prey upon his spirit. But, as I hinted before, this was but a sudden

start, rather of despair than of courage. They were unsupported by regulated government; they seem to have been void of the social affections which tie communities together, which bring order out of confusion, and, upon the plan of self-preservation, the first principle of nature, raise the fair fabric of civil polity. Their enemies, says Gildas, their historian, departed from the Britons, but the Britons departed not from their sins. Their dread being removed, they returned to all their former degeneracy. Instead of uniting, and taking advantage of the barbarity of their enemies, they fell into civil confusion. This was encouraged by a great plenty which succeeded their days of famine, and produced that wantonness which is ever incident to weak minds in prosperity. Their clergy, who ought to have thrown out the clue, who ought to have set up the lights for conducting them through the labyrinth in which they were bewildered, were as eminent in wickedness as they ought to have been in virtue; setting an example in nothing but luxury, prodigality, and treachery; profound in ignorance, and exalted in pride.

A. D. 447.

They fall into their former degeneracy.

Plenty introduces wantonness and luxury.

Gildas. Encouraged by the pernicious example of the clergy.

Their barbarous neighbours, again taking advantage of the dissolute manners of the Britons, renewed their incursions. The faint dawn of British spirit that had begun to revive when the Scots and Picts were repelled, was, by this time, extinguished by luxury, revenge, and civil animosities. Boastful in counsel, fearful in the execution, they relapsed into all their former degeneracy, and, tired with liberty, they sought refuge in subjection.

The barbarians renew their incursions.

Gildas.

Not that there were wanting among them spirits ambitious of rule. Several petty tyrants seem to have been set up, or rather to have intruded themselves into a short-lived command; but their exaltation prompting the ambition or envy of others, became fatal to themselves. The people generally bruised in pieces the idol they had raised. If any spark of virtue appeared, if any intimations of justice, clemency, generosity, recommended a particular person to their choice, he became instantly the object of public aversion. In the few glimmerings of history which remain of those times, the name of one Vortigern has come to our knowledge. We are told, he rose to the government by unwarrantable methods, having procured the murder of his predecessor, whom Geoffrey of Monmouth, with some shew of probability, says was named Constantine, and was brother to the king of Armorica. This Vortigern possessed popularity, but without any one good quality to support it. The confusion of history prevents our knowing whether he was chosen before, or after, the enemies were repelled. Be that as it will, under his reign the Britons were visited with a terrible pestilence, which succeeded the great plenty they had lately enjoyed. The Scots and Picts, who seemed to have been unable to subsist but upon the ravages of their neighbours, had now joined their forces to invade the southern

Several little tyrants set up.

Gildas.

Vortigern obtains the government by the murder of his predecessor.

A pestilence succeeds to plenty.

A. D. 447.
The character
of Vortigern.

He calls a
council, and
proposes the
calling in the
Saxons.

A reflection
on this coun-
cil;

which ap-
proved the
proposed mea-
sure, and a
deputation is
sent.
Who the
Saxons were.

A more par-
ticular ac-
count of that
people.

ern provinces. Vortigern, whose vices, not his virtues, endeared him to a degenerate people, trembled at the apprehension of this fresh invasion; instead of endeavouring to animate his subjects to stand in their own defence, he poorly casts about how to purchase indulgence in his luxury, by bringing in a foreign race to protect his people. For this purpose he calls a council for concerting the proper means of providing a sufficient force to check the incursions of the barbarians, and to persuade them to call in the Saxons to their assistance. As we cannot suppose Vortigern to have been either without ambition or cunning to have taken this step without the participation of his council, so his being obliged to call one upon this occasion, is a plain intimation that he was not the absolute master of their lives and properties. Having found means to get his advice approved of, it was resolved to send a deputation to treat with the invited guests.

The Saxons were, at this time, formidable for their numbers, their fierceness, and naval power; they were the enemies whom Carausius, the British emperor, had been, as we have already seen, commissioned to suppress; and it appears, that they continued, from that time, till they received this invitation from the Britons, in a kind of a roving unsettled state, living upon plunder and piracy.

But it rests now upon me to give some account of a people, who are to make so considerable a figure in the following history. The northern Germans, who lived between the rivers Amasis and Eidore, which is the northern boundary of Ditmars and Holstein in Jutland, were generally called by the name of Saxons. Afterwards, moving southward, they possessed all the territory that lies between the Rhine and the Elbe; the German ocean being their boundary on the west, and the borders of Thuringen on the east. Their name they derived from a short sword which they commonly wore, and was named Sachs, or Sceaech. They are first mentioned by the Roman historians, when they have occasion to speak of Carausius. But, what is very remarkable, the Franks and Alemanni were equally unknown to Tacitus as the Saxons. Thus, so late as the days of that great historian, the ancestors of those people, who now possess the three most powerful countries in Europe (I mean England, Germany, and France) were unknown to the Roman empire; while those people who humbled in the dust the head of her aspiring capital, have even lost their names amongst men. Instructive vicissitude! directed by providence to teach us, that the duration of empire can be founded only upon those permanent arts of government, which, at once cherishing liberty and industry, found the greatness of the sovereign on the happiness of the people. Such was the constitution of our ancestors, and such the plan of government handed down to the Germans and French of latter ages. In their hands it has perished. But the lot of the Saxons was cast in more pleasant places; here their seeds

of government were spread out into a fair and flourishing tree, under whose shade the liberties of mankind have often taken refuge, and is now improved into the most complete of all human institutions. These reflections, I hope, will not be thought impertinent in one, who, as a historian, is obliged to point out the gradual progression in the civil system of our government, from those principles which were introduced by our Saxon ancestors. But to return to the course of this work. We are told, by the venerable Saxon, that his countrymen were accompanied with other two people, the Jutes and the Angles; the first from a province of Denmark, which still retains the name of Jutland, the other from the country of Anglen, situated in or near the bishopric of Sleswick. Though these three people retained, at that time, different names; yet I am apt to think the model of their government was common to all, that they were all united under one head.

A British historian informs us, that Vortigern had three motives for calling this council. The first was the dread of the Picts and Scots; the next was his fear lest the Romans should return, and, beside deposing him from his command, should take a severe revenge upon him for the murder of the Roman deputies, who were left here at the time the Romans abandoned the island. Though this is a reason mentioned I believe only by Nennius, yet I think it by no means unlikely that the Romans should leave some of their officers here for keeping up their authority, and to save the right to the island from prescribing, in case a favourable opportunity should ever happen for their attempting to recover it. Though it must be owned, that the account we have of this fact from Nennius is attended with great confusion of dates and circumstances, yet, if we put it upon the footing of probability, it is natural to think, that the ambition of Vortigern would lead him to put these officers to death, that he might more quietly enjoy his own power. The last reason given by our author, is his apprehensions from Ambrosius. This Ambrosius was a young prince, descended, as there is reason to believe, from a Roman family who had been sovereigns in Britain, possibly from that Constantine who had been so successful against the Roman emperors. There are good grounds for supposing, that his father had been murdered by Vortigern, and that the young prince escaping into Armorica in France, chiefly possessed by Britons, was there protected and educated by the prince of that country, whose name, we are told, was Budecius.

It is a misfortune to this period of our history, that all the accounts we have of this great event have been delivered by Saxons, in an age when the animosities between them and the Britons had not yet subsided. The year in which the Saxons are said to have been invited over, falls in with the 458th year of Christ; and Bede, the first Saxon historian, lived so early as the year 677.

A pe-

A. D. 458.

The Jutes and
Angles accom-
pany them
into Britain.

Nennius.
The reasons
why Vorti-
gern called
the council
before men-
tioned.

Gildas.
Bede.
Ambrosius,
who is sup-
posed to have
been.

Geoffrey of
Monmouth.
Alured of Be-
verley.

The time in
which the
Saxons were
invited hither.
Bede, in
what time he
lived.

A. D. 449.

A period of two hundred and nineteen years is too short for killing those animosities which we may easily suppose, from the acrimony with which the British Gildas writes, were mutually indulged by both people; the Saxons, I mean, and the ancient Britons. I am not ignorant that this event is likewise mentioned by Gildas, who was a Briton, and prior in time to Bede; but the fanatical manner in which he writes scarcely ever suffers him to descend to particulars. Besides, his professed acrimony against Vortigern may justly render him suspected of endeavouring to draw that prince in worse colours than he really deserved. A British historian of a later date gives us reason to believe, that the first arrival of the Saxons, under Hengist and Horsa, was fortuitous. He tells us, that three galleys, filled with exiled roving Saxons, landed in England in the year 447, which is eleven years sooner than Bede, in his Chronicle, fixes their arrival, and two years sooner than he fixes the same arrival in his Ecclesiastical History. Nennius adds, that, being headed by the two princes already mentioned, they were joyfully received, and kindly treated, by Vortigern, who settled them in the isle of Thanet (1).

Character of Gildas.

Nennius. The Saxons not originally invited in.

Reflections upon the variety of accounts.

This account, from an author who lived so near those days, reconciles many difficulties to which the vulgar historians of this event are subject. It can scarcely be supposed, that, upon so solemn an invitation as this is described to be by our old historians, so few as three ships, each ship perhaps not containing above five hundred men, should be sent to deliver a whole nation from a powerful and a warlike enemy. By admitting this account from Nennius, we likewise may be able to reconcile the great difference among historians, with regard to the chronology of this celebrated period. It is, however, on all hands, admitted, that the first body of Saxons who landed here were headed by Hengist and Horsa, brothers, of royal descent. Arriving at so critical a juncture, there is no doubt but Vortigern was extremely well pleased to incorporate into his army a body of men, who, though few in number, might yet form the Britons to military exercises, and, by their example, might animate them to repel the invading foe.

Hengist's character,

and birth.

He is supposed from a horse, which was the device on his shield.

Reflection on that animal.

Hengist, besides his royal descent, is described by several writers as possessed of many great qualifications, both in person and mind. According to the same authors, he was born in Westphalia, at a place which, to this day, retains the name of Hengistholt. The two brothers took their appellations, as was usual in these times, from the device born upon their shields, which was a horse, or hengist, both words signifying the same creature in old German. This animal appears to have been in high reputation with our Saxon ancestors, their

reverence being in common with the ancient Persians. Tacitus informs us, that the Germans looked upon a white horse unconscious of the yoke and bit, to be a fatidical animal; and that their priests and princes observed his neighings as the surest and most sacred predictions of futurity: it is no wonder, therefore, if the device of a horse has ever been in great esteem amongst the descendants of the old Saxons. It was born for many years by the house of Saxony, as it is now by the illustrious family which sits on the throne of England; an evident proof of their high antiquity, and Saxon original.

As Vortigern was pressed by the barbarians when those Saxons arrived, it was not long before the two brothers had an opportunity of giving proofs of their martial courage. They immediately joined the British forces, and, introducing their own discipline amongst them, inspired them with courage enough to march boldly against the enemy. A battle was fought near Stamford, in Lincolnshire. Darts and lances were the arms of the Scots and Picts, but axes and scymitars of the Saxons and Britons. The latter obtained the victory, and kept the field of battle, together with the booty which they recovered from the barbarians.

Vortigern, being thus delivered from the apprehension of an old and inveterate enemy, began now to consider how he might best secure himself, by taking the Saxons into his pay. The latter were soldiers of fortune; their exile was not penal, but accidental; for it was the custom of those northern nations, to cast off fleeces of their people, who went in quest of new habitations, as soon as they perceived their mother-country overburdened with her natives. The Saxons, under the command of the two brothers, were adventurers of this kind, and, we may easily believe, were fond of embracing so favourable an opportunity of making a settlement in a fine, fruitful, well-provided, well-situated country, under a prince weak and unbeloved, amidst a people divided and degenerated. Having returned to their habitations in the isle of Thanet, Vortigern concluded an agreement with them, by which he was to furnish them with food and raiment. This bargain might have been politic enough, had the numbers of the Saxons never increased, so as to become formidable to the Britons; but it is extremely plain, from the words of our old historian, that the Britons soon became sensible of their danger, from the great numbers of the Saxons, which were insensibly every day swelling the train of the royal brothers. The fertility of the northern nations in men, whether owing to the daily accessions of people from remoter northern countries, or to a temperament more vigorous and fit for propagation, but now

A. D. 450.

Justin. Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum.

Bede. Henry of Huntingdon. The Saxons, in conjunction with the Britons, defeat the Scots and Picts.

Nennius. Character of the Saxons and their country.

Nennius. Vortigern's agreement with the Saxons.

Nennius. The number of Saxons increased in Britain, by daily accessions from the continent.

(1) Interea venerunt tres Chiuze a Germania in exitis pulsæ, in quibus erant Hors et Hengist, qui ipsi fratres erant—Gortigernus autem suscepit eos benigne, et tradidit eis insulam, quæ lingua eorum vocatur Taneth, Britannico sermone Ruithina, regnante Martiano secundo, quando Saxones a Gortigerno suscepti sunt anno cccclvii post passionem Christi. Nennii Hist. Brit. cap. 22.

A. D. 451.

Jornandes.

Nennius.
The Britons
desire them to
be gone,Nennius.
but they are
retained by
Vortigern.Hengist's re-
presentations,

lost by the increase of luxury, was incredible. The Saxons were masters of the sea; there was, therefore, an easy and a ready communication between the work-house of nations, as their country is elegantly termed, and Britain. The Britons were soon aware of the danger to which they were exposed. The great services their mercenaries had already performed, taught them what they were to expect, should the same swords be turned against them. They therefore remonstrated to the Saxons, that it was unreasonable for them to expect, that, now their numbers were increased, they should be supplied according to the terms of agreement with the king. It is very probable that the Britons, before they used this language, had thrown their eyes towards the continent upon Ambrosius, whom they considered as their deliverer, equally from the yoke of the tyrant, and the intrusion of the Saxons. This might be the reason why, according to Nennius, they desired the Saxons to be gone, for that they wanted no more of their assistance.

This language was equally alarming to the king as to the Saxons, and made the union between them the stronger. Hengist, who is represented to us as being a person of great address and cunning (1), soon closed in with Vortigern. He, probably, laid before him the dangers he must run, from the disaffection of his own subjects, the claim of Ambrosius, and the neighbourhood of the northern barbarians. At the same time he told him, that the handful of Saxons then in Britain could make but a feeble opposition, in case of a sudden insurrection, or invasion. These representa-

tions influenced, alarmed, and determined the impolitic prince. Without considering that they, who had given law to his enemies, could give law to him, he closed in with the proposal; and at this period I should be inclinable to fix the formal deputation, which our old historians have informed us was made to the Saxons, for sending a body of their forces to Britain. A German historian, interested, as he thinks, in the claim of subjection from the Britons to the Saxons, has given us a formal detail of this negotiation. He has put into the mouths of the British ambassadors promises and offers of subjection inconsistent with the accounts we have from better-informed historians, who would have looked upon themselves as equally concerned in maintaining this claim, had it been well grounded. The subject of the embassy was too inviting for the Saxons not to accept it without stipulations of subjection; and seventeen vessels full of chosen soldiers were sent over to Britain. If we suppose these seventeen vessels to have contained eight thousand men, and that they were joined by four thousand of their countrymen, who had already found means to come over into Britain, we have a formidable army, all united in one interest, in the heart of Britain, miserably afflicted with intestine broils, and threatened by foreign invasions. The new forces came from three countries upon the continent; and the reader will find, in the notes, an accurate account, from the (2) archbishop of Armagh, of these countries; and from the (3) venerable historian of the different counties wherein they severally settled here.

Along with this reinforcement came Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, who,

(1) Hengistus autem, cum esset vir doctus, astutus et callidus. Nennius, cap. 36.

(2) Of the three provinces of Germany, from whence the new colonies were brought, Jutland still retains its ancient name, and is very well known to be a part of the kingdom of Denmark. Thus Jonas Koldingensis, in the description of modern Denmark, says, that Gothia is the most spacious and populous part of the kingdom; the first of which name being a little corrupted, it now retains one that is a-kin to it, and is called Jutia. Fabius Ethelwerd calls the province Giota, and the inhabitants Giotos; and it is with respect to these people, that the king of Denmark is still stiled king of the Goths. Old England is next to be considered. It is situated (says Ethelwerd, and William of Malmesbury who follows him) between the Saxons and Giots, or Jutes. The capital town is called, in the Saxons language, Sleswick; in the Danish, Haithaby. It is the most noted city of the dutchy and bishopric of Sleswick. Adam of Bremen thus describes it: Sleswig, which is also called Heithabu, is washed by an arm of the Baltic sea, named Sliia, from whence the city also got its name. Between Sliia and the bay of Flewborg, is Ethelwerd's old England situated. It is still called, by the inhabitants, Anglen; by Albertus, Crantzius, and those that write in Latin, Anglia. Saxony borders upon old England. In the time of Bede, Asarius, and Ethelwerd, it had the name of Ealdsece, or the country of the ancient Saxons; and is situated in the Cimbric Chersonese. Accordingly Stephanus Byzantius says, Σαξόνες, εἰσὶν οἰκον ἐν τῇ Κιμβρικῇ Χερσονήσῳ, "the Saxons are a people inhabiting in the Cimbrica Chersonesus." Ptolemy, in his fourth table of Europe, and Marcianus Heracleotes, in his Periplus, do more exactly describe them to lie, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων τῆς Κιμβρικῆς Χερσονήσου, "upon the neck of the Cimbrica Chersonesus." For old Saxony was that country which, because it was stretched out from the river Albis, or Elb, towards the north, was afterwards called Nortalingia; being bounded by the Albis, Billa, and Trava, in the lower part of it; by the Eidore and Sliia in the upper part. And those settle the southern boundary to his Saxons, between the mouths of the rivers Elb and Traves [the former running into the German ocean, the other into the Baltic sea] which latter now runs by the city Lubeck. Adam of Bremen, in his book of Denmark, and of the situation and nature of the northern nations, describes the north part of Saxony in these words: "The river Eidore divides Denmark from our Northalbigians; it arises in the thick forest Isazuho, not far from the Baltic sea and the lake Sliia."

(3) From the year of our Lord's incarnation 449, Martianus (with Valentinian) the forty-sixth from Augustus, having obtained the empire, held it seven years. Then it was that the nation of English or Saxons, being invited by king Vortigern, arrived in Britain in three long ships. They had, by the command of the king, a place of abode assigned them, in the eastern part of the island; they undertook to defend the country, but it was a defence that ended in a conquest. Engaging therefore those enemies that came down from the north, the Saxons obtained the victory; which was no sooner known at home, together with the fruitfulness of the island, and the slothfulness of the Britons, but a much greater fleet, with stronger forces, was sent after them; which, joined with the former troops, made an invincible army. The Britons gave those that arrived a place of habitation among themselves, upon these conditions; That the Saxons should, for the peace and safety of the country, fight against their enemies, and they would give the soldiers such pay as should become due. There came three nations of the most valiant people of Germany; the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. Of the original Jutes are the Kentish men, those that inhabit the isle of Wight, and that nation of Jutes, which, to this day, lives over-against the isle of Wight, in the province of the West Saxons. The country of the Angli, which is called Angulus, and lies between the provinces of the Jutes and Saxons, is said to lie defart from the time of their coming to this day. From hence came the East Angli, the Mediterranean Angli or Mercii, the whole progeny of the Northumbrians, that is, those nations, and other English people, who inhabit north of the river Humber. Their first leaders are said to be two brothers, Hengist and Horsa. Horsa was slain in a battle by the Britons, and has a famous monument, which still bears his name, in the eastern part of Kent. They were the sons of Wetgillus, whose father was Vesta, and his father Woden, from whom the royal families of many provinces had their originals. Bede, lib. i. cap. 15.

A. D. 452.

determines
Vortigern in
favour of the
Saxons.

Witchindus.

Bede.
Ethelwerdus.No stipulation
of subjection
from the Bri-
tons to the
Saxons.The countries
from whence
the Saxons
came.

with

A. D. 453.
The character
of Rowena,
Hengist's
daughter.

with all the charms of her sex, seems to have possessed all the cunning of her father. This lady, as we shall see in the sequel of the history, greatly strengthened the interest of the Saxons with Vortigern, of himself too prompt to partiality in their favour. The artful Hengist was no sooner strengthened by this great accession of power, than he employed all his cunning and abilities how to make the best of his present situation. In this he was greatly assisted by the fatal beauties of his daughter.

Hengist invites
Vortigern to a
banquet,

where his fair
daughter at-
tends.

Nennius.

Vortigern
enamoured of
her.
Offers Hengist
what he
would ask in
exchange for
her.
Nennius.

He invited Vortigern to a banquet, and, whether from the custom of the country, or the encouragement Hengist received from observing the amorous disposition of the Briton, he ordered his fair daughter to attend him at table. The place of the banquet is said to have been at Thong-castle, in Lincolnshire, which the Saxon, by a trick too stale for the dignity of historical account, had obtained leave from Vortigern to build (1). We are told, that the only man then in Britain who understood the Saxon tongue was interpreter to Hengist, and that his name was Cerdicfelmet; and that, by the assistance of this interpreter, the fair Rowena played her part so well, that Vortigern, at once intoxicated with love and wine, threw up the reins of his reason to a passion, which ended in the ruin of himself and his people (2). The cunning Saxon soon perceived his bait had taken, and managed it so, that Vortigern made the first advances. In short, so strongly was the latter enamoured, that he voluntarily offered, in exchange for the fair Rowena, whatever the other should ask, even to the half of his kingdom. Hengist appears to have been far from taking ad-

vantage of this heat of passion in the king; he knew the disposition of his heart, the strength of his passions, and the shallowness of his understanding, and therefore was in no fear lest the delay of gratification should extinguish desire. Hengist was joined in authority with his brother Horsa, and their command was limited to the field, their civil determinations being subject to the controul of the wisest and the worthiest of their countrymen; Hengist, therefore, neither could nor would determine aught, without consulting with his brother and the leading Saxons. Kent, as we are told by Nennius, was then governed by a deputy, called, from his office, (3) Gnoirangonus. Other historians, taking the hint probably from the ancient government of that kingdom, say, that it was, at this time, ruled by four princes. The conveniency of its situation, for giving admittance to more of their countrymen, the number and goodness of its harbours, with its fertility of soil, soon determined the Saxons to make that noble province the price of their countrywoman's charms. The infatuated king struck the bargain; the unhappy governor of Kent, unknown to himself, was stripped of his command, his person being betrayed into the hands of the Saxons, while the misled Vortigern was blind to every consequence, provided he could gratify his growing passion for Rowena. The number of disciplined Saxons, which, by this time, had arrived in or near that county, will easily account for the facility with which this impolitic bargain was executed. An English historian informs us, that the petty prince who then held Kent had abused his power, and there-

A. D. 453.

Hengist's
command be-
ing limited;

he could de-
termine no-
thing by him-
self.

Verstegan.

He and the
leading Saxons
demand Kent;

which Vorti-
gern agrees to.

William of
Malmesbury.

(1) We are told, that, upon this occasion, Hengist practised much such a stratagem as Dido did in the building of Byrsa. I shall give the story in the words of Verstegan, who places the building of this castle before the arrival of the second reinforcement from the Saxons. "Hengistus and his brother, with their forces, being arrived in the isle of Thanet in Kent, in the year of our Lord before specified, and in the second of the reign of king Vortigern, as before hath also been said, were unto the said king greatly welcome; and marching against his northern enemies, the Scottish and the Pictes, valiantly encountered them in battle, and overthrew them, whereby they gained unto themselves most great honour and reputation. Hereupon, Hengistus desired of king Vortigern so much ground as, with the skin of a bull, he could compass about; which having obtained, he did cut out a large bull's hide into very small thongs, leaving them still fast the one unto the other; and having, by this means, brought the whole skin, as it were, into one thong of a great length, he laid it in compass on the ground; and so accordingly laid the foundation of a castle, which he finished, and called Thong-castle, situated near unto Sydingborn in Kent; in which castle he afterwards feasted king Vortigern, as anon I will declare. This castle thus built, Hengistus sent home word into his country of Saxony, as well of the good success he had against king Vortigern's enemies, as of the goodness and fertility of the soil, and the lack of warlike courage in the Britons."

(2) I shall, in compliance with the custom of former historians, give the story of this celebrated interview as I find it in Verstegan, who seems to have been better instructed than Geoffrey of Monmouth, from whom all our other historians have borrowed it. "With this troop, consisting of these three aforesaid sorts of German people, came over the most fair lady Rowena, which some Saxon authors call Ronixa, who, as our chronicles say, was the daughter of Hengistus; but I find, in some of that country writers, from whence she came, that she was his niece; which is the likelier of both, considering that Hengistus is not like, at that time, to have been old enough to have had such a daughter; and that he was as young when he came into Britain, as before hath been said, may appear by the many years that he lived after his coming thither. As this lady was very beautiful, so was she of a very comely deportment; and Hengistus, having invited king Vortigern to a supper at his new-built castle, caused that, after supper, she came forth of her chamber into the king's presence, with a cup of gold, filled with wine, in her hand; and making, in very seemly manner, a low reverence unto the king, said, with a pleasing grace and countenance, in our ancient language, Waes beal hlaford cyning; which is, being rightly expounded according to our present speech, Be of health, lord king. For, as was is our verb of the preterimperfect tense, or preterperfect tense, signifying have been; so was, being the same verb in the imperative mood, and now pronounced wax, is as much as to say, grow, be, or become; and waes heal, by corruption of pronunciation, afterwards became to be wassail. The king, notwithstanding what she said, demanded it of his chamberlain, who was his interpreter; and when he knew what it was, he asked him, how he might again answer her in her own language? whereof being informed, he said unto her, Drinc heal, that is to say, Drink health. Of the beauty of this lady the king took so great liking, that he became exceedingly enamoured with her, and desired to have her in marriage; which Hengistus agreed unto, upon condition, that the king should give unto him the whole country of Kent; whereunto he willingly condescended, and divorcing himself from his former married wife, married with the Saxon lady Rowena."

(3) Though this person is called a king by Nennius, yet we are not to imagine he was any other than the lieutenant of the country, as it appears he had a political dependance upon Vortigern. "Vortigern, who had the government of the greatest part of Kent, set over it a gnorung, i. e. a viceroy, or freeman." Cambden. Gib. Ed. p. 217.

A. D. 453. fore the quiet submission of the Kentishmen to a new master is the more easily accounted for (1).

Hengist persuades Vortigern to call in a second reinforcement of Saxons,

Hengist, now father-in-law to a monarch, presumed, upon this alliance, to put on the air and authority of a parent. The manner in which our historians inform us he talked to Vortigern, is a lively picture at once of artful ambition in the Saxon, and of blinded passion in the Briton. He persuaded Vortigern that he had every thing to fear from the Britons, who were too much exasperated with his government not to use all means to dethrone him; that therefore it would be necessary, in all events, to call into his kingdom a greater number of Saxons; that, from what he had already experienced, these were his most trusty and most successful defenders; that this reinforcement might land in the northern parts, and, taking possession of those countries, they would prove a bulwark against the invasions of the Scots and Picts. In the mean time, he persuades him, that he, together with the Saxons who first came over, would have a vigilant eye upon, and be always ready to oppose, every insurrection of his subjects, whether arising from disaffection at home, or encouragement from abroad. These specious pretexts easily won upon Vortigern. We are told that the second supply of Saxons, who came in forty vessels, and were headed by Ohta and Abisa, the one brother, and the other kinsman, to Vortigern, sailed to the Orkney islands, made a descent upon Scotland, then, sailing quite round it, settled in Northumberland, after driving the Scots northward.

which Vortigern agrees to. Nennius.

Reflection.

The Saxon chronicle.

Though what I have now given has been commonly agreed upon, by the best of our modern historians, to be the manner in which the Saxons got footing in England; yet there is one great authority which give us a different idea of this event.

Considering their long thralldom under that worst of tyranny which the Romans

exercised, the debauching the mind, and enslaving every manly sentiment, it is surprising the Britons should so soon resume the native spirit of their country. Vortigern, we are told, had been married, before the arrival of the Saxons, to a lady, whom he divorced for Rowena's sake. By her he had a son, one Vortimer, who appears to have been a young prince possessed of all the noble qualities that form a deliverer of his country. He saw, with grief and indignation, his father fatally addicted to the Saxons, who were now in possession not only of Kent, but of Middlesex, Essex, and Suffolk; but still insolently demanding the performance of terms, and making farther incroachments on the British possessions. He did all he could to revive in the Britons the sentiments of their ancestors, to awaken his father from his delusion, and to break the chains that now threatened the whole of his country. In all this he was successful, aided, perhaps, by the overbearing insolence of the Saxons, who now thought themselves secure by their own power, independent of Vortigern's partiality. We are told by Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose authority, if the spirit of lying did not wholly possess him, might now be of some weight (2), that the Britons unanimously abandoned Vortigern, and set up Vortimer, his son, as their king and general. The more probable opinion is, that the heat of Vortigern's passion being now allayed, his eyes were open to the distresses, and his ears to the complaints of his people. Vortimer was associated in the sovereignty, and drew out the British armies. The particulars of the war that immediately ensued are uncertain. The British writers say, that Vortimer defeated the Saxons at Derwent; that he re-established the Britons in their possessions, rebuilt their churches, and resettled their clergy. This happened in the first year of the war (3).

The character of Vortimer, one of Vortigern's sons by a British lady.

He is made king.

and defeats the Saxons.

(1) This part of our history, it must be owned, carries along with it a great air of Romance in many circumstances; but a faithful historian will be equally cautious of rejecting facts, attended with no impossibilities or inconsistencies, and attested by the best authorities the times will admit of, as he will be of admitting any enlivening addition, grounded only upon the impostures of later ages, or the fruit of his own brain. Rapin has given us many circumstances of political self-denial and intrapping cunning, which Hengist used upon the occasion of Rowena's marriage with Vortigern. He tells us, that Vortigern first divorced his wife, to obviate the difficulties which Hengist made; that the province of Kent was voluntarily offered by Vortigern to the Saxons, to engage him to get over the difficulty of marrying Rowena to a Christian. As I find no authority from the English, or indeed any other historians, for those refinements upon the Saxon cunning, I cannot give them a place in this history. At the same time, either Rapin, or his translator, tells us, in a note, p. 32. of the translation by Tindal, in folio, that this story of Rowena is the less authentic for not being mentioned by Bede or Gildas, and related by Malmsbury only as a report. There is no doubt that it would have been the more authentic, had it been related by those two historians; but, with regard to William of Malmsbury, the annotator is mistaken. He relates the story of Rowena very positively. All the doubt he has is, whether Rowena was a maid or not; if it can be said, from his manner of expressing it, that he did doubt it. His words are, *Illi (viz. legati Saxonici) mandata gnauiter exequuti brevi cum sexdecim navibus revertuntur, adducentes filiam Hengisti, virginem ut accepimus, quæ esset et naturæ miraculum, et virorum spectaculum: regressis adornatur convivium; jubet Hengistus filiam fungi pincernæ munere, ut regis accumbentis oculos pasceret, p. 4.* We likewise have the substance of the same account in Nennius; but still I am far from desiring the reader to put an absolute trust in this story, as if it were the only true account of this great event. I have laid before him all the different accounts as we have them from historians of the times; but should be sorry, like Rapin, to impose upon him any fictitious facts of my own, or of any modern or other historian, for even a probability of truth.

(2) He lived about the year 1150, which was within six hundred and ninety-four years of this period.

(3) William of Malmsbury says, that the Britons and Saxons agreed for seven years after their landing; and then Vortimer, finding their deceit, incensed his father and the Britons against them, and so, for twenty years, there was continual war, and light skirmishes, and four pitched battles. In the first, he makes their fortune equal, Horfa being killed on one side, and Catiger on the other. In the rest, the Saxons being always superior, and Vortimer dead, a peace was made; and so the Britons affairs went ill till Ambrosius recovered them. Henry of Huntindon says, that Vortigern, after the marriage of Hengist's daughter, was so hated, that he withdrew to the mountains and woods, and that he and his castle were consumed together; after which, Ambrosius Aurelianus, with Vortigern's two sons, Vortimer and Catiger, fought the Saxons. And he makes the first battle at Ailestrea, or Elestree; the next, after Vortimer's death, at Creganford, or Crayford, in which, he says, the Britons were quite beaten out of Kent, and from thence he begins the Saxon's kingdom of Kent. The next, he says, was at Wippedslede, which was so terrible on both sides, that, from that time, the Saxons and Britons did not disturb each other for a great while; they remaining within Kent, and the Britons quarrelling among themselves.

it

A. D. 455.

It is highly probable that Hengist was greatly alarmed by the defection of Vortigern from his interest; whether this was the effect of force, or choice, it matters not. He found himself upon the point of being overpowered by the Britons; but, as he was a man of great genius, he fell upon the only method that could have saved him

Hengist makes peace with the Scots and Picts.

Vortimer obtains a seasonable and considerable victory over him.

Horfa slain, after having killed Catigern, brother of Vortimer.

Nennius.

from utter ruin. He instantly, by the mediation of the Northumbrian Saxons, clapped up a peace with the Scots and Picts, and thus brought against the Britons a formidable power from the north; and he himself made head against them in the heart of their country. But Vortimer took care to push the war so warmly in the south, that he seems to have obtained a considerable victory, before Hengist could reap the benefit of this alliance. This battle is said to have been fought at Agelesford or Aylesford, in Kent. The two brothers, Hengist and Horfa, were at the head of the Saxons; the Britons were commanded by Vortimer, with his brothers, Catigern and Pascentius, under him. The engagement was bloody and desperate. The Saxons, sensible that, if they were defeated, they had no immediate resource; the Britons, ashamed of their past weakness, and eager to wipe out the infamy of subjection; both sides fought with a courage worthy the great interest they had at stake, and each was animated by the example of its leaders. The young Catigern fell by the hand of Horfa, and he by that of Vortimer; but as to the event of the day, there are some grounds for believing that each side claimed victory, though neither had reason to boast of success.

It is very doubtful whether (1) Vortigern, in this battle, was on the side of the Britons, or of the Saxons. I am apt to believe, that, after he was reconciled to the Britons, he relapsed into his private vices; that, being checked by the clergy, unable to brook a partner in that power of which he had been so long the sole possessor, and too impotent of mind to restrain his criminal passions, he threw himself into the hands of the Saxons. The account which Nennius gives of him is both shocking and improbable. He says, that, not contented with taking a pagan, and the daughter of an enemy, to his bed, he married his own daughter, and had a son by her; that, as soon as this came to the ears of St. Germanus, who was at that time the deputy of the Gallican church in Britain, he severely reprimanded the incestuous monarch at the head of the British clergy. The same author says, that afterwards, a general synod being held, the king shut his daughter up into a convent, and put his son, who afterwards led an exemplary life of piety, into the hands of the pious Germanus. He adds, that Vortigern afterwards was cursed and condemned by St. Germanus, and the whole assembly of the Britons. It is most probable, if such an anathema was pronounced, that it was on account of his living with the pagan Rowena, while his

lawful Christian wife was in being. Be that as it will, Vortigern, according to some historians, did afterwards all he could, both by his authority and power, to assist the Saxons; and I am inclined to think, that this behaviour so much provoked his British subjects, that they threw off all allegiance to him, and adhered to Vortimer.

The late battle at Aylesford being far from decisive, both parties seem to have spent the remaining part of the campaign in slight skirmishes, and the next winter in preparing for renewing the war with double vigour the following summer. I should be apt, from the strain in which all our historians write, to believe, that Hengist took this opportunity of going over to the continent, to solicit for a farther reinforcement; and that it was accordingly granted him in such a large proportion, as afterwards threw the scale of success, generally, upon the side of the Saxons. It is likewise probable, that this year the Britons applied to their friends in Armorica for assistance, and that Ambrosius was sent over to their relief, at the head of a body of troops.

The death of Horfa left the sole command in the person of Hengist, who we find, in the year 455, took upon him the title of king of Kent. This addition of regal dignity was, no doubt of great weight with his countrymen upon the continent, and contributed to that alacrity with which they furnished their assistance. The title of Hengist was a fair pretext that offered for their settling in a country in which they now claimed a property. From being mercenaries, they acted as principals; and they, who fought before in defence of another, now fought for possession to themselves. This account is the only one that can reconcile the manner in which the British historians write, to the chronology of the Saxons themselves, who fix their settlement in Kent to the year 457; but of this more hereafter. However, we cannot suppose that Hengist would take upon him the title of king, had he not been backed both by power, and some shadow of right, to make good his claim; at the same time all historians agree, that he never assumed the regal state till after the death of his brother, and that he had fought several battles before that time.

The following year appears to have been spent without any great action; perhaps each party was afraid of the other: but the year after, a general battle ensued, according to Nennius, at (2) Folkstone, in Kent, in which, all circumstances compared, there is great reason to believe the Britons were victorious. Vortimer, in all probability, would have pursued his success, had he not been prevented by death. A great prince dying, at so critical a juncture, is commonly thought to have been taken out of the world by unlawful means, though perhaps he only fulfilled the course of nature. The reader will easily imagine to

A. D. 457.

Reason why the Britons deserted Vortigern, and adhered to his son Vortimer.

Hengist solicits assistance from the continent;

as do the Britons from Armorica. Ambrosius sent to their succour.

Hengist assumes the title of king of Kent.

The battle of Folkstone won by the Britons.

Death of Vortimer.

(1) The Saxon chronicle says, he fought against the Saxons.

(2) Lapis Tituli, probably Lapis Populi, Folkstone; others think it was at Stonar.

A. D. 457. whose charge the death of Vortimer is lain by prejudiced historians; for Geoffrey of Monmouth, giving into all the prejudices of the vulgar, tells us, that his pagan mother-in-law Rowena found means to carry him off by a dose of poison. Be this as it will, there is one circumstance recorded by our British writers, which, if true, is a strong presumption that he died in all the height of glory and success against the Saxons; for we are told, that, upon his death-bed, he ordered his bowels to be buried within the sea-mark of the Gallic shore; as if the remains of a British prince had power enough to frighten the invaders of the kingdom he ruled! But his will, either through design or neglect, was not obeyed (1).

Vortigern re-assumes the crown.

He gives up London to Hengist.

Though the brave Vortimer, while alive, appears to have been loved and obeyed as the British monarch; yet we may easily suppose there was a strong faction, both in the army and court, in favour of his deposed father. Accordingly we are told, that, upon the death of his son, he reassumed the diadem. Perhaps this was done by the assistance and connivance of the Saxons, who were glad, by this time, to have an opportunity of breathing, after the loss they received from Vortimer. A circumstance which happened in the life of Vortigern makes it highly probable, that he was, at this time, in the hands of the Saxons; for we are told, that the latter obliged him to give them up London for his ransom to Hengist. Now there is no period, in the life of Vortigern, at which such a cession can be so properly fixed, as the time when, getting out of the hands of his insolent allies, he reassumed sovereign power. It was, indeed, a dear price of power; but nothing, to a man of Vortigern's principles, was too exorbitant for an opportunity of gratifying his ambition and revenge. But, by the concurrence of all historians, the unhappy prince paid still more dear for his short-lived exercise of dominion. The schemes of the Saxons were too deeply lain to be satisfied with a part only. They did not chuse to live in continual apprehensions from a people whom they had so highly exasperated as they had done the Britons; therefore it was not long before

Hengist found means to renew the war. We are told, by British historians, of a bloody stratagem put in execution by Hengist, after maintaining the war for some time with various success. (2) They say, that the Saxon, pretending a violent desire for peace, offered to renew the former terms upon which they stood with the Britons. Vortigern, upon this, agreed to a place of meeting, where, upon a signal given, the treacherous Hengist destroyed all the British nobility, and took Vortigern prisoner. If there were any foundation for this story, this is the natural period at which we may fix the surrender of London, by Vortigern, into the hands of the Saxons. But we often observe, in the historians of England, Scotland, and indeed all nations, who wrote when there was a dearth of learning and genius, that, where there is a striking action of any kind, they are sure to embroider it upon their own history. A Saxon historian (Witichindus) has told us of the same catastrophe, at least, in its most material circumstances, as happening between the Thuringers and the Saxons. There is, therefore, little reason to doubt that the whole of the story is transplanted from the German into the British history.

A. D. 457. Hengist renews the war with the Britons.

Under pretence of a treaty for peace, treacherously destroys the British nobility, and takes Vortigern prisoner.

This account, however, is of doubtful authority.

An historian, who writes of these times, is forced to tread the dark and doubtful paths of antiquity, often bewildered by false lights, seldom assisted by true, and ever in doubt as to all. All he can do, is to endeavour to reconcile appearing contradiction, to make it as consistent as he can with truth, from circumstances the most generally agreed upon, to clear away the rubbish of fable; discouraged by no difficulty, seduced by no plausibility, biassed by no partiality. The times I write of are full of doubts and difficulties; to follow one historian, is leaving all the rest; and the conjectures of them all would throw such a rubbish upon history, that the truth must be stifled. I have endeavoured to give to the reader the most consistent account I could of this great revolution of the English nation. The manner in which the British historian relates it; has somewhat that favours too much the inventions of Monks, and the pride of heart, to which a people, born with a high opinion of their own antiquity and greatness,

(1) He was buried at Lincoln.

(2) The son being now dead, king Vortigern, the deposed father, now again obtained the kingdom; and, soon after, king Hengistus returned, with his new forces into Britain; but, finding a great and unexpected alteration in the king, he was not only forced to make friendship with the Scottish and the Pictes (if his peace with them was not made a little before) but to prepare, even by force of arms, to defend himself against his new-turned enemy, and former friend, who had now gathered a strong power of Britons to go against him in the field. But whether it were that he thought himself too weak, or that he rather sought to be especially revenged upon the British nobility, which he might presume to have drawn the affection of king Vortigern from him, or both, true it is, that he rather devised to make up the matter by treaty, than by battle; and the time and place thereunto appointed, being May-day and Salisbury-plain, both these kings accordingly met, either accompanied with their chiefest lords and followers, and there had king Hengistus made them a feast; and, after the Britons were well whited with wine, he fell to taunting and ginning at them, whereupon blows ensued, and the British nobility there present, being, in all, three hundred, were all of them slain, as William of Malmesbury reporteth; though others make the numbers more, and say, that the Saxons had each of them a Seax (a kind of crooked knife) closely in his pocket, and that, at the watch-word, Nem cowr Seaxes, which is, as in the first chapter hath been said, Take to your Seaxes, they suddenly, and at unawares, slew the Britons. Some years before the coming of the Saxons into Britain, a like meeting happened in Germany, between the Saxons and the Thuringers; at which meeting, the Saxons, by the plot and practice of the Thuringers, had all been slain, if they had not beforehand suspected false measure, and been secretly provided for it, and thereby made their party good with the Thuringers, when as they thought to have massacred them. And hereof, as it should seem, retaining memory, they did, peradventure upon suspicion of such a like practice intended against them by the Britons, come thus secretly provided of weapons, wherewith, being in drink, and falling in quarrel, they committed this bloody act. An act, which albeit it may be held for a less fault among such as were Pagans, than had they been Christians; yet not in any to be allowed, nor by any to be excused, unless by Machiavel. Verilegan.

A. D. 457.

A. D. 458.

A bloody slaughter of the Britons.

Several of the Saxons returned to the continent.

Saxon account of Hengist getting possession of Kent.

Dr. Gibbon, present lord bishop of London.

is but too subject. At the same time, where the evidence is very positive and express, from those who lived nearest the period, their testimony ought to have its weight, when not contradicted by events generally admitted. For this reason I have given place to as much of the British manner in which this revolution is recounted as agrees with those facts which are established on all hands. Therefore, to find out the naked truth, we must have recourse to the Saxon writers, and we ought to be determined by their authority upon the main; but without rejecting the British lights, with regard to those particulars which do not clash with the chief event. That Hengist found means, perhaps by the connivance of Vortigern, to murder a number of British lords, is an incident favoured by the complection of the history of those times. In justice, however, to my reader, I must here give a place to the Saxon accounts. These tell us, that Hengist, considering the divisions of the kingdom, the weakness of the prince, and the indolence of the Britons, soon began, upon various pretences, for the want of stipulated pay and provision, to pick quarrels with the Britons: that, soon after, he wrested from them the province of Kent, then governed not by a prince, but an officer, called a gnorng, in the nature of a lord-lieutenant; but before the Saxons could get possession of the country, they defeated the Britons in two pitched battles, one at Aylesfort, and the other at Crayfort, in Kent, where the Britons lost four thousand men, and suffered a total rout. As this account is supported by the Saxon chronicle, and seems to be countenanced by a great modern authority, it must certainly sway with every reader, who prefers the natural to the marvellous. The unhappy state of the Britons at that time, the disposition of their prince, and the character of the Saxons, render it quite unnecessary to have recourse to the similitude of fable, for what can be easily accounted for by the effects of superior power, and upon the principles of well-lain ambition on the one side, and of intestine discord and shameful indolence on the other. This settlement of the Saxons in Kent, is, by their chronicle, said to have happened in the year 456. But to return to the history.

The death of Vortimer was an irreparable loss to the Britons; and I (1) am in-

clined to believe that this prince was dead before the (2) battle of Crecanfort was fought. That there was such a battle, is generally agreed upon, and that the Britons lost four thousand men on the spot, with their best officers; and here ensued the bloody slaughter so bitterly lamented by the first British historian, and so expressly mentioned by all our other historians. Hengist, finding the Britons implacably exasperated against his subjects, resolved to exterminate those whom he could not subdue; so that the calamities which immediately ensued threatened an end both of the British name and Christian religion in the island. But, at the same time, there is reason to believe, though Gildas and Bede are silent on that head, that this slaughter was not unrevenged by the Britons; for it appears, by all histories of those days, that many of the Saxons, about this time, returned to Germany, which we never can suppose could have happened, had they thought themselves able to have kept their footing here. Perhaps they were too much weakened, by their frequent encounters with the Britons, to think of making an independent settlement, unless they returned, about this time, to their native seats, in order to bring over the whole of their concerns and families to a country where they expected, for the future, to meet with a feeble resistance. The following event, which we may reasonably fix at this period, might contribute to this migration.

I already mentioned the policy of Hengist, in forming an alliance with the Picts and Scots, and, thereby, giving great weight to the settlement his countrymen had made in Northumberland. The Saxon historians have left us greatly at a loss, with regard to the consequences of this alliance; and all that we are able to judge, is from the dark hints that are to be picked up from ecclesiastical history. To this period, therefore, notwithstanding all the confusion of chronology, and the darkness of the fact, we are to fix the advantage which we meet with to have been gained, by Germanus, the French bishop, over the Picts and the Saxons, when he put himself at the head of the Britons. As to the manner in which this encounter happened, it is condemned and ridiculed upon the very face of the story, which I have put down in the notes (3). There is, however, nothing absurd in supposing,

(1) Henry of Huntingdon expressly tells us, that this battle was fought after Vortimer's death.

(2) Fought in 457. Saxon chronicle.

(3) I shall give the whole of this wonderful battle, as I find it in our ecclesiastical historians. "About this time, as Constantius and Bede inform us, the Saxons and Picts attacked the Britons, and obliged them to lie intrenched; and being conscious of the disadvantage and inequality of their forces, they sent to the holy bishops to entreat their assistance. Germanus and Lupus complied with their request, and went immediately to their camp. The troops were wonderfully encouraged at the sight of these venerable men, and thought themselves, as it were, reinforced with a new army. This happened in the holy solemnity of Lent, which was kept more strictly by the example and authority of these prelates: and thus the soldiers, being every day instructed in a set discourse, were qualified for the privileges of Christianity, and great numbers of them baptized. Thus the army, animated with the grace of baptism, and fortified by their holy religion, depended wholly upon the assistance of heaven, without any regard to their military preparations. The enemy, having intelligence of the posture of their affairs, promised themselves an easy victory, and marched against them with all the cheerfulness and expedition imaginable. However, the Britons had scouts, who gave them notice of their coming. And now, the Easter festival being just over, the greatest part of the army baptized, and ready to be drawn up in order of battle, St. German offers himself for their general; and being accepted, he detaches a party of horse to scour the fields and give intelligence; and being informed of the enemy's march, he ranges his troops in a valley surrounded with hills: and now the advanced guards gave notice of the enemy's approach. Upon this, Germanus orders all the troops to be, as it were, an echo, and repeat what they should hear pronounced by him; and the enemy advancing with strong presumptions of success, and expecting to surprize the Britons, the prelates pronounced hallelujah, with a strong voice, thrice together. This holy sound being repeated by the whole army, and the force of the noise doubled and reverberated by the inclosure of the mountains, the enemy was seized with all the terror imaginable, and fancied that not only the mountains,

A.D. 458.

Germanus, the French bishop, heads the Britons.

Who he was.

Constantius.

Henry of Huntingdon.

Cardinal Baroni-
nius.

posing, that the great character which this learned bishop had acquired might very readily induce the Britons to throw their eyes upon him as a proper general. There have been many instances, since that time, of bishops leading armies to the field, and conquering at their head; but that which makes it extremely probable this was the case with St. Germanus, is his education and high quality; for, before he assumed a crozier, he had wielded a sword with great success, having been prince and duke of Auxerre. He abandoned, says the author of his life, the warfare of the world for that of heaven. As to the panic which, in that relation, is said to have seized the Saxon and the Pictish army, it is no new thing, in the most credible profane histories, to find parallel instances of that kind; and the whole seems to be a contrivance to preserve the reverend prelate from any reflections for his resuming a temporal warfare. Some of our English historians have, agreeable to to my conjecture, placed this victory at this period. As to the chronology, it is by no means so disagreeing with this time, as seems to have been thought by most of our critics in history. A learned foreigner, who has proved very fallible in historical events, has indeed fixed the death of this great prelate so early as the year 335, and has brought Mr. Camden into the same error; but it is very certain that he was alive long after the year 450; and that his second voyage to Britain, according to Eboracensis, happened in the year 449. Now, according to all our histories, his business here employed him for several years; therefore, all circumstances compared, we can have little difficulty in supposing this marvellous battle to have been a real piece of service, performed, about this time, by the arm of flesh, against the treacherous Saxons and the incroaching Picts.

It is now time to return to Vortigern. Though the fate of so worthless a prince is of little importance to history; yet, as his

life confuses the narrative, it may be proper to inform the reader, that the most probable way of accounting for his conduct is, that, upon the return of the Saxons, he was neglected on all hands. The marvellous relation with which his story is swelled, perhaps has no other truth in it, than that, being detested by his subjects, and despised by his allies, the former paid so much regard to his quality, as that he was suffered to retire to a castle he had built in south Wales, where he continued till a new revolution again called him forth to action.

Though the relations of the most approved British authors give us grounds to believe, that the (1) Kentish Saxons entirely evacuated Britain; yet, as I have already hinted, this fact is to be admitted with great caution. The sequel of this history makes it more probable, that they left in the island such a number of their countrymen as was sufficient to garrison their places of strength, and to secure their return to Britain. This much, however, seems to be certain, that the Britons returned to tranquility, and had a breathing-time in their absence. They were now at liberty to look about them, and the first step they took was to set up a king in place of Vortigern. Their choice fell upon Ambrosius Aurelius, who had distinguished himself eminently in the wars with the Saxons, and, it is more than probable, was, at this time, an independent prince in Wales. The reader may remember, that, upon the first devastations of the Scots and Picts, many of the Britons had retired to the mountains; it is by no means unlikely that these formed a separate society, and had elected Ambrosius for their head. This, together with being a descendant of the old Roman governors, added to his great character, might well entitle him to the pre-eminency of being king of the Britons in general, which, according to the best authorities, happened in the year 465.

(2) Were I, with some late historians, to

“ mountains, but even the sky, were ready to tumble upon them, and thought they could never run fast enough out of the field. Thus they retired with all the speed and confusion imaginable, and, throwing down their arms, were glad to carry off their limbs and secure themselves; and a great many of them, being hurried and overset with the surprize, were drowned in the river they endeavoured to pass. On the other side, the British army had nothing else to do but to see themselves revenged by miracle, and were only spectators of the victory. However, the religious army gleaned up the plunder, and paid their acknowledgments to heaven; the prelates triumph for their conquest without slaughter, and for routing the enemy with their faith, and not with their forces. And now, having every way secured and settled the island, defeated the enemy of all kinds, and carried their point against men and devils, they prepared for their return; and taking their leave, with the regret of the country, arrived safe in Gaul. This victory was gained in Flintshire, near a town called Mold by the English, and Guid Cruc in Welsh; and the place where the armies were drawn up, has the name of Maes Garmon, or German's-field, to this day.” Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, p. 45.

(1) I find no authority sufficient to make us believe, that any of the northern Saxons ever left the island.
(2) I am sorry to say, that Mr. Rapin, in the whole of this interesting part of the English history, has swallowed the grossest of Geoffrey of Monmouth's absurdities, and discharged them full into the faces of his readers. He indeed quotes, on the margin, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Matthew of Westminster, and Henry of Huntingdon. In order to form a judgment of those authors, it is absolutely necessary that, once for all, I should give some character of the credit due to them from the face of their own writings, from their morals, and the opportunities they had of information.—As to Geoffrey of Monmouth, his history, if not wholly a romance, can be no manner of authority in matters in which he stands single, it containing so many palpable forgeries, and we having no other touch-stone to separate the true from the false, beside the testimonies of more undoubted authors. He was arch-deacon of Monmouth about the year 1150, under king Stephen. His romantic vein fitted him particularly for celebrating king Arthur and his knights, with Merlin and his prophecies. The British history, that now goes under his name, is pretended to be translated from an old Welsh history, imported from Bretaign in France by one Walter Calenius, who was arch-deacon of Oxford; and by him intrusted with Geoffrey, who translated it. What credit is due to this history, may be easily guessed at, when I inform the reader, that Geoffrey's original author never could be found out, either by his own cotemporaries, or by the labours of the most learned men who have succeeded him.—Matthew, or the monk of Westminster, is said, by some, to have flourished in the year 1377; but it is more probable, that he did not long survive the period which concludes his history, in the year 1307. This author is little beside a bare transcriber of former historians, especially Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Alban's, who, in the proposals to this history, is, by mistake, called the monk of Westminster. From his character of being a mere collector from others, preserving even their words, with all their inaccuracies, his authority neither is nor ought to be of any weight. All that can be said in his favour is, that though he transcribes many passages, in this part of his history, from Geoffrey

A.D. 465.

Geoffrey.
Nennius.Ambrosius
Aurelius
chosen king
of the Bri-
tons.

A. D. 465.

Ambrosius fights a battle with the Saxons, with uncertain success.

to follow the flowery paths of romance, this history might run on in a smooth and pleasing current; but hard is the labour to get at truth in this period, when the narrative is confined to the uncouth paths left us by ruder and unaccurate writers. All that we can rely upon, with any degree of certainty, is, that, soon after the election of Ambrosius, he fought a considerable battle with the Saxons, who, by this time, must have returned to Britain.

This appears from the Saxon annals, who are satisfied with telling us, that Hengist, and his son Esca, who was, long before this, associated with him in the kingdom, fought a battle with the Britons near Wippedes-fleet, and there slew twelve British commanders; but lost one man of note on the Saxons side, who was called Wypped, from whom that spot had its name. Henry of Huntingdon, who, by the bye, might have

seen Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, and is therefore to be the more cautiously consulted, tells us, that this battle was long and bloody; that it happened in the seventeenth year after the arrival of the Saxons in England, and just when their two kings had received a reinforcement of their countrymen. In the other circumstances he agrees with the Saxon annals, and gives them the victory. At the same time there is, from both authorities, great reason to believe, that this victory, on whatever side it fell, was fatal, for some time, to both parties, since the same Henry of Huntingdon adds, that, after this battle, neither nation durst provoke the other, and both confined themselves to their respective territories.

A. D. 465.

Which proves fatal, for some time, to both parties.

Some English historians are, I know, fond of making the Britons victorious in this battle; but, after the strictest enquiry, Some writers give the victory to the Britons,

Geoffrey of Monmouth; yet even his credulity is not so gross as to follow him, as Mr. Rapin does, in his strongest absurdities.—Henry of Huntingdon was cotemporary with Geoffrey of Monmouth; and his work was published in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by the learned Sir Henry Savill. Had this author been prior to Geoffrey of Monmouth, the authority of the latter must have been much greater, since they very often agree in the same facts. What is really valuable in him is, that he was the first who made use of the Saxon chronicle, when Bede, his leader, whom he professes to follow, failed him. As to the credit due to his history, it is too much connected with that of Geoffrey of Monmouth for an accurate writer to be absolutely determined by it. An English historian observes, that Geoffrey and Henry of Huntingdon were not only cotemporaries, but the latter, in that part of his English history still in manuscript (viz. in the second of his epistle, dedicated to one Gwarin, a British or Welsh nobleman) confesses, that in his journey to Rome, staying some time by the way at the abbey of Bec, he there found a large book of this Geoffrey's (whom he also calls Arthur) who had copiously and diligently wrote the British history; though, in the common printed copies, no more than that travelling to the place above-mentioned, he had there met with a certain volume, in which were divers things relating to the British history not before known, but yet without naming the author.—From such authorities as these, Rapin has ventured to piece and patch out the English history. Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the fourth chapter of his sixth book, tells us of a commission, delivered by Guethelin, archbishop of London, to Aldroen, king of Armorica or Bretaign in France; laying before him the dismal state of Britain, immediately upon the refusal of the Romans to come to their assistance. This archbishop, in this message, very generously offers the crown of Britain in a present to this Aldroen, who thinks it beneath him to accept of it. However, he sends his brother, Constantine, with two thousand soldiers, who land at Totness, defeat the enemies, and get Constantine chosen king. This Constantine is then married to a young lady of Roman blood, by whom he has three sons, Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Utherpendragon. The first is made a monk, and the other two are delivered over to be educated by the pious archbishop. Soon after the father is killed by a Pict, who was in his service. Upon his death, Vortigern draws the monk from retirement, and makes him king. But here the reader is to observe, that Guethelin, the archbishop, dies, not only before Vortigern himself is made king, but even before Constans becomes king. Vortigern, however, makes himself prime minister to Constans, who was next thing to a changeling, but was a man at the time when Aurelius Ambrosius and his brother were in their cradles. So that we must suppose, that twenty years, at least, intervened between the time of the Romans leaving the island, and the accession of this Constans to the crown. Vortigern finds means, by his trusty Picts, to dispatch Constans, as he had done his father; and then he himself was chosen king. In the mean time, they that had the care of Aurelius Ambrosius and his brother, conveyed them to Bretaign in France, where they were kindly received by Budiceus, who had succeeded his father Androen, and where they gave great disquietude to Vortigern. We then have the story of the arrival of the Saxons; the king's gallantry with Rowena; the story of Thong-castle; the arrival of the Northumbrian Saxons; the behaviour of Vortimer, and his victories over the Saxons; the return of the Saxons into Germany, by the mediation of Vortigern with his son; and then Geoffrey thinks fit to poison Vortimer. There are a great many pretty materials here, and Mr. Rapin could not resist the temptation of making use of them; but he has done it in his own way. He has prolonged the life of Guethelin, whom Geoffrey kills when Ambrosius was in his cradle, together with that of Aldroen, king of Bretaign, till after the battle of Crecaanford, in which he makes Vortimer to be entirely defeated. He then puts a speech into the mouth of the archbishop, whom he calls the head of Ambrosius's party, advising them to apply to Aldroen for aid, to invite over Aurelius Ambrosianus, and to dethrone both Vortigern and Vortimer. He then sends over the archbishop to France, as Geoffrey had done before, and puts in his mouth such another speech. He then lands Ambrosius at Totness, at the head of ten thousand men. It may be worth while for the reader to observe, how very consistently Mr. Rapin makes Geoffrey belye himself. Geoffrey's application to Aldroen, king of Britany, was in the time of Constantine, father to Ambrosius. As Ambrosius was in his cradle when his elder brother was a man, and as he was a man when Rapin sends the archbishop into Britany, forty years at least must have passed between the two periods. Now, as any reader may easily see, the two applications to the king of Britany are in fact the same, and both built upon the same foundation, they being delivered to the same prince (notwithstanding all the absurdity of both, all our historians unanimously, I think, excepting Matthew of Westminster, tell us, that Vortimer died before the battle of Crecaanford, or Crayford. Nennius puts his death just after the battle of Folkstone: Ille autem post modicum intervallum temporis mortuus est. Matthew of Westminster, indeed, tells us, that the next year after the battle of Aylestimer was poisoned, in the year 460. But even this chronology will not agree (though it brings the time of Vortimer's death later than any other does) with Mr. Rapin's account: for he not only makes Vortimer to have been present at the battle of Crecaanford, and to have fled from thence to London; but supposes Ambrosius, in the year 458, to have landed at Totness with ten thousand men. He then makes Ambrosius, and the archbishop of London, to conspire the death of Vortigern and Vortimer; and gives us, without any manner of authority, though he quotes Geoffrey of Monmouth on the margin, a detail of the speeches and intrigues upon that occasion. He then tells us, that this occasioned a civil war between the parties of Ambrosius and Vortimer; and that the first battle, upon this account, was fought at Catgualoph: and for this he quotes, upon the margin, Bede, book i. ch. 2. and Huntingdon, book ii. though neither of them, in all their history, has one single word of the matter. He makes this civil war to end in the year 465; and then patches up a peace between the two British kings and Ambrosius, assigning to the former the eastern, and to the latter the western, part of the kingdom. For this he quotes, upon the margin, Nennius, who does not mention one syllable of the matter. It is after this peace that he supposes the two British kings fought the battle of Wippedes-fleet against the Saxons, which, according to him, must have happened about the year 466; in which last part he agrees in his chronology with the Saxon annals, though the whole interval is filled up with fictions of his own. Probably he took the hint from Bede and Gildas, who say, that during the respite which the Britons had from the wars with the Saxons, they were at war with one another. But this is not authority enough for filling up so considerable a part of this history with forgeries, unsupported even by fable itself.

A. D. 465.

but without
any solid
ground.

I can find no solid ground for this opinion. The success which Gildas says Ambrosius met with, is not mentioned as happening in this or any other particular battle, but in general.

Others to the
Saxons, with
as little rea-
son.

On the other hand, we cannot agree with those who have implicitly followed the Saxon accounts, in making the whole of the Saxon progress here one continued chain of victory and success. The very spot where this battle was fought, is, I think, a strong argument that the Saxons were, at that time, beat to the very extremity of their possessions, if, as it is most probable, Wippedes-heat (1) lies in the isle of Thanet, where the Saxons never would have shut themselves up, had they been able to have maintained themselves in their more inland territories.

But, at the same time, we are to consider, that this circumstance is far from favouring those authors who pretend that the Saxons were ruined in this battle; for, had that been the case, how came they still to keep their footing, after receiving a defeat when they had been brought to such extremity?

King Arthur
makes his ap-
pearance.

It is about this time that the famous Arthur, as we are told, first began to make his appearance in the world.

Cambden.

This hero, according to our famous antiquary, was born at Tindagium, or Tindangel, in Cornwall. Like some other great men in history, his original is obscure. Some authors make him the son of Utherpendragon, the brother of Ambrosius. By others, he is said to be the son of Nathaleod, who either was a king of Wales, or a general of the Britons, and was afterwards slain by the Saxons, as shall be seen in its proper place. Other authors make his father's name Gurlois, and say that he was king of Cornwall. This seems to be the most probable conjecture; but, if this is true, it is highly improbable, that a prince, at the very extremity of the south-west of England, should have a war with a (2) king, whose territories lay in or near Scotland; especially if we consider, that all the intermediate country was a scene of war between other nations at the same time. It must not, however, be dissembled here, that the Meata, whom we have so often taken notice of, had, by this time, formed a little kingdom of their own, which old authors called regnum Cambrense, or Cumbrense.

The Meata
formed a little
kingdom, call-
ed Cambrense,
or Cumbrense.

Its extent.

This kingdom extended from Dumbritton, the western extremity of the most northern Roman wall, to the southern wall in North-

umberland. The chief seat of this petty territory was Alcluyd, or Areclud, now Dumbarton. This has brought modern and more ignorant historians into the mistake of saying, that Arthur maintained a war with Ho'el, the king of Areclute, in the neighbourhood of Scotland (3).

A. D. 465.

About this time we may fix the death of Vortigern. An historian tells us, with some face of probability, that Pascentius, one of his sons, raised a commotion in the north against Ambrosius and the associated Britons; but that it was suppressed. As we may well suppose that this rebellion was supported by the authority and countenance of the father, it was natural for Ambrosius to think his authority very precarious, while so restless a rival was in life. Vortigern, before this time, according to all accounts, had withdrawn himself to a castle in south Wales, that he might more securely indulge his infamous pleasures; but ambition, and the remembrance of what he once had been, ever prompting him to attempt a revolution, Ambrosius was resolved, by one bold stroke, to put an end to his own fears and dangers. The late battle at Wippedes-heat had so weakened the Saxons, that Ambrosius had nothing to fear, nor Vortigern to hope, from that quarter. The suppression of rebellion, under Pascentius, afforded a proper opportunity for restoring peace to the Britons, by removing Vortigern out of the way. Accordingly, Ambrosius advanced with a body of men against his castle, to which, with a cruel policy, he set fire, and therein Vortigern, and all his associates in impurity, were consumed.

Vortigern
dies,having with-
drawn himself
to a castle in
south Wales,in which he
and his associ-
ates were
burnt to ashes
by Ambrosius.Ambrosius dis-
guises this un-
justifiable cru-
elty. Different opi-
nions about
Vortigern's
death.

This horrid revenge, which is not justifiable upon any civil principle, was too shocking for Ambrosius not to disguise it. Accordingly we find an old, well-meaning, credulous historian, who tells us, from the legend of St. Germanus's life, that this saint having in vain endeavoured to reclaim Vortigern, the latter, like a vagabond, fled to Dinguatigern, a castle so called from Vortigern's own name, which lies in south Wales, where he shut himself up with his women. St. Germanus, with all the British clergy, pursued them thither, and, after many preparations of fasting and prayer, in the fourth night after this spiritual army besieged the castle, the fire fell from heaven and consumed it. This is a story which may have been artfully contrived to colour the barbarity of Vortigern's death. The clergy began now to be too much under temporal influence. Their habitations and

(1) Some take this place to be Ipswich in Suffolk.

(2) This we are told by Rabin.

(3) It is surprizing, that this kingdom of old Britons, and seated in the very heart of Britain, should have been buried in silence, as it has been, by our historians. That there was such a king as Howel in this territory, appears from a very ancient life of St. Gildas, published in the first volume of the Benedictin acts, by father Mabillon. We there learn, that this Howel was elder brother to Gildas; which agrees well enough with what the Welsh and British historians tell us, of one Howel living at that time, and being at war with Arthur. Josceline, who lived in the twelfth age, author of the life of St. Mungo, says, that this regnum Cambrense included all the debateable lands between the two walls. *Diocesis vero episcopatus ejus [S. Kentegerni] secundum limites Cambrensis regni extendebatur; quod utique regnum sicut vallum quondam a Severo principe a mari usque ad mare — et usque ad flumen Fordense pertingit, &c. Joc. vita et Kentegerni, M. S. Bibl. Cotton. Vitell. D. VIII.* — In the preface to a chartulary of the university of Glasgow, now in the Scotch college in Paris, is the following passage: In Cumbria itaque regione quadam inter Angliam et Scotiam sita; fide catholica in illis climatibus exuberante et propagante; domestici fidei ac procores regni cum rege provincie co-operante in honore Dei et sancte Marie pie genetricis, ecclesiam Glasguensem, sedem scilicet pontificalem Cumbrensis regionis, fundaverunt. *Præfatio Chartul. Glasg. five inquisitio de possessionibus ecclesie Glasg. Fol. 1. M. S. in collegio Scotor. Paris.*

A. D. 465. churches had been ruined by the late civil wars; they had nothing to hope for from Vortigern, who was under Saxon influence; they had cast their eyes upon Ambrosius, as their restorer and deliverer; mutual interest induced him to support them; and ambition, which makes the greatest men do the meanest things, seems to have led him to make this ungenerous use of the clergy's credit with the people, while bigotry represented to them unjustifiable cruel revenge as divine and merited justice. The delusion, however, appears not to have been general; for the same Nennius tells us, that very different reports prevailed; some giving out, that, having long led a life of trouble and misery, by wandering about, despised through all degrees of men, Vortigern's heart, at length, broke, and he died ignominiously; while others said, that the earth opened and swallowed him up, in that very night when his castle was burnt. When we compare together the circumstances of all those different accounts, an intelligent reader cannot be at a loss to conclude, that he died in the manner I have already represented. Especially when we consider, that, to have taken him prisoner, could never have served the purposes of Ambrosius, and that his death alone could crush his party among the Britons.

Vortigern being dead, it would seem as if the regal pretensions of his family had been extinguished by his fall. I meet with no claim entered upon the sovereignty by Pascentius, his surviving son. Geoffrey of Monmouth, indeed, tells us, that, after his first defeat in the north of England, he fled to Ireland; and that Gillamaniaus, the king of that island, furnished him with a body of

men, who landed in Wales, where they were joined by many of the Saxons. The same writer informs us, that Ambrosius was then lying very ill, and that his brother Utherpendragon advanced, at the head of an army, to repel the invasion. I am apt to believe a great part of this relation to be true, and that Pascentius was restored, by Ambrosius, to his father's hereditary estate; but, as I hinted before, I find no intimation of his ever claiming the sovereignty. My opinion is founded upon the express words of Nennius, who says, that, after Vortigern's death, his son Pascentius, by the bounty of Ambrosius, who was, by this time king of all Britain (1), reigned in (2) Buelt and Gortigermanum. We learn, from the same author, that these possessions descended to his posterity. From this, and many other circumstances we meet with, in the best historians of those days, it appears, that there still remained in Britain a species of government, founded upon their most ancient constitution, as it was settled at the time of Julius Cæsar's first invasion. Vortigern appears to have been at the head of the great confederacy, in the same manner as Cassibelan and Caractacus were, and Ambrosius to have succeeded him in the same character. Mean while I am sensible, that many great alterations happened in the intermediate time, with regard to the general property of the country; but that no king had the property of the whole, and that the petty kings were independent, after being possessed of their rights, is, I think, extremely plain.

Ambrosius, being now without a rival in his command, appears to have applied him-

A. D. 468.

Pascentius, one of Vortigern's sons, is restored by Ambrosius to his father's estate;

which descended to his posterity.

Vortigern's power not hereditary.

(1) We are not to imagine, from this expression, Nennius to mean, that Ambrosius was king of the whole island. The Britain here mentioned is only the Britannia Romana, that part of Britain lying south of Hadrian's wall.

(2) I cannot agree with the learned Dr. Gale, in thinking Vortigern to have been a Pict, though it is very probable, that the genealogy of his family, given us by Nennius, from the manner in which it is expressed, was added by a Pict or a Scot. The estates mentioned by Nennius to have remained in the Vortigern family, appear to have lain in Wales; and it is proper for the reader to have the opinion of our great antiquary upon this occasion. It may be necessary to premise, that there is a great variation as to the readings of the names of those possessions; but, in the main, the Buelt mentioned by Nennius, appears to have been no other than Ptolemy's Βυλλαίου, which lies upon the river Wey in Brecknockshire. "At present, says Camden, Bualht is noted for a good market, but formerly it seems to have been a place very eminent; for Ptolemy sets down the longitude and latitude of it, and calls it Bullæum Silurum." The right reverend editor adds: "Of this town, in the year 1690, a considerable part (being that side of the street next the river Wye) was, by a casual fire, totally consumed." Whether this Bualht be the ancient Bullæum, or whether that city or fort (allowing it to have been in this county) was not a place called Kaereu, some miles distant from it, may be questioned; at least it is evident, that there hath been a Roman fort at Kaereu: for, besides that the name implies as much (signifying strictly frequently dig up bricks there, and find other manifest signs of a Roman work. It is now only the name of a gentleman's house; and, not far from it, there is also another house called Castlehan. If it be urged in favour of Bualht, that it seems still to retain its ancient name, which Ptolemy might render Βυλλαίου, it may be answered, that Bualht, which I interpret Colles-boum (Ox-cliff, or else Oxen-holt) was the name of a small country here; from whence, in all likelihood, the ancient Bullæum (if it stood in this tract) was denominated; but that being totally destroyed, and this town becoming afterwards the most noted place of the country, it might also receive its name from it, as the former had done. But (that I may dissemble nothing) since the congruity of the names is the main argument for assigning this situation to the ancient Bullæum Silurum, we shall have occasion of hesitating, if hereafter we find the ruins of a Roman fort, or city, in a neighbouring country of the Silures, the name whereof may agree with Bullæum, no less than Bualht. From this town, the neighbouring part (a mountainous and rocky country) is also called Bualht, into which, upon the incursion of the Saxons, king Vortigern retired; and there also, by the permission of Aurelius Ambrosius, his son Pascentius governed, as we are informed by Nennius. As to Guortigermanum, the same great Antiquary places it in Radnorshire. He says, that, in that county, there is a vast wilderness, rendered very dismal by many crooked ways and high mountains, into which, as a proper place of refuge, that bane of his native country, king Vortigern (whose memory the Britons curse) withdrew himself, when he had at last repented of his abominable wickedness, in calling in the English Saxons, and incestuously marrying his own daughter; but, God's vengeance pursuing him, he was consumed by lightning, together with his city Kaertigern, which he had built for his refuge. Nor was it far from hence (as if the place were fatal) that not only this Vortigern, the last British monarch of the race of the Britons; but also Llewelyn, the last prince of Wales of the British line, being betrayed and intercepted in the year of our Lord 1282, ended his life. From this Vortigern, Nennius calls that small region Guortigernmaur; nor is the name yet lost; but, of the city, there is not any memorial remaining, but what we have from authors. Some are of opinion, that the castle of Gwthrénion arose out of the ruins of it, which the Welsh, out of hatred to Roger Mortimer, laid even with the ground, An. 1201. This part of the country hath been also called Gwarth Enian, as we are informed by Nennius, who writes, that the forementioned Vortigern, when he was publicly and sharply reproved by St. German, did not only persist in his obstinacy and his wicked practices, but also amends for his father's fault, ordained, that the land, where the bishop had received so great an indignity, should be his own for ever. Upon which, and in memory of St. German, it hath been called Gwarth Enian, which, in English, signifies, A slander justly required.

A. D. 476.
Ambrosius
holds a gene-
ral council at
York.

Settles the af-
fairs of his
dominion,

self to refettle the affairs of his dominion. Some of our best critics incline to agree with Geoffrey of Monmouth's account, that, after the battle of Wippedes-fleat, he held a general assembly of princes and noblemen at York. In this assembly order was taken for restoring the state of the churches in Britain, and for resettling the peace of the kingdom. After this he marched with his army towards London; but whether it was, at this time, in the hands of the Saxons, does not appear. Having taken care to restore the British interest there, he set out to Winchester and to Salisbury, where he took the like precautions.

The Saxon chronicle is silent, from the time of the battle of Wippedes-fleat (which, according to the text published by its right reverend editor, happened in the year 461) to the year 473. This silence is a strong presumption, if not a proof, that, in all this time, the Saxons were too weak to undertake any thing against the Britons. The general account that we have from Gildas gives us reason for believing, that this interval was not without some very considerable commotions at home among the Britons themselves, occasioned, probably, as we have already seen, by Pascentius and the party of Vortigern. Ambrosius, however, surmounting his difficulties, according to some authors, was solemnly crowned at Stone-henge, the famous monument upon Salisbury-plain. All the Romances with which Geoffrey and his followers have clouded the original design of this monument, have not been able to stifle the probability of its having some relation to this celebrated prince. We shall not positively assert it to have been erected by Ambrosius; but some circumstances in ancient authors, and from the name of Ambresburg, a town near it, it appears to have been the seat of his triumph, and the place of his burial.

Hengist, and
his son Esca,
make war a-
gainst the Bri-
tons,
and defeat
them.

In the year 473, the Saxons appear, either from the civil dissensions of Britain, or from additional reinforcements from the continent, to have been strong enough again to try the fortune of war. Their chronicle tells us, that Hengist, and his son Esca, this year fought with the Britons, and, after making a large booty, the latter fled from them as they would have done from fire.

Rapin.

From the year 473 to the year 476 the Saxon chronicle is silent; and it is in vain for us to have recourse to the disagreeing and doubtful writings of British and Saxon authors, for supplying this interval. Some writers have taken the liberty to fill this interval with the massacre of the Britons by Hengist, the resignation of a large tract of country by Vortigern to the Saxons, and

have not only made Ambrosius sole monarch of the Britons, but have vested him with the imperial purple (1). For my own part, I rather chuse to leave the reader uninformed, than to deceive him with fictions. We may well suppose, however, that, in this period, the Saxons were far from prevailing, since any notable success they met with is always marked in their chronicle. We have great reason to believe, that the Britons again fell into their civil dissensions, and, at the same time, that the Saxons were too weak to take advantage of them. The hint we have that Ambrosius had fallen sick, may, perhaps, let us into the reason of the last defeat of the Britons; it being generally allowed, that, when this great man fought against the Saxons in person, he was successful.

A. D. 476.

By the character this hero has in history, he seems to have formed himself upon the model of Roman virtue. His morals untainted, his heart liberal, his mind equally tenacious of benefits and injuries, his person indefatigable in war, and his politics improving the arts of peace; the whole crowned with eminent piety, universal humility, and exemplary justice. It was no wonder if Hengist took advantage of such a prince's absence to attack and defeat the Britons.

But though, as I have already observed, the Saxon chronicle is silent in this interval, we may, from coeval histories, glean up somewhat not ungrateful to our labour. The history of Scotland begins now to deserve credit with a cautious reader. The Saxon chronicle, at this time chiefly regards the settlement originally made in Kent under Hengist; but, as the northern Saxons are equally objects of our attention, we must have recourse, for information of them, to the purest of the Scottish authorities. We have already seen how Hengist had strengthened himself by an alliance with the Picts and Scots; but the interests of those two last people were, through mutual jealousy and mutual ambition, incompatible. This had been perceived by Vortimer, who is allowed, by the most credible Scotch historian of those times, to have entered into a league with the Scots, in order to preserve the balance in the northern parts of the island. This alliance was of mutual advantage and mutual damage to both parties; but the former preponderating, and the balance being still upheld, the politic Ambrosius, about this period of our history, as there is reason to believe, sought to renew it with the Scots, who were now beginning to form the settlements they had made upon a regular plan of polity. The expediency

The writers
of Scotland
begin to de-
serve credit.

Hengist had
entered into a
league with
the Scots.

Fordun.

(1) Rapin has not only done this, but made Arthur a Roman patrician, and very wisely tells us in a note, that "P. Arthur must have been created a patrician by Ambrosius, since there was no other emperor in the west. Odoacer, king of the Heruli, then reigning in Italy, had no pretensions to Britain." All this he tells us, upon no better authority than a forgery of the monks upon what they call Arthur's seal, appended to a Glassenbury charter, with the following inscription:

PATRICIUS ARTURIUS BRITANNIÆ, GALLIÆ,
GERMANIÆ, DACIÆ IMPERATOR.

Rapin's gross ignorance in critical learning is easily discovered in this passage. He supposes the word patricius here, to be meant as signifying a Roman patrician; whereas, in reality, it was an arch contrivance of the monks, who forged the seal to make Arthur's christian name the same with that of their patron St. Patrick.

A. D. 477. of this alliance was easily perceived by the latter; and though there is no reason to suppose that the Caledonian Scots were then governed by any magistrate, with the august name of a monarch, yet there is clear authority for believing, that they had leading men vested with power sufficient for concluding such an alliance. A treaty being therefore entered into and concluded, the stipulations, as we are told, remained in force till the British government gave way to that of the Saxons. The success Ambrosius met with from the Scots, encouraged him to apply, in like manner, to the Picts. This people was then governed by Drest Gurthinmoth (1), called, by the Scotch historians, Drostanus; but he, pre-engaged with the Picts, rejected the alliance.

The Picts extirpated by the Scots.

Fordun. Buchanan.

The negotiations of Ambrosius with the Scots.

The northern Saxons appear, at this time, to have received daily accessions of strength from their mother-country; and the treaty lately concluded between Ambrosius and the Scots, proved also daily of more use to the Britons, by preventing their enemies in the north from advancing to join their arms with their southern countrymen. But different was the fate of the two people in alliance; for, in the course of the war, the intruding Scots were successful enough to strip the original owners of that country not only of their dominion, but of their name, while their allies, the unfortunate Britons, were, in the end, obliged to resign theirs to the Saxons, as shall be seen in the sequel of this history. There is some reason for believing that the Scots were not quite disinterested in their friendship for the Britons; for we find that, before this time, they had made incroachments upon the British territories; and no sooner had Ambrosius got any respite from his wars with the Saxons, than his noblemen pressed him to attempt the recovery of the dominions thus usurped. Ambrosius, unwilling to give his nobles cause of distrust, or the Scots a motive for enmity, made the requisition. The Scots refusing to evacuate the debateable territory, both sides seemed to prepare for war; but, by the management of Ambrosius, a compromise was made; the Scots were left in possession, and the Britons, in consideration of that, received stipulated assistance. If we are to believe Scotch historians, in credit inferior to Fordun, though, in this, countenanced by his authority, the Scots earned this possession faithfully and honestly. They maintained a slow, though a plundering and pyratrical, war with the Saxons; daily incursions were made, on both sides, upon one another's

territories; but the Scots, lightly armed, were more sudden in their attacks, and more quick in their retreats, which gave them an advantage upon the whole. We are told, by the same authorities, that the Scots, about this time, furnished Ambrosius with a body of men, no doubt in consideration of the cession made to them of the debateable lands, which their historians have placed in Westmoreland.

The public would think it unpardonable in a writer, furnished with such lean materials as we have of those times, should he omit the mention of any person who then made a figure, however disguised his story, however marvellous his life appears; for this reason I cannot omit acquainting my readers, that, at the period I am now writing of, we are to fix the age of Merlin the prophet. If I were to go into a detail of this celebrated person upon the authorities of the British writers, I should nauseate my reader with heaps of inconsistent marvels. The age in which he lived was very susceptible of whatever appeared to be allied to divinity; and, therefore, a man of such a character might have been a very useful and successful instrument in the hands of an artful prince and party. Buchanan, a writer the most elegant of our modern historians, but with the worst of all bad hearts, has so excellently and so judiciously drawn the character of this Merlin, and that of his prophecies, that I cannot omit giving both to my reader, the rather because they are so applicable to all impostures of this kind (2). "We are to look upon Merlin, says he, as eminent rather in imposture and forgery, than in prophecy. His predictions are hawk'd about; obscure indeed they are, without the least degree of certainty, so as to build the least hopes on them before the event, nor can you venture to pronounce them true, even after their completion. Besides, they are drawn up in such a manner, as that they can be twisted and fitted to many different events. Though they swell daily with new interpolations and accessions, yet such is the madness of credulity, that mankind are ready to seal, with the strongest affirmations, the truth of that which they are at a loss to understand. Nay, though they are trapped in a palpable mistake, yet will they not suffer themselves to be undeceived." The reader, I hope, will pardon a quotation from this authority, (which must be ever great in matters not affecting his interest) when he reflects to what importance the credulity of our histo-

A. D. 477.

Reflection.

(1) There were two princes in this age who ruled the Picts, under pretty near the same name; the one being called Drest, and the other Drest. I rather chuse to refer this incident to the latter, who begun his reign in the year 480, than to the former, who ended his in the year 451. The difference of three or four years is little or nothing, when we consider the inaccuracy of the chronology of those days, and the impossibility of fixing the most undisputed æra to within six or seven years of even a seeming certainty. As a proof of this, the reader may consult Mr. Innes's Critical Essay, in those passages where he treats of the Pictish succession of monarchs.

(2) Merlinus, egregius impostor ac veterator potius, quam vates habendus. Circumferuntur ejus vaticinia, obscura quidem illa, et nihil certi continentia, quæ, vel antequam eveniant, sperare, vel, cum evenerint, promissa, vera audeas affirmare. Præterea ita composita sunt, ut eadem ad multa diversarum rerum eventa circumflectere et accommodare possis. Ea cum quotidie interpolentur, et novis accessionibus accrescant, tamen hominum credulorum tanta est insania, ut quæ non intelligant, quovis sacramento, vera esse contendere non dubitent: nec, in manifesto interim deprehensi mendacio, se corrigi patiantur. Buchan. Hist. lib. 5.

A. D. 477. rians have swelled the character of this prophet. But to return to the course of our history.

Ella and his three sons, Cymen, Wlecing, and Cissa, arrive,

in three ships,

Saxon chronicle.

Henry of Huntingdon, on the coast of Suffex,

and cut in pieces the opposing Britons.

The Saxons fortify themselves.

(1) The year 477 is distinguished by the arrival of Ella the Saxon, attended by his three sons, (2) Cymen, Wlecing (or, according to Henry of Huntingdon, Pleting) and Cissa. They were, doubtless, encouraged to this descent by the success which their countrymen, already settled here, met with, and perhaps the necessity there was of supporting their colonies, now threatened by the formidable power of Ambrosius. Ella commanded only the same number of ships which Hengist had at the time of the first descent of the Saxons; but there is reason to believe, that they were excellently well provided; not only with men, but with every thing that could make their expedition successful. The place of their landing, on the coasts of Suffex, was called afterwards Cymenshore, from the eldest of the adventuring brothers, though that name is now lost. The Britons, apprized of their approach, opposed their landing; but, either from the contempt they had of the Saxon numbers, or the mismanagement of their leaders, they did it in such loose straggling bodies, and with so little skill, that they were defeated and cut in pieces by the Saxons. Some who escaped the slaughter, by their magnifying relations, encreased the panic of the neighbouring country, and discouraged the troops who were marching up to their assistance; while others were pursued by the Saxons to an adjoining wood, called, by the historian, Andredeleage, after a great slaughter of their countrymen. The apprehensions of the Britons from the Saxon power being raised by this defeat, the latter had time to fortify themselves, which they did, at a place since called Cisbury, from another of the brothers. We may

well suppose that this original handful of invaders was reinforced by numbers of their countrymen, either from the continent, or from the adjacent parts of Saxon Britain; for they not only kept their footing, and enlarged their possessions for eight years after their arrival in the island, but laid the foundation of the south Saxon kingdom. We are quite at a loss to know how Ambrosius, and the other British heroes of those days, were employed on this occasion. The suffering such a handful of foreigners to become masters of so important a coast as that of Suffex, is by no means to their honour, unless we conclude, as with some reason we may, that they were employed in quelling civil insurrections, raised by the remains of the Vortigern family.

Geoffrey of Monmouth. Matthew of Westminster.

This new settlement of Saxons soon became formidable to the Britons, and, in the year 485, they made head against the united forces of their enemies. A general battle was fought, at a place which I find termed, in the Saxon chronicle, (3) Mear-credesburnan-stede. The Saxon annals, seldom silent when Saxons were victorious, tell us of no victory obtained here; therefore we are to agree with other authors that it was a drawn battle.

A battle fought between the Britons and Saxons. Matthew of Westminster. Henry of Huntingdon.

The same annals leave us uncertain whether Hengist, king of Kent, died in the year 486, or 487, or the beginning of the year 488. All we know from it is, that his son Esca succeeded as sole king of Kent, in the last mentioned year. His father, who appears to have been a great prince, had stained his reputation by treachery and cruelty; even his own subjects abhorred the means by which he sought to secure himself in empire, and we are told they returned in great numbers to the continent; but whether Hengist himself was ever so much reduced, as to be obliged to

Hengist dying, his Esca succeeds him as sole king of Kent.

(1) Though I have, agreeable to the Saxon chronicle, placed the commencement of the south Saxon kingdom in this year, yet authors are strongly divided with regard to that chronology. I shall give my reader what Mr. Speed, the most accurate of our modern historians upon Saxon affairs, has said upon this head. "Doubtless, says he, there are many opinions of this man's first entrance, and new-erected state: for some (as Sir Henry Saville, in his table) set it in the second year of Hengist's first arrival, An. 452; others in the second of Aurelius, and no less than thirty years after that, An. 482. Harrison will have it forty-three years after the Saxons first entrance, and the fourth year after king Hengist's death, An. 492. And Mr. Ferres, in his succession of the English monarchs, places it in the three and twentieth year of king Hengist his kingdom, and the fifth after his own arrival, the year of our redemption 488. Of such uncertainty is the beginning of this south Saxon's kingdom, whose continuance and successions are nothing clearer; inasmuch that Malmesbury, making several chapters upon the other six, omitteth only this of the south Saxons. And therefore, as we found them, let us have leave to relate them, and, for the present, to leave Ella, as he was king, till we come to a fit place, where more shall be spoken of him, as he was monarch; whose reign is set, by Stow, to have been thirty-six years; by Sir Henry Saville, twenty-four; and by Mr. Ferrers, thirty-two; and to have died in the year 514." I do not know what chronology of Sir Henry Saville this author consulted; but if he means the chronological tables inserted at the end of his edition of the *Scriptores post Bædam*, he is greatly mistaken; for that chronology agrees entirely with the Saxon chronicle.

(2) I have given these names, and the account of this arrival, from the best authority, viz. the Saxon chronicles and Henry of Huntingdon. Mr. Rapin has christened the young princes with the names of Baldulphus, Colgrin, and Cissa; and embroilers the story with his own observations, by telling us, that "Ella was invited over by Hengist, who promised him part of the territories granted him by Vortigern." But if this was the case, I should be glad to know how they came to land in Suffex; a country not in possession of the Saxons, and where they might have been cut to pieces upon their landing? Again, if Hengist invited them over to support his own weakness, as Mr. Rapin says he did, one should have thought that they would have landed in some part of Kent, and not have exposed their inconsiderable number to be destroyed by landing in an enemy's country.

(3) It is with reluctance that I am obliged to take notice of Mr. Rapin's errors. Were I to dwell upon the more minute and trifling, these notes would be filled with nothing else; nay, the most important should escape my animadversion, were it not that his history has been so generally received, that it becomes a kind of public service to set the world right in matters that may affect the most essential part of our annals. He tells us, under this year, that "historians relate but one remarkable event, namely, the signal victory obtained by Ambrosius, in the year 487, over Ella and his two eldest sons. This is properly the first victory the Britons could indisputably boast of, whatever their historians say to the contrary. This defeat obliged the Saxon general to retire to his strong holds, in expectation of fresh supplies sent for from Germany." To support this anecdote, the Saxon chronicle and Henry of Huntingdon are quoted upon the margin of the translation, though neither of them say the least syllable that can induce us to believe Ambrosius to have been in this battle. The Saxon chronicle, as I have elsewhere observed, leaves it quite doubtful to what side the victory inclined. Henry of Huntingdon tells us, in express terms, that "the Britons were headed by their kings and generals;" a very improper way of expressing himself, if Ambrosius had been at their head; "and that both armies were so weakened, that, declining farther engagement, they withdrew to their respective countries."

A. D. 490. fly over to the continent, is justly, I think, matter of great doubt. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who seldom suffers any prince to die in his bed by a natural death, tells us, that, after Hengist had fought with Aurelius Ambrosius, and lost a battle, he fled towards Coinnesbury, in Yorkshire, where he was taken and beheaded, by Aldol, a duke of Gloucester of Geoffrey's own creation; but the absurdity of this account is too strong to require any pains to confute it, especially as it is unsupported by other historians. His son Esca, we are told by an historian, never enlarged his paternal dominion, being obliged to act rather upon the defensive, than offensive. But Henry of Huntingdon gives us a different idea of this prince; for he tells us, that he maintained his paternal territory with paternal virtues against the Britons, and added their dominions to his own. The time of his reign is a little uncertain; the Saxon chronicles mention four and twenty years, Huntingdon thirty-four years; I should, therefore, be apt to think, that the last mentioned author counts from the time of his association in the government with his father; and, if so, this association could not have happened before the year 478, though, by our authors, generally put more early.

Character of
Esca.

The Saxons
weakened.

Cambden.
His errors.

The Saxons
lay siege to
Newenden.
Henry of
Huntingdon.
The Britons
fly to its relief.

The Saxons
despairing of
carrying it,
endeavour to
draw the ene-
my into the
field,

Our chronicles are silent as to the year 489; but, from what we find in the year 490, there is room for believing, that the Saxon kingdom had been greatly reduced at the time of Hengist's death, if it is true that Andresceaster is the same place with Newenden in Kent, as, I think, there is little room to doubt. Our great antiquary, who is mistaken in the other parts which he relates of this incident, thinks, that the (1) Saxons had never been in possession of all Kent till this time; but, however that may be, we find both nations, this year, summoning up all their forces, the one to attack, the other to relieve, the town, garrisoned by a strong body of Britons. The siege was doubtful, long, and bloody. An ancient historian tells us, that the Saxons sat down before it with a prodigious army, and that the Britons flew as thick as clustering bees to its relief; the Saxons thereby were posted between two enemies, the besieged in the town, and the Britons who fought to raise it. This situation exposed them to great inconveniences; day and night were they harrassed; at last they became desperate, being thus cut off from all hopes of retreating, and having no safety but in resolution. They found it was quite in vain for them to think of carrying the town, while they themselves were pressed by an enemy superior in proportion as their numbers were to the besieged; they there-

fore abandoned all thoughts of the siege, till they had beat the enemy in the field, and, to that end, directed thither the great stress of the war. But the Britons appear to have still retained the manner in which their ancestors fought; they took advantage of the lightness of their armour, their knowledge of the country, and the lightness of their heels, against a foe heavily armed, and regularly disciplined. They fought the Saxons with missiles, and at a distance; they retreated upon their advance, and advanced upon their retreat, the woods forbidding a thorough pursuit. The pagans, by this conduct in the Britons, lost great numbers of their best troops, and they must have been obliged to raise the siege, had they not made a new disposition of their forces. Accordingly they divided their army into two bodies, with the one they blockaded the town, and with the other they advanced against the Britons in the field, seeking rather to cover the siege, than to pursue the enemy. This method was successful; for the Britons, in their turn, began now to feel the extremities of famine, the Saxons cutting off from them all relief. The place at last was taken by storm; and such was the cruel resentment of the Saxons, for the desperate defence made by the Britons, that a general massacre ensued; man, woman, and child were barbarously put to the sword, not a single Briton of all the inhabitants escaped; and the Saxon fury extending even to the walls, they utterly demolished the monument both of their success and barbarity.

A. D. 495.

and are worst-
ed.

They divide
their army in-
to two bodies,

carry the
town by storm,
and put all its
inhabitants to
the sword.

The Saxons
increase their
settlements.

This success of the Saxons, without doubt, encouraged their countrymen upon the continent to attempt making fresh settlements in Britain. We have not, from any author of credit, an account of any transactions happening between the years 490 and 495. Were I indeed to fill this interval up from Geoffrey of Monmouth, there are ample materials; but, as the facts he relates are supported only by a falsified authority, and destitute of historical concordance, I shall, rather than mention them, proceed to the next year mentioned in the Saxon chronicle.

The year 495 is distinguished by the arrival of Cerdic, and his son Cynric, two Saxon lords, in five ships, at a place since called Credicshore. The Britons, as usual, opposed their advancing into the country on the very day they landed. The Saxons, resolutely drawing up before their ships, stood the repeated attacks of the Britons; but, night putting an end to the dispute, the Britons, next day, thought fit to retire, without victory declaring herself on either side, while the Saxons, supported by

Cerdic and
Cynric land-
ing at Credic-
shore,
notwithstand-
ing the oppo-
sing Britons.

(1) Cambden, by mistake, tells us, that it was Hengist who attacked this place, and put the inhabitants to the sword. His words are: "Hengist, having a design to drive the Britons entirely out of Kent, and finding it expedient to strengthen his party by fresh supplies, sent for Ella out of Germany, with great numbers of Saxons; then making a vigorous assault on this Anderida, the Britons, who lay in ambuscade in the next wood, disturbed him to such a degree, that when, at last (after much blood-shed on both sides) he, by dividing his forces, had defeated the Britons in the woods, and at the same time had taken the town, his barbarous heart was so inflamed with revenge, that he put the inhabitants to the sword, and demolished the place." But it is extremely plain, both from the Saxon chronicle and all concurrent authors, that the Britons, long before this, had no footing in Kent, unless we can suppose he means that part of Andresweald, or Andreswood, which was in Kent; but that Hengist was dead at the time of this battle, is, I think, without dispute.

A. D. 501.

Extend themselves along the shore.

Settlement of the Saxons under Porta and his two sons.

Henry of Huntingdon. They defeat the Britons.

Geoffrey of Monmouth. Matthew of Westminster. Conjectures about Ambrosius and Arthur.

Argentrè.

their ships, extended themselves along the shore. The progress of this great prince, and his family, shall be seen in the sequel of our story.

We now come to the year 501, when Porta and his two sons, Bieda and Megla, landed at Portsmouth from the continent. They and their attendants came in two very large ships, which alarmed the whole country. The British governor opposed them, at the head of a confused body, which was soon put to the rout. Rashness, says my author elegantly, impelled the Britons upon their enemies, while the courage of the enemy turned the temerity of the Britons into confusion. Victory thus remaining to the Saxons, after the death of the British general, who appears to have been a young man of great spirit, but little conduct, the Saxons took possession of the important harbour of Portsmouth, which still retains its name from their general. This appears to have been one of the last settlements made by the Saxons in Britain; most of their countrymen, who came afterwards, proving rather additions to the settlements already made, than forming separate ones of their own (1). About this time we are to understand, from some French and British historians, who are either ill supported, or ill understood, that Ambrosius had resigned the care of war and government to Arthur, who, after completely defeating the Saxons in the north, and chastising Pascentius, the Son of Vortigern, now rebelling in the south, found his armies quite exhausted by those unintermitting wars. At last, according to a French author, he received a supply from the Britons of Armorica in France, which enabled him to attack and defeat the Northumbrian Saxons, who were commanded by the two sons of Ella. He then surprized Cerdic the

Saxon, who was besieging Lincoln. All these particulars I have thrown together in the order I find them, not as meriting credit, but as worthy of notice, by having been so confidently advanced by English historians.

We shall, however, endeavour to separate the true from the false, and present the reader, if not with what is certain, at least with what is probable. But for this purpose we have no sure authority to serve as a foundation, excepting the imperfect lights afforded by the Saxon chronicle. I must, however, premise, that, though I am extremely well satisfied that Arthur was both a great general and king in England, yet no historian can, upon any critical principle, establish the certainty of any one victory he ever obtained. Had he, on the one hand, been that invincible hero (2) which our old writers dream of, whence came it that the Saxons could make so many different settlements, that they were able to recover so many dreadful blows, and that they could establish, even in the time of Arthur, their footing so firmly in Britain, as to bring it into absolute subjection in the days of his immediate successors? On the other hand, the ignorance, or the partiality of the Saxon annalists, is clear from their silence, not only of Arthur, whose very existence has been questioned, but of Aurelius Ambrosius, of whose great merit and success we have the fullest and the clearest proofs. As to Utherpendragon, another hero of our historical romance, it is not unlikely the very name was coined by Geoffrey, though, as we shall see hereafter, there probably was such a person. This being premised, I proceed on my doubtful way, afraid, at every step, of slippery footing, or deceitful ground.

(3) Admitting then, that we have no accounts

A. D. 501.

(1) This may be the proper place to insert, from archbishop Usher, the several countries in England where the Saxons and their allies settled.

I. The Jutes possessed Kent, the isle of Wight, and that part of Hampshire which lies over-against it, where Homelen, or the river Humble, runs into the ocean. Though this should belong to the province of the West Saxons, yet, from its first original, in the times of the English Saxons, it hath retained the appellation of the nation of the Jutes.

II. The Saxons are divided into, 1. South Saxons, 2. East Saxons, 3. West Saxons.

1. The South Saxons possessed Sussex.

2. The East Saxons had Essex, Middlesex, and the southern parts of Hertfordshire.

3. The West Saxons, who anciently were called the Gevissi, inhabited the counties of Surrey, Southampton (except the maritime part, which was possessed by the Jutes) Berks, Wilton, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall; though the greatest part of this has been held by the relics of the old Britons, even to our days.

III. The Angles are divided into East Angles, Middle Angles, and Northumbrians.

1. The East Angles held Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, with the isle of Ely, and also (as it seems) part of Bedfordshire.

2. The Mediterranean, or Middle Angles, inhabited the province of Leicester, which was subject to the government of the Mercians.

The Mercians are divided, by the river Trent, into Southern and Northern.

1. The Southern Mercians are those who live in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire and (which was formerly a part of it) Rutlandshire, Huntingdonshire, the northern part of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire.

2. The Northern Mercians inhabited Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire.

3. The Northumbrian Angles, who live north of the river Humber, are distinguished into those,

1. Of Deira, which contains Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and the southern part of Cumberland on this side the river Derwent.

2. Of Bernicia, who inhabited the north part of Cumberland, with some part of Westmoreland, which lay next to it; the bishopric of Durham, Northumberland, and the southern part of Scotland, which on the east is bounded by the German ocean, on the west by the Irish sea; its southern limits are Solway-bay and the river Tweed; it reaches north to the friths of Dunbritton and Edinburgh. Thus was the Northumbrian kingdom extended, ad duo ista freta, "to those two friths;" by one of them (that of Dunbritton) it was separated from the Scots, by the other (that of Edinburgh) from the Picts, as we understand by the most certain testimonies of Bede and other historians.

(2) In omnibus bellis victor extitit. Nennius.

(3) This history would be very incomplete, did I not give my reader, in one view, the excellent collection of facts and absurdities made by bishop Stillingfleet, together with his own observations upon them. This I do, not only for the information of the public, but to vindicate myself. "After Ambrosius his death, says he, according to the British history, his brother (Utherpendragon) succeeded, who routed the Saxons in the north, relieved York besieged by them, took the sons of Hengist prisoners, marched to London, and there called a parliament, was solemnly crowned, and fell out with Goalvis, duke of Cornwall, about his wife Igera, and under his shape had king Arthur by her; but her husband

"was

A. D. 508. accounts to be depended upon, of the transactions, civil or military, that happened in England between the years 501 and 508, we must, upon the face of things, conclude, that the Saxons were still gaining ground. In the year 508, we find them engaged in a general battle against a prince the only British one mentioned in the Saxon annals, his name (1) Natan. The annals, in this, are supported by an English historian of great credit, who says, that this prince was the most powerful of the British kings, and of high reputation and rank in the world. The British army being drawn out under him, made so formidable an appearance, that the Saxons concluded the decision of their fate in Britain to depend on the ensuing campaign. Cerdic was, at this time, looked upon as successor to Hengist, though not in his dominions, yet in his authority. He applied to Esca, the Saxon king of Kent, to Ella, the king of Suffex, and to Porta, who had made the late settlement in Hampshire; in short, to all the Saxon settlements in Britain, for assistance. Having from them received considerable reinforcements, he thought himself in condition to venture a general battle. His army was divided into two bodies, the one commanded by Cerdic himself, and the other by Cynric his son. The British king, full of martial ardour, immediately charged the body commanded by Cerdic, because, it appearing the strongest, more honour was to be got by its defeat, which would likewise put a more speedy issue to the day. The Saxons, unable to resist the British charge, were put to the rout, and Natan pursued them with great vigour; but young Cynric, seeing the slaughter made by Natan, the Saxon standards beat down, and the unguarded impetuosity of the Britons in pursuit, charged the enemy in flank, and renewed the fight. The Britons being thus attacked by a fresh force, the flying Saxons rallied, and (2) Natan, full of indignation at this reverse of fortune, fell with his sword in his hand. I should be inclined, with some late historians, to think, that this Natan was the same with Aurelius Ambrosius, were it not that his name, in the British language, has a strong relation to a dragon, or a flying serpent, which is the name that Geoffrey of Monmouth has affixed to Utherpendragon, another hero of those times. This is a conjecture in which I am warranted by no antiquary or historian, therefore I offer it to the public with great diffidence. We know how apt historians, who write in Latin, are to romanize the names of their heroes; therefore it is by no means improbable that Geoffrey might take a like liberty with the name of this prince. However, if the reader has a mind to suppose that Utherpendragon and Aurelius Ambrosius were one and the same, or that Utherpen-

A. D. 508.

and routs it.

The Saxons rally.
Natan falls.

Henry of Huntingdon.

He applies for assistance to the Saxons.

Divides his army into two bodies.

Natan attacks that headed by Cerdic,

" was killed at the siege of his castle. After which, it is said, that he overcame the Saxons at Verulam, where he was afterwards poisoned by their means, and his son Arthur succeeded." This is the sum of what is there more at large related; but taking it all together, it is a very blind and partial account of the proceedings between the Britons and Saxons at that time. For even Matthew of Westminster, Anno Dom. 494, takes notice of Cerdic, and Cynric his son, landing with new forces at a place called, from him, Cerdic-shore (near Yarmouth, saith Cambden, where the name Cerdic-sand still remains) and fought the Britons at their first landing, till they were forced to withdraw and leave room for them, who after went into the western parts, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of the West Saxons. To the same purpose Florentius, Ethelwerd, and Huntingdon. Seven years after him came Port and his two sons, Bleda and Magla, and arrived at Portsmouth, which had its name from him, as the same authors inform us from the Saxon annals. Now, how comes Geoffrey to think of none of these, but only of Hengist's two sons in the north? Besides, he lets slip one of the greatest battles that was fought between Cerdic and Nathanleod, and pretends to give no account at all of it. This, the Saxon annals, Florentius, Ethelwerd, and Matthew of Westminster, all place Anno Dom. 508; but Huntingdon, the sixtieth year after the first coming of the Saxons. This Nazaleod, as he calls him, was the greatest king of the Britons, one of great fame and pride, from whom the country about Charford did take its name. At this place the whole forces of the Britons were gathered together; and Cerdic procured assistance from Esca of Kent, from Ella of Suffex, from Port and his sons; so that here was a pitched battle of the strength of both sides; and Nazaleod behaved himself with so much courage, that he drove Cerdic out of the field, and pursued him; which his son, who commanded the other wing, perceiving, followed him close, and cut him off, and five thousand of his men, who fled upon the death of their king. And, from this memorable battle, the place was called Cerdic's-ford, and since Charford, upon the Avon, between Salisbury and Ringwood. But who was this mighty king of the Britons, who lost his life in this battle? Mr. Cambden professes he cannot guess, unless it were Aurelius Ambrosius, whose name he observes the Saxon annalists never mention, nor the battles wherein they were worsted: and the British history is even with them for that, which takes no notice of this great fight wherein their king was slain. Matthew of Westminster will not have him to be king, but only to be general under Uther, who was then sick; which contradicts Ethelwerd, Huntingdon, and Florentius, who affirm him to have been then king; and as Huntingdon saith, Rex maximus Britannorum, which seems to imply, that there were more kings then among the Britons, as there were among the Saxons, and that one was the chief, as in the heptarchy. Archbishop Usher thinks this king was the same whom the British history calls Uther, and that Nathanleod was his true name, and Uther was a nickname to denote his fierceness; as the annotator on Nennius calls Arthur, Mab Uter in the British tongue, for the same reason; and so Arthurus in Latin, from the British Arth, which signifies a bear. This is an ingenious conjecture. But we are not so sure there ever was such a king as Uther, as we are, from Gildas, that there was such a one as Ambrosius. But Gildas saith, that some of the race of Ambrosius were living in his time; therefore he died not without issue, as the British history supposes; and this might probably be his son who was slain in this battle.

(1) Before this, in the year of our Lord 508, says Cambden, Cerdic had, in a very sharp engagement, conquered Nathanleod (called by others Nazaleod) a potent king of the Britons, together with great numbers of that people; and from his name a tract of land, reaching to this place, was called Natanleod, as we read in the Saxon annals; in the search of which tract I have been very curious, but cannot yet find the least footsteps of the name. It is indeed more than probable, that this king's name was not Nathanleod, but rather Natan or Nata; which, by the addition of leod, i. e. a country, signifies the tract or country of Natan: and one of the copies of the Saxon annals calls it Natanleag, that is, the field of Natan; which suggests what cannot be so well inferred from the other, viz. some remains of the old name, as in Netley and Nutley in this county. Who this Natanleod [or Natan] was, I cannot imagine; yet it is most certain, that at the same time Aurelius Ambrosius had many conflicts with the Saxons in those parts, with various success; notwithstanding which, this great man is never mentioned in the annals of our Saxon ancestors, who, as I observe, have been forward enough in reciting those battles wherein they had the advantage, but mention none of those wherein they were worsted, therein betraying too great partiality to their own cause.

(2) Archbishop Usher, says Mr. Tyrrell, very well conjectures, that this Uther, who is said to have been Arthur's father, was no other than Nazaleod above-mentioned, who for his great actions was called, in Welsh, Uther, which signifies as much as wonderful or terrible. And thus, as Nennius tells us, Arthur, whose name signifies in Welsh an horrible bear, was also called Mabuter, that is, an horrible son, because in his childhood he was very cruel; or rather because he was the son of this Nazaleod, surnamed Uther, out of which Geoffrey of Monmouth forged the name of Utherpendragon. If this could be proved, as it is an ingenious conjecture of the learned lord primate, it would go a great way to clear the British history of these obscure times.

A. D. 514. dragon is entirely a creature of Geoffrey's, or that Uther and Arthur are the same, I have no objection.

There fell, in the fight at Cerdicford, five thousand Britons, while the rest fled to their respective habitations. In the mean time, the reputation of this victory encouraged great numbers of the Saxons, on the continent, to come over and settle in Britain amongst their countrymen.

Arthur appears on the stage.

Different opinions about him.

The famous Arthur now appears upon the stage as a principal actor. It is uncertain whether he was chosen in the room of the last king, whether Ambrosius, or Utherpendragon, or succeeded by hereditary descent. It is likewise uncertain in what year the commencement of his reign is to be placed. The Saxon annals fix the death of Natan in the year 508; and the Welsh annals the commencement of Arthur's reign about the year 514. Historians are likewise greatly divided, with regard to the extent of his power and dominion. The Welsh, whose uncorrupted evidences ought now to have great force, suppose him to have been only king of Cornwall; while the stream of our other historians run into the opinion of his being sole monarch of Britain. Both those accounts, I think, may be reconciled, by having recourse to the political confederacy I have so often taken notice of; and supposing, that though he was hereditary prince of Cornwall, yet the suffrage of assembled states raised him, for his pre-eminence of virtue, to be head of the British confederacy.

He conquers the Saxons in twelve battles.

Before I enter upon that part of his history which takes its rise from more modern authors, I must premise what I find, with regard to this great man, in Nennius, and the most authentic of our historians. They tell us, but without regard to dates or circumstances, that he fought twelve times against the Saxons, and came off conqueror in every encounter. The first time, was at the mouth of the river Glem, or Gleni, probably in Lincolnshire, where the Saxons, who came originally over with Hengist, had their first settlement. This circumstance, no doubt, made that country a general seat of war between them and the Britons; for which reason I should be inclined to fix this battle in Lincolnshire, rather than in either of the other countries, where there are rivers of the same or a like name. In this battle, probably, he was no more than an officer of some distinction. His second, third, fourth, and fifth battles were upon the bank of another river, called, by my authors, Duglas; but where this river runs is uncertain. Nennius says it lies in the country of Linnis, by which we are to understand Lincoln; though this seems to be very uncertain. Others place it in Lancashire, where there is a small brook with that name, and here I should be inclined to fix it. There is indeed some countenance, from the traditions about Arthur, for removing this scene of his victories as far north as the kingdom of Arcluyd, which I have already taken notice of, within which

there ran a river which retains that name. His sixth battle was near a river called Bassas, supposed to be near Baston in Lincolnshire. His seventh battle was in the Caledonian wood, according to some; in Cornwall, according to others; but a greater authority, and with more probability, says, it was fought in Lincoln likewise. His eighth battle was near a fort called Gunnion, which a great man thinks to be Gainsfort in the bishopric of Durham; but I am inclined rather to place it at Chepstow in Monmouthshire, the ancient Venta Silurum. In this battle, we are told, that Arthur carried upon his shoulders a crucifix, with the image of the virgin Mary, and that he gave a total overthrow to the Pagans. The ninth battle was at the city of Chester, called, by my author, Kaerleon. His tenth battle was upon the banks of a river which is called, by Nennius, Ribroit; which, without troubling my reader with farther conjectures, appears to be Traeth-tav in Glamorganshire, near Landaff and the Rhatoftabius of Ptolemy. His eleventh battle is said to have been upon a mountain, termed, by my author, Agned Cath regenion; by some placed in Somersetshire; and, by an eminent anti-quary, near Edinburgh in North Britain, where there is a mountain still retaining the name of Arthur's seat. As for the twelfth and the last battle, we shall soon have occasion to mention it in its proper place.

A. D. 514. See Gale's annotations on Nennius, c. 64. Dr. Gale.

Lloyd.

Reflection on them.

Dr. Gale.

Polychronicon Ran. Higden.

Arthur enters into a treaty with Cerdic.

This account of Arthur's battles, it must be owned, is very lame and imperfect. We may, however, in general, observe from them, that he has one thing in common with other poetic heroes, that those labours, which have made so great a noise in the world, were confined to a very small territory. Lincolnshire, and a particular part of Wales, seem to have been the scenes of his battles, for victories they can scarcely be called. If we suppose the Britons to have been masters of the inland country between the Trent and the Severn, Cerdic and his Saxons to have got footing upon the sea-coast between the Humber and Yarmouth, by which means they were ever in condition to throw in supplies to their countrymen settled in Lincolnshire, we may easily account for Lincolnshire being the seat of so many battles. A learned antiquary is of opinion, that those battles, from the first to the last, took up upwards of forty years; therefore some of them, as we may well suppose, were fought by Arthur, under Vortigern and Ambrosius, or Natan. But what gives us still greater light is, that Higden, from some ancient chronicles, tells us, Cerdic fought very often with Arthur, and that, far from being discouraged by repeated defeats, he still returned with double keenness to the charge. Arthur, at last, quite tired out, entered upon a treaty with him, by which he yielded up to him Hampshire and Somersetshire, afterwards erected into a Saxon kingdom under the title of Wessex, as we shall see hereafter. This cession, which we have great reason to believe to be true, is far from confirming in

A. D. 514. us the idea of Arthur's uninterrupted success. His battles, confined to so narrow a space, must either have been ineffectual skirmishes, or disadvantageous, at least doubtful, in their event; else how could a handful of foreigners, supposing their supplies from the continent to have been ever so great, have not only recovered from such repeated blows, but at last have forced from this great hero the cession of so considerable a portion of territory in so fine a part of England? Add to this, that Arthur is not the only general who is represented, by English writers, as successful against the Saxons at this important juncture; Ambrosius and Utherpendragon have both their share of battles, and of triumph.

Pascentius
having been
settled in
Wales,

cabals with
the Saxons.

The other country, where the chief seat of Arthur's wars, according to Nennius, lay, was Wales. To account for this, we may remember, that Pascentius, the son of Vortigern, by a like complaisance from Ambrosius as Cerdic met with from Arthur, was settled in certain territories in Wales. Now, it can be no stretch of historical faith to believe, that soon after he had got footing there, he would begin to form cabals with the Saxons, against the enemies of his family. The quality of his father, and his own interest, made him a natural and useful ally for the Saxons; so that we cannot be at a loss for the reasons that drew Arthur's arms to that part of the country, though we are as to all the particulars of his conduct.

It is to be lamented that no fuller account than what I have here set down can be given of Arthur's history, without disgracing it with fable (1). Even what I have here set down, though most probable to be true, is, in some parts, supported by conjecture. There is some better and clearer authority for the remaining part of his actions, which we shall pursue with as much order as the dark state in which they are left will admit of.

Stufe and
Withgar land
at Cerdic-
shore.

The Saxon annals are silent from the year 509 to the year 514. In this year, Stufe and Withgar, two nephews of king

Cerdic, came with supplies from Germany, and landed in three ships at Cerdic-shore.

A. D. 519.

The Britons
oppose them
with great
conduct,

The natives, as we learn from Henry of Huntingdon, took their measures against their descent with greater conduct than they had discovered before on the like occasion. After the Saxons were landed, the Britons, early in the morning, appeared drawn up in excellent order, part upon a rising ground, and part on a plain. This display of their numbers, and the brightness of their arms, struck terror into the Saxons; but, as we may suppose them to have been advanced a good way from their ships, it was in vain for them now to think of retreating; therefore, summoning all their courage, they fell upon the Britons, and cut them in pieces. A defeat, from so inconsiderable a body of men as could be brought over in three ships, gives us but a ridiculous idea of the British valour in those days. This reinforcement to Cerdic in a great measure retrieved his fortunes, weakened, as we are told, by several defeats from Arthur. The death of Eſca, the son of Hengist, and king of Kent, happened this year; Ella, the king of the South Saxons, died soon after, and Cerdic became now the head of the English Saxons in Britain. This great man's modesty was such, that, all the time of Hengist and his son, and likewise of Ella, he had ever declined the title of king. Notwithstanding the signal services he had performed to the Saxons, he seems rather to have acted as general to Ella, who was considered as the head of the English Saxons, after the death of Hengist. The arrival of Stufe and Withgar, no doubt, greatly contributed to this step; as it did to the victory obtained, in the year 519, by Cerdic and his son, over the Britons, at Charford, or Cerdicford, in Hampshire; but whether Arthur was present at this battle, appears not. The battle, however, we are told, was bravely fought on both sides, and victory never declared itself for the Saxons till the close of the day: night preventing pursuit. Their defeat, says Henry of Huntingdon, would have been fatal to the

but are cut in
pieces by the
Saxons.

Eſca dies.

Cerdic be-
comes head of
the Saxons.

Cerdic defeats
the Britons at
Charford.

(1) That the reader might not think himself at any loss for not meeting with Geoffrey's romance in the body of this history, I shall give him a short abstract of it in this place.—After the death of Utherpendragon, the British nobility met at Silchester, where they desired Dubricius to consecrate Arthur; for the Saxons had conquered from Humber to Catlines. (It seems all was clear on this side Humber). And so he was no sooner crowned, but away he marches for York (leaving the Saxons here in quiet possession) where Childeric came, with six hundred ships, to assist the two brothers, Colgrin and Baldulph, whose names the Saxon annals conceal. Upon this dreadful conjunction, Arthur repairs to London, and calls a parliament; and they send over to Hoel, king of Little Britain, his nephew, who brings fifteen thousand to his assistance at Southampton, notwithstanding Port and his sons were so near; then away he marches to Lincoln, and there kills six thousand Saxons, and pursues the rest into Scotland, and there dismissed them home upon promise of tribute; but they perfidiously returned to Totneſs, and so marched to besiege Bath; where, after he had done the execution, Matthew of Westminster related, the Saxons got upon the hill, which Arthur by the help of his Caliburn recovered, killed the two brothers, and made Childeric fly; whom Cadore pursued to the isle of Thanet, although the son of Hengist had all Kent as his kingdom. After this he drives Gillomarus, and his Irish, home; and determined to root out the Scots and Picts, but upon great submission he spared them. This being done, he returns to York, where he rebuilds the churches, and settles Pyramus archbishop in the place of Samson, and restores the British nobility. Next summer he goes for Ireland, and having subdued that, he sails for Iceland (not then inhabited, saith Arngrimus Jonas, a learned native there); but, upon notice of his coming, the kings of Seland and the Orcades yielded themselves. Then he returns home, and settles the nation in a firm peace for twelve years, although the Saxons were every where about them. After which time his name was dreaded abroad; and away he sails for Norway, and there conquered Riculfus and the whole country: from thence to Gaul, where he chopped in pieces the head of Flollos, the governor, in single combat, and disposed the several provinces to his servants; and returning home, resolved to keep a solemn court at Caer-leon (this was well thought upon, for we read of no Saxons hereabouts) where, besides several kings, the three metropolitans met, of London, York, and Caer-leon, besides all his nobility. But to pass over the great solemnities there, the emperor Lucius (not to be found elsewhere) sends to demand tribute on the account of Julius Cæsar's conquest; upon which he makes great preparations to conquer Rome, and leaves Britain to Mordred his nephew, who rebelled against him, and forced him to return home, when, after he had conquered Lucius, he was marching for Rome. And here Mordred had associated the Saxons, Scots, and Picts, all against Arthur; but upon his coming the other fled to Winchester, from thence to Cornwall, where, near the river Cambrian, he waited for Arthur's coming: the issue of the battle was, Mordred was killed, and Arthur mortally wounded, who was carried into the island of Avalon, and there died and was buried.

A. D. 520. Britons, had it not been for this last circumstance. However, it confirmed the power of Cerdic among the western Saxons, and the foundations of that monarchy were then laid, which gave a male line to the kings of England down to Edward the confessor; and the present illustrious family on the throne of England claims a lineal descent from the same, on the female side.

Battle of Badon-hill.

It is very doubtful with me, whether I ought to fix the great battle at Badon-hill to the year 520. Events and historical connection seem to bid us fix it more early; but the authority of our best histories have placed it in this year. This is the twelfth labour of our British Hercules: I dare not, with those authors who have followed Geoffrey, affirm, that Cerdic laid siege to the city of Bath, on breach of articles concluded upon between him and Arthur, after he was defeated, because it is very unlikely to be true, if we fix the time of this battle to the year 520, the Britons having received a defeat from Cerdic but the year before. It is more likely that Cerdic, by his success, was encouraged to attempt the siege of Bath in Somersetshire, a town which, before the use of artillery, was strong both by art and nature. My authors say, that Arthur, gathering together all his troops, marched to relieve the town. The Saxon, fierce with late success, was glad of this opportunity, by which he was in hopes, by one decisive blow, to put an end to the British power. But the presence of Arthur conquered all opposition. If we are to believe Henry of Huntingdon, he slew four hundred and forty men with his own hand; and the Saxons, after a very bloody engagement, were obliged to take refuge on a neighbouring hill. Next morning, Arthur, resolving to complete his victory, attacked and dislodged them, with great slaughter on both sides (1). One should think, that so indisputable a victory, at so critical a juncture, when both people had been so weakened by former wars, might have gone far in clearing the island from strangers; but we know of no effects that this battle had in its consequences. Henry of Huntingdon very sensibly accounts for the reason of this; and, at the same time, hints at the clouds in which all the histories of those days are wrapped. "The very places, says he, where Arthur's battles were fought, are, in this age, unknown; for so it willed divine providence, as a rebuke to popular applause, intoxicating adulation, and transitory glory; yet wars were on all hands carried on in the mean time, their event sometimes favouring the Saxons, and sometimes the Britons: but the more frequent the defeats of the Saxons

Cerdic besieges Bath.

Arthur marches to its relief,

and defeats the Saxons.

"proved, so much the more frequent were the supplies they received from the continent." This last observation serves, in some measure, to account for the Saxons recovering so well from their defeat, as to be able again to make head against the Britons, and to engage them, in the year 527, at Cerdicesleah. The Saxon chronicle does not positively say that the Britons were defeated in this battle; but, from its consequences, the only way of judging when authors differ as to the events of battles, we may conclude in general, that the Saxons greatly prevailed. About this time, my author says, a great many Saxons arrived, and took possession of East-Anglia and Mercia. The particular bounds of those two provinces shall be hereafter more fully pointed out. These were at the time of their arrival here, and for some time after, without any great leader. They seem to have come over in straggling independent parties, each governed by a petty captain, who seized that portion of territory which the weakness of the Britons rendered most easy for conquest, and convenience of situation most advantageous for possession.

A. D. 527. The Saxons, getting supplies from the continent, make head against the Britons,

Saxon chronicle.

and defeat them at Cerdic-shore.

Henry of Huntingdon,

Arrival of more Saxons.

A great authority in learning has taken Mr. Milton's occasion, from the silence, probably, of the Saxon chronicles, with regard to the advantage attending the battle at Cerdicesleah, to fancy, that it is the same with that of Badon-hill, but this is by no means agreeable with chronology. The battle of Badon-hill could not be fought later than the year 520, and the Saxon chronicle has expressly fixed the battle of Cerdicesleah to the year 527. This last battle gave an irrecoverable blow to the affairs of Arthur: tired out with military toils, he sought to purchase repose, and, for this purpose, came to a treaty with Cerdic. By this treaty, we are told, he surrendered up to the Saxon all Hampshire and Somersetshire. The author of an English chronicle gives us strong reason for believing that this was not all; because Arthur seems to have been stripped even of his patrimonial dominions, supposing them to have been Cornwall, Devonshire, and Dorchester; for that author tells us, that Cerdic, by treaty, in consideration of an annual tribute, indulged the Cornishmen in the exercise of the Christian religion. I am apt to believe, however, that Arthur still continued in possession during his own lifetime; but the distractions of his own family about this time, as well as the fortunes of war, rendered his old age as uncomfortable as his youth had been laborious.

Arthur, on this defeat, came to a treaty with Cerdic.

Rudburn's chronicle.

His quality, as captain-general of the Britons, had led him to wars in the more northern parts of the kingdom; and possibly

Reflection on Arthur.

(1) The Saxons laid siege to this city, but being surprized by the warlike Arthur, they betook themselves to Badon-hill, where, though in a desperate condition, they fought it out to the last, and were slain in great numbers. This seems to be the same hill with that we now call Lannefdown, hanging over a little village, near the city named Bathstone, and shewing, at this day, its bulwarks and a rampire. I know there are some who seek for it in Yorkshire, but let Gildas himself restore it to this place: for, in an old manuscript copy of his history, in the Cambridge library, where he treats of the victory of Aurelius Ambrosius, he says, "To the year of Badon-hill siege, which is not far from the mouth of the Severn." But if this will not convince them, let them understand farther, that the adjoining vale, lying along the river Avon for a great way together, is called, in British, Nant-Badon, i. e. the vale of Badon; and where to seek Badon-hill, but near Badon valley, I cannot tell. For a long time after this, the Saxons, discouraged from making any more attempts upon this city, left it quiet to the Britons. Camb. Gib. Ed. p. 89.

A. D. 530. his martial ardour, and thirst of glory, had led him to conquer for others, at the expence of his own hereditary dominions. I am willing to believe, but without asserting any particulars, that he spent great part of his time in the more northern parts of England; that his actions were chequered with conquest and defeats; and that the interposition of the Saxons through different parts of the kingdom prevented any genuine account of his history in the more northern parts, from coming to the knowledge of the Britons in the more southern. This ignorance, improved by that romantic vein ever incident to an ignorant age, might occasion those wild dreams of his power and successes abroad which have come to our hands, and have so grossly imposed upon our English historians. But nothing can be more evident, than that Britain was, at that time, entirely destitute of all the means of transporting such numbers of land forces to the continent as are said to have gone backwards and forwards with Arthur. The only way by which we can account for the surprising success of the Saxons who invaded Britain, is by supposing, that the Britons were, at this time, destitute of all naval power. Their enemies being masters of the sea, which preserved the communication open between Britain and their own countries, at this time overburdened with men, gives us a plain and natural reason for their success, and is a proof that this island can be only retained or conquered by a superiority at sea. But to return to Arthur. If we are to believe Geoffrey of Monmouth, Mordred, his nephew, who was protector of his dominions in his absence, set up for himself. In this, with some variation, he is countenanced by better authorities; but he goes farther, and tells us, that, together with Arthur's crown, he seized his wife likewise. But the author of the life of Gildas tells us, that it was one Meluas who stole Arthur's queen, whose name was Guinevar; and that Arthur, upon his return, besieged him for a long time in the marshes near Glassenbury. Caradoc of Lancarven, a Welsh author of more credit than Geoffrey, and supporting him in those passages quoted from him in the body of this history, says, that the lady was at last restored, not through the terror of Arthur's arms, but by the intercession of Gildas the historian, who had retired to this monastery. These civil wars were of as much advantage to the Saxons as victories, and gave Cerdic leisure to meditate new conquests. He had nothing to apprehend from Mordred, to whom his alliance was absolutely necessary, for the possessions both of his crown and love. I am apt to think, that it was rather he, than Arthur, who rendered Cornwall tributary to the Saxons, and gave up to Cerdic the counties of Berkshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire. This great accession of territory might have been dangerous to Cerdic's power, had he not taken care to call in from the continent more of his country-

men. They came over in large bodies, and, dispossessing the old inhabitants, imported a new religion, a new language, a new government, and new manners. We are not to close in with the vulgar prejudices, as if this great prince and his cotemporary Saxons had utterly exterminated the Britons; a policy so barbarous, is not only inconsistent with the character of so sensible a people as the Saxons seem to have been, but must have lost them the hearts of their own subjects, as was the case with Hengist.

In the year 530, Cerdic and his son, having, as we have seen, nothing to fear from the continent, went over, at the head of an army, to the isle of Wight, which they took possession of, after a considerable slaughter of the inhabitants in Carrilbrook-castle, which, probably, was the only place that held out against their power. The Saxon annals are silent as to all transactions in the year 531, and the two succeeding years; but we are told, with great probability, that the politic Cerdic, considering the Saxons who had lately settled in his dominions were neither born his subjects, nor under any tie of fealty to him as their sovereign, thought proper to have himself recrowned at Winchester, the capital of his new-erected kingdom, where he exacted from his subjects an oath of fealty. In the year 534 this great man died, having first, with the consent of his son Cynric, bestowed the isle of Wight upon his two nephews, Stufe and Withgar, whom he left in entire possession of it all.

The great reputation Arthur had acquired soon put him at the head of an army strong enough to chastise his treacherous nephew. What the British historians say, upon this occasion, is highly improbable, as if the Saxons had assisted the latter with their forces. The countries at this time in the possession of the Saxons, the power of Mordred, and the indignities which Arthur was obliged to submit to, serve to convince us, that the latter must have been too unequal a match to resist such a confederacy. Beside, it was not perhaps politic for the Saxons to throw the scale of victory on either side. Dissention, they were sure, would weaken the British power in all events; and the conqueror, they knew, must be so weakened even by conquest, as that they could easily give him law. The particulars of the wars that ensued between the uncle and the nephew, are supported only by Geoffrey's credit; it is therefore sufficient to inform the reader, that, after many encounters, in which Arthur had always the advantage, the two parties came to a decisive action at Camblan, at the river Camalan in Cornwall, near the place of Arthur's birth. The battle proved fatal to both princes, each meeting his death from the sword of the other. Mordred expired on the spot; but Arthur survived the combat, and was carried to his beloved abbey of Glassenbury in Somersetshire, at that time in the possession of the Saxons; a plain proof that the Christian religion was tolerated un-

A. D. 542.

Cerdic goes over to the isle of Wight, and takes possession of it.

He is recrowned at Winchester.

and exacts an oath of fealty from his subjects.

He dies, having bestowed the isle of Wight on his two nephews.

Arthur makes head against his nephew Mordred.

and gets the better of him in many encounters.

Coming to a decisive action, both parties met their death from one another's sword. Arthur survives the battle a few days, and is carried to his beloved abbey of Glassenbury.

A. D. 542. der their government. He had received several wounds in his head, and survived the battle but a few days. His death happened on the twenty-first of May, in the year 542.

An account of his burial.

An account of whatever indisputably relates to this great man ought to extend, if possible, beyond the grave. (1) He was buried near his queen Guiniver, in the church-yard of Glasfenbury, between two pillars sixteen foot under ground, his body being laid in a great tree, hollowed like a trough, and his memory unadorned by the monumental vanities so prevailing in after-ages, a plain stone being put above his coffin, with a plate of lead fixed to that side which lay next to the body, with the following modest inscription:

His inscription.

Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arturius in insula Avalonia.

“ Here lies buried the famous king Arthur,
“ in the island of Avalonia.”

His memory preserved in the songs of the bards.

Thalieffin.

Henry II. orders the place of his burial to be dug up,

and finds his body.

He may be justly termed the hero of the British nation; for his memory was preserved in the songs of the bards, the only repositories of virtue in that rude and barbarous age. His merit had the good fortune to meet with a poet, whose works survived to after-ages. Henry II, the greatest of our English monarchs, held the veracity of this Welsh muse in such high veneration, as to order the place in which, according to her, the body of Arthur was deposited, to be dug up. The success was not ungrateful to the monarch's poetic faith. The body was found in the precise spot pointed out by Thalieffin; and Henry had the satisfaction to view the stupendous remains, and to count the glorious wounds of the last of Britons. The reader will, I hope, indulge me with one reflection more on the fate of this great man. His memory must have been lost, had it not been for the gratitude of the muse; a fate that was common to him and the greatest of the Greek princes, who now survive to the world in the works of Homer. But another circumstance of his life is still more parallel to their history; his beautiful wife

was carried away, debauched, nay married by Mordred, and the British Menelaus undertook a ten years war to recover her; which having done, he again admitted her to be the partner of his bed, his affections, and his power. So much were those heroes above the little delicacies of honour, which perplex inferior ranks of mankind.

At the time of Arthur's death, we have an unquestionable authority for believing there were five cotemporary princes amongst the Britons, each of them more impure and tyrannical than another, meriting, says my author, not the name of kings, but of tyrants. The first he mentions is Constantinus, who, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, was the immediate successor of Arthur. Him he calls the whelp of an impure Damnonian lioness; he charges him with the murder of two royal children, with their tutors, in the church, in the very year after he had most solemnly (1) sworn to deal justly by his people. This Constantinus is supposed to have been cousin-german to Arthur; and I am apt to think that, upon the death of Mordred, he succeeded to his territories, and was the guardian to the two royal infants, sons to Mordred, whom he so treacherously put to death. The expression of Gildas strongly favours this opinion, as they insinuate, that the people were afraid of some villany of this kind, and therefore required of him a solemn oath.

The next British prince, mentioned by Gildas, is (2) Aurelius Conanus. I am very inclinable to believe, that he was a descendant of the famous Aurelius Ambrosius, and that he still retained the prænomen of his family. This opinion is favoured likewise by Gildas himself, telling us, that Ambrosius left behind him a degenerated offspring. Gildas terms this prince a lion's whelp: he says, that he wallowed in all manner of impurity; that he hated the peace of his country as he would a deadly snake; that he was a friend to rapine and blood-shed; that he, of all his race, was left like a sapless trunk, withering in the midst of a parched field; and bids him to remember the untimely deaths of his father and brothers, cut off in their bloom of life.

A. D. 542.

Arthur's fate parallel, in some circumstances, to the heroes of Homer.

Gildas.

Five princes among the Britons.

His invective against the princes of Britain.

Constantine.

Aurelius Conanus.

Gildas's character of him.

(1) More than six hundred years after his death, to wit, about the year of Christ 1189, which was the last year of the reign of king Henry II. his body was found, buried in the church-yard, between two pillars, sixteen foot deep under ground; but those that digged the ground there to find his body, after they had entered about seven foot deep into the earth, they found a mighty broad stone, with a leaden cross fastened to that part which lay downwards towards the corps, containing this inscription:

Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arturius in insula Avalonia.

This inscription was graven on that side of the cross which was next to the stone, so that, till the cross was taken from the stone, it was not seen. His body was found, not inclosed within a tomb of stone, but within a great tree made hollow like a trough, the which being digged upon and opened, therein were found the bones of Arthur, which were of a marvellous bigness; as Giral. Cambrensis, a learned man that then lived, reporteth to have heard of the abbot of Glasfenbury, of whom he was informed, that the shin-bone of Arthur being set up by the leg of a very tall man, came above his knee the breadth of three fingers. The skull of his head of a wonderful bigness; in the which head there appeared the prints of ten wounds or more, all the which were grown into one seam, except only that whereof he died, which, being greater than the other, appeared very plain. Also, in opening the tomb of his wife Guineuer, that was buried with him, they found the tresses of her hair whole and perfect, finely platted, of colour like to gold; but being touched, fell to dust. The abbot of that house (sometime prior of Bermondsey) was named Henry Bloys, and was nephew to king Henry II. by whose commandment the burial of Arthur was searched for and found; whose bones, with the bones of Guineuer his wife, being found, were removed into the new great church (for the old was burned in An. 1171) and there buried in a fair tomb of marble, laying the bones of the king at the head of the tomb, and the bones of the queen at his feet towards the west. The cross of lead, with the inscription, as it was found and taken off the stone, was kept in the treasury or reuester of Glasfenbury church, till the suppression thereof in the reign of Henry VIII. Stow's chronicle, p. 55.

(2) Hoc anno post horribile juramenti sacramentum, quo se devinxit nequaquam dolos civibus (Deo primum jureque jurando, sanctorum demum choris, et genetrici comitantibus fretis) facturum, &c. Epistola Gildæ Edit. Gale, p. 20.

(3) This seems to be the Latin termination for koning, or cuning, which, in old British, signifies a king; as if we should say Aurelius the royal, to distinguish him as descended from the illustrious Aurelius Ambrosius.

Vortiporius,

A. D. 542.

Of Vortiporius.

Vortiporius, king of the Demetæ, is the next prince whom our acrimonious historian lashes. He upbraids him as practising deceit and treachery in his old age; as being full of youthful lusts, stained with vice; and the infamous son of an excellent father. He then lashes him for putting away his wife, and covertly for her death, and for incest with his own daughter; and then pathetically exhorts him to repent.

Of Cuneglasius.

Gildas next falls upon Cuneglasius, which, he says, is British for a yellow butcher. He calls him by the name of a (1) bear. He says, that he has declared war both against God and man; against God, by his infinite crimes; and against man, by unsheathing the destructive sword. He then upbraids him for putting away his wedded wife, and taking to his bed his cousin, who had made a vow of perpetual chastity; and then exhorts him likewise to repentance, and amendment of life.

Of Maglocunus.

Maglocunus falls next under our author's censure. By his invective against this prince we learn, that he was a great enemy to tyrants, some of whom he deprived of life, and some of dominion: that though he is indeed last mentioned, yet he is first in wickedness; pre-eminent in power as in crimes, liberal in giving, profuse in sinning, and bold in arms. He then upbraids him with setting so detestable an example to the world; and with having, in his early youth, destroyed his uncle, and a brave army at his back, with fire and sword: he likewise accuses him of other crimes.

Maglocunus probably the successor of Arthur.

By this short sketch, which I have drawn from a heap of fanatic rhapsodies, with which my author deplores the calamities of his age, we may guess at the general character of the British kings in those days; but as to their particular successions, we are entirely destitute of authentic lights. The last-named prince seems to bid fairest for being the successor of Arthur, as being, by what Gildas says of him, the greatest in power as well as wickedness. But we are next to turn our eyes upon another people. The history of the Britons is now no longer that of England; the liberties of Britain fled to the mountains of Wales. The Britons, who disdained dependency, fled thither, where they formed a state, in which the old British government, for some time, survived; and the honesty and bravery of their descendants give us, to this day, an idea of what the Britons were before foreign power, and civil dissention, had enslaved their minds, and corrupted their manners.

Some general remarks upon the preceding history of the Britons.

As I am now taking my leave of what may be properly called the British history, a few general remarks, added to those I have already made, may be proper for giving the reader some notion of the reasons why it would have been difficult for the Britons to have lived in an independent state, though they had not been conquered by the Saxons. And, from what I am to say, I flatter myself the reader will conclude, with me, had

not the Saxons been called in, Britain probably must either have fallen a prey to a more ignoble enemy, or she must have experienced the worst of all slaveries; that of some domestic tyrant, erecting his throne upon the ruins of her government, and swimming to power in the blood of the best and bravest of her sons.

A. D. 542.

The state of Britain, at the time when the Roman empire declined, was very different from that of the other countries where it had once prevailed. There the Romans were expelled, but here they withdrew. In those countries, the conquerors of those who had conquered the world, had been long used to the arts of government. Rude indeed we may call them, because destitute of other arts; barbarous we cannot call them, because possessing this, the vivifying principle of all arts. The security of private property was the great basis upon which it was founded, and that which secured individuals secured the whole. In the countries from which they compelled the Romans, this excellent plan of power took place, and had all its material defects corrected from the noblest part of the Roman institution. But the case was far otherwise in Britain. The Romans here had not only a political sovereignty in matters of government, but a natural interest through the possession of property. The municipal laws of the Britons, I am apt to think, did indeed still prevail in those countries left to the immediate government of natives under the Roman authority; but still there was no certain channel in which property moved, nor any fixed maxims of government, the whole being directed according to the various exigences of the imperial court, and the British princes obliged to receive their instructions accordingly. By this very short representation of the state in which our ancestors were left by the Romans, it appears, they neither had nor could have any determined rules of civil polity; and the reader may easily conceive the confusion things must have been in at that period. A thirst after power is one of the first affections of nature; and every individual endeavours to gratify that affection in proportion as his own strength, or the weakness of his neighbour, will give him leave. This multiplicity of pursuits soon produced the distractions which Gildas so pathetically bewails, and are so naturally accounted for by this observation: There were no conquerors who, as was the case in other countries, immediately succeeded the Romans, and imported other schemes of empire into Britain. The rudder of government knew no hand which had a right to steer the vessel; it was seized by the next bold pirate who had the courage to make the attempt, and his rapacious violence was afterwards mellowed down into right, by long possession of power. Such, next to the divine judgments, were the causes of that universal wickedness which spread over the face of this island when

State of Britain at the departure of the Romans.

Causes of the British weakness.

(1) Urſi, in Dr. Gale's edition; but, in an excellent edition of the same author, which I believe the doctor oversaw, printed, along with some more English historians in folio, by Camelin, in 1587, it is read, Ut ſe.

A. D. 547. abandoned by the Romans. The relaxation, much more the dissolution, of government, is ever attended with licentiousness of manners, as incompatible with real freedom as slavery is with true happiness. In such states, the indulgence of vice is the price of power, and the caprice of the populace its penalty. Kings were then made or unmade, as these affections directed; and the corruption of manners, introduced by this licentiousness, was such, that the great Ambrosius and Arthur, unable to prevent, could only, by their virtues, for a while suspend the fate of a degenerate people. May their posterity ever learn to distinguish the bounds where real liberty both begins and ends; may they never merit the chastisement, may they never experience the fate, of that part of their ancestors whose history I now finish.

The history of the Saxons resumed.

I next come to the intricacies of the Saxon government; in which the reader will have an opportunity of admiring the various workings of providence in preserving England so long from a foreign power, by at last uniting it under one head, and thereby preventing the inconveniences of a dissipated strength from the multiplicity of states, however well each state may be constituted in itself. This, in effect, is the principal profit the reader will reap from some of these immediately succeeding pages. There is a considerable interval before he meets with transactions or characters, of importance enough, to interest his affections; nay, the very nature of my subject, in this period, obliges me to lay down a mechanical plan; and to depart from those rules of true history I shall ever endeavour to preserve, without omitting, however, every opportunity of practising them, when it can be done without confusion or omission of material facts.

The death of Withgar.

East Saxon kingdom.

The Northumbrian kingdom.

My pursuing the story of Arthur, obliged me to leave out some incidents in the Saxon government, which must come in here. In the year 540, Withgar died in the isle of Wight, and was buried in Carisbrook. The East Saxon kingdom, according to Henry of Huntingdon, was before this time erected by Erchinwin, the son of Offa, a prince descended not from Woden, the common ancestor of the other Anglo-Saxon princes, but from Saxnat; but this Erchinwin is obscure in his name, his kingdom, and his posterity. In the year 536, Offa, the son of Esca, king of Kent, left his dominions to his son Emaric; and the Saxon chronicle places the commencement of the Northumbrian kingdom to the year 547. The reader may remember, that the Saxons had conquered great part of the north of England

at the beginning of Hengist's reign; but while that great prince and his son lived, the modesty of his brothers, Otta and Ebusa, who had at that time that settlement, never would suffer them to assume the title of king. The like modesty was transmitted to their immediate descendants, and they seem to have held their dominions in a kind of subordination to the kings of Kent. Time washing away the ties of blood and personal considerations, this Ida, of royal birth, and great accomplishments both in mind and person, was in high reputation in Germany. We are told, by some authors, that he was originally an Angle, and that he came to England at the head of a great number of people, who landed at Flamborough in Yorkshire, where they were received by the Northumbrian Saxons as their friends and countrymen. Of all the Saxon settlements, there is reason to believe, that none of them, from their first landing in England, till the time I am now treating of, had ever suffered so much as this had. It was exposed, on the one hand, to the efforts of the Britons; and, on the other, to the invasions, sometimes of the Scots, sometimes of the Picts, and frequently of both. It appears not, whether their first leaders had any descendants; but we may easily suppose, that their own countrymen, under Ida, were very welcome guests. It is, I think, more than probable, that this prince's authority was owing to the election of the people, who seem unanimously to have obeyed him: but as to the transactions of his reign, we are entirely in the dark; only we learn, from the Saxon chronicle, that he built Bebanburgh, since called Bamborough, first surrounding it with a ditch, and afterwards with a wall; a strong presumption that it was uncommon for cities, in those days, to be fortified with walls. We are likewise told, that this city had its name from his wife Bebba.

A. D. 556.

Character and history of Ida.

In the year 552, the Britons made one effort more to recover their liberty, and encountered Cynric, the son of Cerdic, at old Sarum, then called Searobyrig; but, as they appear to have been destitute of leaders, they were soon put to the rout (1). We meet with no action in which the Britons were concerned, from this year to the year 556, when we are told of a general battle fought between them and the Saxons. The name of the general, who headed the latter upon this occasion, does not appear; but we are told, that the Britons, collecting all their force, resolved to revenge the calamities they had suffered for five years past, and advanced as far as (2) Banbury. The

The Britons, again attempting the recovery of their liberty, encounter Cynric, and are, by him, put to the rout.

Four years after, they again venture a general battle with the Saxons.

(1) Rapin, with his usual accuracy, tells us, that we find, by the Saxon annals, that, in the year 555, two sons of Mordred, by the assistance of the Saxons, attempted to dethrone Constantine. His annotator very properly takes notice, that there is no such thing in the Saxon annals, but that it is in Geoffrey of Monmouth. There is indeed such a fact in Geoffrey of Monmouth; but it is referred to no particular year, and he has put it down as happening long before this period.

(2) About four miles from Milbarrow is Banbury-castle, seated on the top of a high hill, and encompassed with a double ditch; the vast fortification whereof, the barrows on the adjacent plain, the similitude of names, the course and time of the Saxon victories, with all other circumstances, seem to point out this as the Bebanbypig, where Cynric, king of the west Saxons, and his son Ceaulin, fought against the Britons, in the year 556. Besides, the modern name of this place comes much nearer to Bebanbypig, than Banbury doth, where this battle hath been fixed; for it is observable, that (an) when it is in the second syllable of the Saxon name of a place, is generally left out in our modern pronunciation. So Baddanbypig is now Badbury, Menantune now Merton, Ottranbypig now Otford, Exancearpen now Excester. Nor is it at all probable, that the Saxons could carry their conquests so far as the borders of Northamptonshire by that year. Add to this, that the name of Banbypig is not to be found in any copy of the Saxon chronicle; so that an argument drawn from thence is of no force. Camden, p. 128.

A. D. 560.

main of their infantry was divided into nine bodies, three of whom were drawn up in front, three in the center, and three in the rear, with proper officers at the head of every battalion; the bow-men and archers, together with their horse, forming the wings of their army, in the manner of the Romans. The Saxons, who were headed by Cynric and his son Ceaulin, advanced in one complete body with great boldness, and broke in upon the battle of the Britons with their swords and heavy maces. The disposition of the Britons, however, seems to have been so advantageous, that they stood the charge with great intrepidity, till the approach of night obliged both parties to retire.

They make the most advantageous disposition of their troops, after the manner of the Romans. The Saxons, headed by Cynric, break in upon the Britons. The latter stand their charge, till night puts an end to the fray.

The advantage, if there was any, probably fell to the side of the Britons.

The death of Cynric and Ida.

The character of Cynric;

that of Ida.

Ida is succeeded by his two sons, Ella and Adda; Deira falling to the share of the former, and Bernicia to the latter.

ple, viz. the Northumbrian Saxons, who had been settled in Britain since the arrival of Otta and Ebusa, and those whom he had brought along with himself out of Germany; therefore it is not at all improbable, that the latter, claiming to be governed by the eldest son of Ida, the former insisted to have another branch of that family, who perhaps was born among themselves, for their king. Accordingly we find, by the genealogy of this Ella, that he is descended from Woden; but by ancestors different from those of Ida.

As we are to consider Ceaulin, king of Wessex, as being now at the head of the Saxon confederacy in Britain, we are principally, in this period, to regard his history. William of Malmesbury informs us, that the great reputation he had gained in war raised astonishment in the Saxons, and hatred in the Britons. Ethelbert, king of Kent, a young prince, otherwise of no contemptible character, though, in this instance, of irregular ambition, presuming on the former pre-eminence of his family; and not brooking to see it lose the sovereignty of the Saxon confederacy, prepared to invade the dominions of Ceaulin. The latter, whose views led him rather to attack, than to defend, was, perhaps, glad of this opportunity of extending his power, at the expence of an unexperienced prince, who came, in some measure, under the denomination of a rival. Accordingly he, and his brother Cutha, a man of equal ambition and valour, advanced to meet the invaders, which they did at Wibbendune (2) now Wimbledon in Surrey. The Kentish prince was beat back into his own territories, leaving two of his officers, Oslac and Cnebbo, dead upon the spot. This was the first civil war we meet with among the Saxons, after their arrival in Britain. It was prompted by the thoughtless ambition of the Kentish prince, who, in the beginning of his reign, was despised by his countrymen, having been defeated in five different battles, and unable to protect his paternal dominions. But this education in the school of adversity soon taught him, by experience, to turn the tide of conquest, which rendered him afterwards the sovereign of those who now despised him, as shall be seen in its proper place. But to return to Ceaulin.

A. D. 571. Reasons of the divided succession.

Ceaulin being now at the head of the Saxon confederacy, his history is chiefly to be regarded. His great warlike virtues. Ethelbert, not brooking his pre-eminence to his own family, prepares to invade his dominions.

Ceaulin, and his brother Cutha, meet them at Wimbledon.

A civil war ensues, in which Ethelbert is worsted.

Cutha, Ceaulin's brother, defeats the Britons at Bedford, and takes four of their towns.

We have no particulars of his reign in the years 569 and 570 from the Saxon chronicles; but, in the year 571, they tell us, that Cuthwulf, whom, according to some authors, we must understand to be Cutha, the already named brother of Ceaulin, encountered the Britons at Bedicanford, or Bedford; and, after defeating them, took four of their towns, viz. Lugeanburgh (now

(1) Rapin has, without any authority that I know of, killed these two princes in two different years.

(2) Wibbendune, now commonly Wimbledon, is seated upon the other bank of the Vandal, where (after the British war was ended, and too much happiness began to breed civil dissensions among the Saxons) Æthelbert, king of Kent, first raised a civil war against his own countrymen; but Ceaulin, king of the West Saxons, happily defeated him in this place, with a very great slaughter on Æthelbert's side, particularly the two captains, Oslan and Cneben, were slain; from the latter whereof, it is possible, that the military fortification I saw here, of a circular form, called Bensbury for Cnebensbury, might take its name. Cambden, p. 191.

A. D. 577. Loughborough) in (1) Leicestershire, but more probably Leighton in Bedfordshire; and Egleburgh (now Ailesbury) in Bucks; with Bennington and Egonesham (now called Benfington and Enisham) in Oxfordshire. An ancient historian tells us, that the Britons, during the reign of Ceaulin's father and grandfather, had covered themselves behind a strong chain of fortifications, viz. the cities of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath; and that Ceaulin pursued them with the most inveterate animosity, driving them to unfrequented woods and mountains. The Saxon chronicle informs us, that Cuthwulf did not long survive his victory; for he died that year. And William of Malmesbury says, that his son, a youth of great hopes, died at the same time. At this period we are to fix the kingdom of the East Angles, under Offa. This prince's dominion comprehended, according to Henry of Huntingdon, Norfolk and Suffolk, which, we learn from other authors, had been before occupied by several Saxon princes; but Offa, gaining the ascendancy over the others, united all their power in his own person.

William of Malmesbury.

He dies.

The kingdom of the East Angles.
Its extent.

Cuthwulf and Cutha not the same person. Cutha defeats the Britons at Durham, kills three of their princes, and takes as many cities.

I cannot agree with those historians who make Cuthwulf and Cutha the same person, and kill him at the battle of Bedford; for it is extremely plain, that Cutha was alive seven years after, and, in conjunction with his brother Ceaulin, fought another battle at Deorham against the Bri-

tons, who there lost three of their princes, Commail, Condidan and Farinmail, and three of their cities, Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath. The two first of those kings, it is more than probable, were Cuniglasus and Aurelius Conanus, whom we have already seen mentioned by Gildas; but who the third was, does not appear. This loss seems to have obliged them to take shelter in the mountains of Wales, where they still retained an untamed resentment against the Saxons: they were not, however, able to take the field during the six following years. A Welsh chronicle, of an old date, this year mentions a battle fought at Arderydd, upon the borders of Scotland, between Aidan Vradog (or the treacherous) and Guendeleu, British princes in the north of England, on the one side, and Reiderch Hoel, a prince of the same country, on the other, upon no more important a quarrel than a lark's nest and two dogs. This battle, according to the same authority, was fatal to Guendeleu, who there lost his life; and to Aidan, who was obliged to fly to the isle of Man. The account of this battle has been adopted by Hector Boece, the Geoffrey of Scotland, a notorious romancer, to a battle between the king of the Scots and the Picts, according to his usual manner of transplanting into his own garden, from the chronicles of all nations, the most wonderful flowers he could pick up.

A. D. 577.

A battle fought between Aidan Vradog, and Guendeleu, and Reiderch Hoel, about a lark's nest and two dogs. Guendeleu dies on the spot, and Aidan flies to the isle of Man.

I shall now, from (2) Fordun, the honest

(1) That this Loughborough was that royal vill (in the Saxon tongue, called Lieganbunze; by the Saxon annals, Lygeanbungh and Lygeanbunig; by Florence, Liganbungh; by later writers, Lienberig and Lienberi) which, Marianus says, Cuthulfus took from the Britons in the year of Christ 572, the affinity of the names does, in some sort, evince: but yet this may seem to draw Cuthwulf too far out of his road, the very next town that he took being Aylesbury; which favours the opinion of those who chuse rather to place it at Leighton in Bedfordshire, since it may justly be wondered, that between this town and Aylesbury (in so large a space) he should not make an attempt upon any other. Camden, p. 540.

(2) From the great weight I lay upon the character of this historian, in matters wherein he is no transcriber from Geoffrey, or his transcribers, the reader has a right to expect some account of him and his work; this I shall here give from the best authority I can find, which is, that of Mr. Innes, in his Critical Essay. "John Fordun, a priest of the diocese of St. Andrew's, chaplain of the church of Aberdeen, lived in the time of the kings, Robert the second and the third, being cotemporary with cardinal Walter Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow, who died A. D. 1386. He compiled the history of the Scots in five books, from the beginning till the death of king David the first, A. D. 1153, and left some collections towards a continuation; all which were published, A. D. 1722, with great fidelity and exactness, by the learned Mr. Hearne, who embellished his edition with a curious search of all that concerns Fordun's history, to which I refer the reader, and shall only observe, that this chronicle of Fordun was continued down, by Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm [Æmonia insulæ] and other writers of the fifteenth age, till the death of king James the first, A. D. 1437; and the whole work, composed of J. Fordun's five books, and of the continuation of the history by different hands, till the aforefaid year 1437, is commonly known by the title of Scotichronicon. The occasion of John Fordun's writing the Scottish history, and the pains he was at in collecting materials for it, are described, by one of his continuators, not long after his time, in the preface to the chronicle of Couper; where we are told, that during the debate between John Baliol and Robert Bruce, about the right of succession to the crown of Scotland, king Edward I. of England, known by the surname of Long-shanks, having got himself chosen umpire in that debate, under pretence of composing those differences, and of regulating the succession according to the precedents of former reigns, and conformable to the ancient laws and usages of Scotland, caused all the libraries of that kingdom to be searched, and gathered up all the ancient histories of the Scottish nation; as he did also all the public records, charters and writs, containing its rights and privileges: all these, I say, king Edward caused to be gathered up, A. D. 1291, under pretence of examining by them the right of the competitors, having also in his view to search into them for proofs of his pretended superiority over Scotland. And when he had got into his hands all that could be found of them, he carried up some of them to England, and caused all the rest to be burnt and destroyed. Aliquantas secum et ad Angliam abstulit, reliquas vero flammis incinerandas despiciabiliter commisit, says the author of the preface to the Couper chronicle. And by this, Scotland remained destitute of historians, and the natives in great ignorance of past transactions. Beside the authority of the chronicle of Couper and others, set down afterwards at length, we have too visible proofs of the destruction of our ancient histories and records, some ten years after this havock made of them, in the famous debate between the Scots and this king Edward I. A. D. 1301, before pope Boniface VIII. concerning the independency of the crown of Scotland; where both the instructions which the prelates, barons, and consuls of Scotland (as they are called) gave to their deputies at the court of Rome, and the memorial drawn up by Baldred Bisset, the principal of these deputies, for maintaining the rights of the nation, as well as the letter of the Scottish nobility, A. D. 1320, to pope John XXII. All these pieces contain such evident marks of a general ignorance of the ancient history and state of Scotland, and lean so much on conjectures and uncertain popular traditions, that seemed to make for the cause under debate, but absolutely irreconcilable with all the remains we have of the true state of the northern parts of Britain in ancient times; that this alone might suffice to prove, that the Scots, at that time, were generally destitute of all ancient monument of true history. And this general ignorance of our ancient history continued down till John Fordun compiled the Scottish chronicle in a new form, that suited best with the taste of the times in which he wrote. In order to that, says the author of the aforefaid preface, Fordun spared neither labour nor diligence to restore the history of his country; and for that end, travelled over all Scotland, searching every where the libraries, churches, monasteries, colleges, universities, and towns, gathering together whatever remains he could meet with to his purpose; discoursing also with learned men, versed in history: nay, not content with that, he travelled also, into England and Ireland upon the same search, setting down carefully the informations he received, as materials for what he intended. Thus furnished, he returned home and set to work; and, upon all he had collected within and without the kingdom, he framed to himself a new system of a chronicle of Scotland, in five books, beginning at the height of antiquity, and continued down to the death of king Edward I. A. D. 1153."

historian

A. D. 584. historian of Scotland, and other English historians, relate the progress of Ceaulin's arms against the Britons and the Scots.

Malgo elected king of the Britons.

He renews the league between the Britons and the Scots.

Aidan, the king of the latter, sends a body of auxiliaries, under Griffin his son, and Brendin his nephew, to join Malgo. They advance towards him, in conjunction with a body of northern Britons.

Ceaulin marches to intercept them before their junction with Malgo. His advanced guards, headed by his son Cutha, fall in with them;

but are cut in pieces by the Scots.

Ceaulin makes head against the victorious Scots, defeats them, and takes many of their towns.

We are told, by Matthew of Westminster, that Malgo, or Magoclanus, was, about this time, elected king of all the Britons, at a general assembly of that nation near the mouth of the river Dee (1). This prince was politician enough to endeavour to renew the league between the Britons and the Scots. The king of the latter, at that time, was Aidan, a prince of great qualifications; and it required not much pains, on the part of the Britons, to make him sensible how useful such an alliance would be to himself, as well as to his allies. Accordingly, he put his son Griffin, a prince of great hopes, and Brendin, the king of Man, his nephew, at the head of a considerable body of auxiliaries, who were to march and join Malgo. By what means it happened, I know not; but it appears that the northern Britons had a body of men ready upon the borders of the two kingdoms; and both armies being joined, they proceeded boldly forward to join Malgo, who, we may suppose, at this time, was waiting for them in the most northerly parts of his own dominions. Ceaulin, dreading the consequences of such a junction, advanced, at the head of what forces he could get together, to fight the combined army before they could join Malgo. His dispatch was such, that the Scots and Britons, all of a sudden, fell in with his advanced guards, at a place called Fethanleag, which I take to be Featherstonehaugh, in the north of England, and not Frehern in Gloucestershire (2). This body, with which the combined army fell in, was commanded by Cutha, the son of Ceaulin, who, after a brave resistance, was cut in pieces, with the whole of his detachment, before his father, and the rest of his forces, could come up to his assistance. The Scots and Picts, elated with success, seem to have lost that caution which they ought to have possessed, when acting against so experienced a warrior as Ceaulin was; for we are told, that he bravely made head against their victorious army, till he found an opportunity of giving them a total defeat. After this victory he took many of the enemies towns, and his men went into winter quarters, loaded with plunder. As this account, which I have given from Fordun, agrees exactly with the more general intimations from the Saxon chronicle of this action, and, in the main, with the accounts we have from the best English authorities, I am the less solicitous about the dreams of more modern authors, who partly in-

vent, and partly transcribe from the worst authorities. A. D. 591.

It was about this time that Crida, of the race of Woden, arrived at the head of a fresh body of Saxons from the continent; their numbers greater than any the Britons had yet beheld. His arrival struck the latter with new consternation, and they found themselves obliged to retire cross the Severn, which hitherto they had found means still to keep at their back. Crida, upon their retreat, took possession of the country lying between the Humber on the north, the Severn on the west, the Thames on the south, with Essex and East Anglia on the east. This territory, which was larger than any of the other six, was termed Mercia, its length being a hundred and sixty miles, and its breadth one hundred. But to return to the history of Ceaulin. We are told, by the Scotch historian above quoted, that Aidan, king of Scotland, being required, by Cadwallo, the successor of Malgo, to furnish the subsidy stipulated in the late treaty against the Saxons, put himself at the head of an army, and advanced as far as Chester, where he joined the Britons. The historians of the same times tell us, that the confederates, upon this occasion, were strengthened by great numbers of the Saxons; and, if we are to believe some of the English historians, Ethelbert, the king of Kent, was at the head of the whole confederacy; but this I can by no means agree to, because so remarkable a transaction would have, undoubtedly, been more strongly marked by the Saxon and English historians: but it is by no means unlikely, that the great power Ceaulin had acquired, and his partiality in favour of his paternal dominions, by making Chichester in Suffex the place of his residence, had greatly disoblged the Saxons. Ethelbert perhaps fomented the discontent, and was not displeased at the unpopularity of a prince, who had so greatly distressed him in the beginning of his reign, and who was in full possession of what he himself secretly hoped for; I mean, the sovereignty over all the British Saxons. The Scots and the Britons, having rendezvoused at Chester, advanced towards Ceaulin's dominions. Ceaulin, or his predecessors, had been alarmed, before this time, by visits of the like kind, and had thrown up a large ditch for the security of their frontiers. Upon this occasion he advanced with his army to defend them, and both parties came to a general engagement at Wodenburg, a small town in Wiltshire (3). The battle was fierce and bloody. The Britons, as they had done on a former occasion,

Crida arrives in Britain from the continent, at the head of a numerous body of Saxons. The Britons are obliged to retire cross the Severn. Crida settles in Mercia; its extent.

Aidan, king of Scotland, put himself at the head of an army, and joins the Britons at Chester.

The confederates strengthened by great numbers of the Saxons.

The Scots and Britons rendezvous at Chester, and advance towards Ceaulin's dominions.

Ceaulin meets them, and a bloody battle ensues.

(1) Humphry Lloyd, in his fragment of the description of Wales, from an ancient book of British laws, thus gives us the manner of his election: "After the Saxons had obtained the kingdom and crown of London, upon the expulsion of the Britons, all the people of Wales met at the mouth of the river Dee, to elect a king; and thither came the men of Gwineth (or North Wales), the men of Powis-land, the men of Dehaubarth, Glamorgan, and divers other countries; who all elected Mael-Gwineth king."

(2) My reason for this opinion is, because Fordun says, that the place of the battle was three days journey south of Severus's wall, which he terms, mora lapidea, and which never can agree with Frehern in Gloucestershire, where the right reverend editor of Camden thinks that this battle was fought.

(3) The middle of Wiltshire is, for the most part, plain and level; across which, from east to west, a wonderful ditch is thrown up for many miles together. It is called, by the neighbouring inhabitants, Wansdike; and they have a groundless tradition, that it was made by the devil on a Wednesday. The Saxons indeed termed it, Wodenescric, that is, Woden's ditch, or Mercury's ditch; probably from Woden the false god, and father of the heathen Saxons. I have always thought, that

A. D. 591.

The former, drawing up their army by the rules of the Roman discipline, give Ceaulin a total defeat,

who dies an obscure exile.

Ethelbert declared head of the Saxon confederacy.

He marries BIRTHA, the daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris in France.

occasion, drew up their army by the rules of Roman discipline; and the Saxons, too much despising, perhaps, an enemy whom they had so often beat, attacked them, says my historian, in a bold rambling manner. Their temerity was punished by a remarkable defeat, and the Britons destroyed more in the pursuit than they had done in the fight. The reason of this was, because the heavy armour of the Saxons, which was extremely well adapted for defence and a firm footing in the field, was equally incommodious in their retreat. As to Ceaulin, he not only lost the battle, but his crown, and died an obscure exile, after living the dread and terror of the neighbouring nations. The year in which this battle happened, is, by the Saxon annals, said to be 591.

Ethelbert, the king of Kent, was now declared the head of the Saxon confederacy, and succeeded Ceaulin not in dignity only, but ambition. An intercourse appears at this time to have been carried on between France and England. Ethelbert, perhaps, conscious that his ambitious views might require to be supported by foreign aid, claimed and obtained in marriage BIRTHA, the daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris in France. This alliance gave him great lustre, and great weight at home; and his high descent from Hengist, joined to a reserved demeanor, increased in his countrymen their apprehensions of his power. Armed with those advantages, he trans-

gressed the bounds of political superiority, and exercised a kind of tyrannical dominion over the Saxon territories lying to the south of the Humber. An incident which fell out at this time gave him an opportunity of greatly increasing his power. CRIDA, the king of Mercia, dying, Ethelbert, as the lord paramount of the kingdom of Mercia, seized it for his own use; though Widda, the son of CRIDA, survived his father. This step was very alarming to the Saxon princes in Britain; but the power of Ethelbert was too formidable for them to dispute his possession. Ethelbert, however, was too much of a politician not to see that the discontent, though stifled, was far from being extinguished; and therefore, after possessing, or rather usurping, this kingdom for about two years, he restored it to the true heir. This restitution, however, retained a great deal of the arrogance of the claim of sovereignty he still secretly challenged; for he reserved to himself a kind of superiority and civil authority over Widda. The executive power, however, being in the hands of the latter, the apprehensions of the British princes were greatly allayed.

We now come to the period in which I proposed to end this book, being upon the eve of the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity. The few years still remaining to make up the period I mentioned to be contained in this book, are taken up with transactions which come more properly under the head of ecclesiastical affairs.

A. D. 595.

CRIDA, king of Mercia, dying, Ethelbert seizes his kingdom.

After a two years possession, restores it to Widda, the true heir.

that it was cast up by the Saxons for a boundary between the dominions of the West Saxons and the Mercians; for this country was the seat of war during the contentions between these two kingdoms for the enlargement of their territories. But others are of opinion, that it was made long before the settlement of the Mercian kingdom, viz. by CERDIC, the first king of the West Saxons, or by CYNRIC his son, against the incursions of the Britons, who even in king Ceaulin's time, as MALMSBURY tells us, made frequent incursions into this county, from their garrisons at Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester. And the village WODENSBURGE (which BROMPTON, by mistake, calls BONEBURY) is near this ditch; where Ceaulin, the most valiant king of the West Saxons, A. D. 590, endeavouring to defend the frontiers of his kingdom, was routed in a bloody battle by the Britons and (some malecontent) Saxons, to that degree, that he was forced to fly his country, and, being the pity of his very enemies, died miserably in exile. But WOODBORROW, three miles south of the dike, being the only village that has any remains of WODENSBURGE in the name, and there being not the least sign or tradition of a battle fought there, others guess, that WANBOROW, on the borders of Wiltshire and Berkshire, is the town mentioned by our historians; for, say they, as WODENSDIC passed into WANSDIC, so might WODENSBURGE, by the same reason, be changed into WANBURGH or WANBOROW. The rampire and graff of this are very large, and the rampire is on the south side. And besides this ditch, there are several others, of less note, still visible upon the plains, especially about Stone-henge; and in the Saxon charter of lands belonging to Wilton-abbey, mention is made of no less than thirteen distinct dikes; so that, probably, the Saxons might draw them to divide the great lordships, or for some such purpose. CAMDEN, p. 101.

THE HISTORY of the ENGLISH CHURCH,

FROM THE

Year Four hundred and three, to the year Five hundred and ninety-seven.

Germanus, having settled the Britons in the faith, returns to France.

Camden.

THE dispute which happened at Verulam, between the orthodox and the Pelagians, together with the great pains taken by St. Germanus and Lupus, had so good an effect, that the Britons were perfectly well settled in the faith, and the two holy bishops returned to France. The old parchment records of the church of St. Alban's say, that there is a small chapel there, in which St. Germanus preached to the people; and we learn, from our great antiquary, that this chapel remained in his time. We are likewise told, by the venerable historian, of several miracles performed by those two bishops, the reputation of which, no doubt, greatly increased their authority in Britain.

But the Pelagians renewing their efforts, he and Severus arrive a second time in Britain.

Cures the son of Elaphius of a lameness,

Bede.

and procures the transportation of the chief of the Pelagians to the continent.

Reflection.

Upon their departure, the Pelagians again renewed their efforts, and another application was made to St. Germanus, who joined with himself Severus, bishop of Triers, and again he set out for Britain, in company with his colleague, where they arrived, after a pleasant voyage. The arts of the Pelagians rendered it necessary for the two holy men to perform a miracle to recommend their mission. Accordingly matters were ordained so, that the son of one Elaphius, a person of great quality, being cured of a lameness, which he had from his very youth, in sight of all the people, gained such credit to the two bishops, that a public order was made for banishing the chief and the most active of the Pelagians. There is somewhat singular in the manner of this measure; for we are told, by the venerable historian, that the delinquents were delivered over to the two holy bishops, who put them a ship-board for the continent, by way of punishment.

But a modern reader perhaps will think, that St. Germanus was of more service to the British church and literature in another light than that of a confuter of Pelagianism. The unity of doctrine, in the infancy not only of a church, but even of a state, is perhaps politically wise. It is more so in an uninformed state, where every difference in doctrine is apt to have an impression upon the lives, the characters, the affections, and even the civil principles of a people. This must necessarily introduce distraction in government, and be the bane of that public unanimity, which alone can support public authority. Very different is

NUMB. X.

this case from that of a state, such as was old Greece, in the height of power, arts, and learning; or such as Holland and England are now. But to return to my purpose.

The peace of the church, and of the state too, was undoubtedly provided for, by the censure which had been passed upon the Pelagians; but this must have been only a temporary respite, had not the same pious bishop, by his advice and authority, instituted schools of learning among the uninformed Britons. The first of these schools was that of Dubricius, whom we understand, from an anonymous author of a chronicle in Leland, to have been archbishop of a cathedral erected at Landaff, and probably consecrated by St. Germanus.

The tranquility of the British church and state settled.

Schools are instituted in Britain, the first of which was that of Dubricius.

One Daniel, at the same time, was made bishop of Bangor; and Illutus was sent to a place named Lantuit, in Glamorganshire, so called from his name, where he had a great school, in which a vast number of the British nobility's sons were educated; and Camden tells us, that the foundations of a great many old houses are to be still seen at that place.

Daniel and Illutus have a great school at Lantuit.

The old register in Landaff says, that Dubricius was made archbishop over all the Britons on the right-hand part of Britain, Wales, which archbishop Usher takes for South Wales, because of the British custom of naming the south part from the right-hand.

Dubricius made archbishop of Wales.

De Primord. p. 80.

But the learned bishop Stillingfleet, from parallel expressions, is of opinion, that both North and South Wales are meant; and, therefore, that Dubricius is to be looked upon as the archbishop of all the Britons in those parts. To save my reader the perplexity of a great deal of criticism, with regard to this father of the British learning, I shall give him an abstract of his history, as I find it in Sir Harry Spelman's judicious collection of our councils.

Orig. Britan. p. 203.

"The great and the holy Dubricius, says he, after, with indefatigable pains, preaching the word of God, and, with great boldness, crushing the Pelagian heresy, was first made bishop of Landaff; and, in the year 512, by the authority of a synod, was translated to the archbishopric of Kaer-leon, or Chester, and he transferred the metropolitan seat from thence to Landaff. He is said to have erected twelve monasteries, and to have taught his monks to earn their food by the

Spelman's abstract of his history.

F f

"labour

“ labour of their hands, which, after the
“ manner of the eastern and African re-
“ ligions, they did, as appears from an
“ old manuscript concerning the lives of
“ the Welsh saints. Now Matthew Flori-
“ legus says, St. Samson, archbishop of
“ York, and St. Dubricius, archbishop of
“ Chester, flourished in Britain in the year
“ 507, which was five years before the
“ said synod. Other writers affirm, that
“ he was made archbishop of that province
“ by the saints Germanus and Lupus; that
“ Aurelius Ambrosius confirmed his election;
“ and, after the death of this prince, he
“ invested first Uther, and then Arthur,
“ with the distinctions of royalty; after-
“ wards, laying aside all his archiepiscopal
“ pomp, he retired to a hermitage.” Ralph
Higden, in his polychronicon, tells us, that,
from the time of Lucius, the first Christian
king, there were three archbishoprics in
Britain, viz. that of London, York, and
Cæruſt, by which we are to understand
Kaer-leon; that twenty-eight bishops, then
called flamens, were subject to them; that
Cornwal, and all the country to the river
Humber, was subject to the archbishop of
London; that all Northumberland, from
the Beauford by the Humber, with all Al-
bany, was subject to the archbishop of
York; that all Wales, which is separated
from England by the Severn, was subject to
the archbishop of Kaer-leon; and that Wales
then contained seven bishoprics, though
now only four. Thus we find Dubricius at
the head of a large see. The authors of his
life, among his other eminent scholars, men-
tion St. Thelias, Samson, and Idanus, with
a great many others. We are likewise
told of two places of study, in which he
instructed no less than a thousand disciples,
the one at Hentland, on the river Wey,
and the other at Moshrofs.

Iltutus was equally eminent for the num-
ber and quality of his pupils. From his
school came Samson, archbishop of Dole in
Britainy; Paulus, bishop of the Oxismii,
which now comprehends the bishoprics of
Treguier; St. Pol de Leon, and St. Brieu.
The great progress which both civil and
ecclesiastical learning made, under these
tutors, was, I believe, equal to that of any
country then in Europe. I dare not, with
some authors, affirm, that the growth of
Pelagianism had been of great detriment to
learning in England at that time; and that
therefore Dubricius and Iltutus were ap-
pointed, by St. Germanus, to instruct the
British clergy. I know no necessary con-
sequence of barbarity and ignorance attend-
ing Pelagianism: however, those two se-
minaries of learning, as they were under
the inspection of two orthodox fathers,
were, no doubt, the reasons why, accord-
ing to Bede, the British churches continued
afterwards pure, and free from heresy.

But these were not the only two se-
minaries of learning in Britain; for the
famous monastery of Banchor, or Bangor,
about ten or twelve miles distant from
Chester, gave many great men to the church.

It is called, by Bede, Bancornaburgh; its
abbot's name, before the arrival of Au-
gustin, was Dinoot. William of Malmesbury
mentions the stately remains of this mo-
nastery in his age; but if, as Camden con-
jectures, it was the Bomium of the an-
cients, perhaps he might mistake the mag-
nificent ruins of the colony for those of the
monastery. Whatever may be in this, its
institutions seem to have been equally re-
moved from the ignorance, idleness, and
barbarity so common among the monks of
that and the succeeding ages. William of
Malmesbury confounds the monastery with
the episcopal see at Bangor, which was no
other than a kind of a colony from this
celebrated monastery. As to its populous-
ness, Bede tells us, it contained so many
Monks; that when they were separated into
seven divisions, the head of each division
had under him, at least, three hundred of
the brotherhood, all living by the labour
of their own hands. The old British Triades,
according to a manuscript quoted by the
right reverend editor of Camden's Britan-
nia, adds three hundred to the gross of this
number, and makes them, in the whole,
to consist of two thousand and four hun-
dred. Thus each hour of the day had a
hundred of the brotherhood, and these al-
ternately performed divine service without
intermission. But theological and philological
learning formed part of their study; and
this monastery seems to have been the mo-
del upon which the modern seminaries of
British learning are founded. From all these
considerations it appears, that not only a
great part of the British youth, in those days,
applied to the study of human, as well as di-
vine, literature; but that this kingdom was
a kind of a nursery, which furnished to our
neighbours the finest plants of learning that
flourished in those times.

The British church likewise owed their
first form of a public liturgy to Germanus
and Lupus; and from this circumstance we
may, in a great measure, establish the in-
dependency of the British church, in those
days, upon that of Rome. As those two
bishops came hither upon the authority of
the Gallican church, so they introduced the
Gallican service into the British worship.
Had their mission, or authority, been de-
rived from the bishop of Rome, they would
most undoubtedly have recommended the
liturgy of that church, which, at this pe-
riod, greatly differed from that of Gaul.
That there was a great difference of the one
from the other, appears from the answer
which, Bede tells us, was given to a que-
stion proposed by Augustin to pope Gregory,
who sent him into England. The question
was this: That as there was but one faith,
and as there were different usages of churches,
whether one form of liturgy should be ob-
served in the holy Roman church, and an-
other in the Gallican churches? The answer
of pope Gregory, being far unlike the
haughty spirit of his successors, I shall give
in the words of my author: “ Your bro-
“ therhood, says the prelate of Rome, can
“ be

Three arch-
bishops and
twenty-eight
bishops in Bri-
tain.

The extent of
the archiepif-
copal sees.

Iltutus's
school.

Act. Sanct.
Feb. 9. Vit.
S. Thelias.
Com. præv.
§ 1. n. 3.

These schools
preserve the
British church
pure and free
from heresy.

An account of
the monastery
of Bangor.

Its populous-
ness.

Britain, at this
time, a famous
nursery of
learning.

Germanus in-
troduces the
first public li-
turgy into the
British church.

It was then
independent
of the church
of Rome,
and why.

“ be no stranger to the usages of the Roman church, in which you were educated. “ But I am well contented, that you chuse out, with the greatest care, whatever you find to be most agreeable to the Almighty God, whether in the Romish, the Gallican, or any other church; and introduce to the service of the church of England, which is as yet new to the faith, whatever, by your most earnest endeavours, you may be able to collect from the constitution of many churches: for things are not to be regarded on account of places, but places are to be regarded on account of good things. You are to chuse, from several churches, whatever is pious, religious, and right; and having gathered them together as in one bundle, you are to lay them as directories for the English usages.” I have been the more particular in this quotation, because, I think, it has not been fairly represented by bishop Stillingfleet and his copier. It gives us, however, to understand, that the British churches were, at this time, looked upon as under the Gallican division: for the question here, according to the words of the original, is not, whether the missionary should introduce the Romish liturgy to the usage of the English church; but whether it is right, in general, that the Romish church should make use of one liturgy, and the Gallican churches of another? The Gallican liturgy, introduced by the two prelates, is, by an eminent antiquary, said to be of great antiquity, and received by Polycarp and Irenæus from St. John. I shall now proceed to give, from the best authorities, the historical part of our ecclesiastical constitutions, within the period in which this division of my work is contained.

Collier.

Sir Harry Spelman.

Account of the Welsh assembly. See p. 93.

An account of the synod assembled at the election of Dubricius as archbishop of Kaer-leon.

The first is called the Welsh assembly, and appears, according to Matthew of Westminster, to have consisted both of spiritual and temporal powers. It seems, indeed, to have been introduced by a political craft, inconsistent with evangelical simplicity; for we find, that Vortigern, being doomed to destruction by the prophecies of Merlin, gave rise to this assembly. From the words of my author (to which, from the great devotion of that age, I think a considerable degree of credit is due) it would appear, as if the crown had been jointly the gift of the people and the clergy. The dispersed, says he, assembled from all quarters; and the clergy of the kingdom being called together, they raised Aurelius to the sovereignty. This, according to Matthew of Westminster, happened in the year 465.

The next council we meet with is, when St. Dubricius was appointed, by a British synod, as we have seen before, archbishop of Kaer-leon; and Thelias, bishop of Landaff. A certain writer would have those two bishops to have been consecrated through the authority of St. Germanus and Lupus; but as he appears to be supported by no authority in this, we ought, both for the sake of truth, and for the honour of the British church, to follow Bale and Leland, who

were much better authorities, and expressly affirm, that both of them were raised by the synod to this dignity. Capgrave indeed does allow, that it was by consent of the king and the body of the clergy. This council happened about the year 516, according to Sir Harry Spelman.

The next council we meet with, rests greatly upon the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth; but as he is supported in it by the best of the English writers, I shall give it a place here. It was called in the year 519, and consisted of the whole body of the clergy, who recognized Arthur's right, and performed fealty to him; whilst he, in return, confirmed them in their rights, privileges, and possessions.

Of the next council.

Soon after this council, we are told, the excellent Dubricius retired to a monastic life; and St. David, uncle to king Arthur, succeeded him. The authority of this succession is liable to many objections. This much, however, is certain, that this St. David is still in great veneration in Wales, and his reputation extended to the Saxon churches in Britain. He is said to have been uncle to Arthur, on the side of the mother, whose name was Nonnita, or Nonna. His education was under Paulinus, a disciple of St. Germanus; and some authors tell us, that he was consecrated bishop, together with Elaus and Thelias, by the patriarch of Jerusalem. This is by no means incredible, especially when we consider the superstition of the age, the distraction of the times, and the reputed sanctity of the place. St. Jerom likewise, in his time, mentions the frequent resort of devout Britons to Jerusalem, and Gregory Nazianzen inveighs against this custom as superstitious.

Dubricius retires to a monastic life, and is succeeded by St. David,

who was consecrated bishop by the patriarch of Jerusalem.

The next synod, or council, we meet with, was held about the year 560, according to Bale, and is called the synod of Brevy, being held at a place called Slan-dewy, the church of St. David at Brevy. We are told, in a manuscript of St. David's life, published by Bolandus, that this synod consisted of all the bishops of Britain, assembled in order to concert the proper means for putting a stop to the revival and progress of Pelagianism. According to the fore said manuscript, no less than a hundred and eighteen bishops were present at it, besides abbots and other clergy. This number of bishops is certainly incredible, unless we suppose that they consisted of prelates from the Gallican church, as having a right to be present at a British synod. I should, however, be very tender of admitting this conjecture, any more than I would do that of Colganus, who defends the greatness of the number, by telling us, that there were, in those days, more bishops than bishoprics. As this assertion admits an inundation of itinerant bishops, when we extend it to so great a number as a hundred and eighteen, rather than agree to it, I am inclined to suspect the credit of the manuscript. It cannot, however, be dissembled, that there were then some bishops who had not diocesses. There are likewise great difficulties attending

The synod of Brevy.

attending the chronology which fixes this council; for we are told, that St. David was not present at this synod, till Daniel and Dubricius prevailed with him to come, and, by his eloquence, to put a stop to Pelagianism; and, before the end of the synod, that St. David was chosen archbishop of Kaer-leon, upon Dubricius's abdicating the government of the see, on account of his age. This not only clashes with the more early retirement of Dubricius from the world, unless he reassumed the pall; but with what we are told concerning his successor, viz. that he was succeeded by Thelias at Landaff, and had power over all the churches in the western parts of Britain. This seems to be very inconsistent with St. David's succeeding the same Dubricius in the see of Kaer-leon, and his having a metropolitan power over the same churches. Bishop Stillingfleet's way of accounting for this is, "that when Landaff was given to Dubricius, then archbishop, he fixed his see there, and so Landaff was the seat of the archbishop of Kaer-leon. But afterwards, when St. David removed the archiepiscopal see to Menevia, a remote, barren, and inconvenient place, as Giraldus himself confesseth, the bishops of Landaff assumed the archiepiscopal power, which had been in that see, and would not submit to the bishops of St. David's. This is apparent from that passage of Oudocœus (who succeeded Thelias) in the book of Landaff, that he would not receive consecration from the bishop of St. David's, as his metropolitan; but had it from the archbishop of Canterbury. This is a very improbable thing at that time, considering the hatred the Britons did bear to the Saxons, and their bishops to Augustin the Monk. It is far more likely, that they received it from the archbishop of Dole in Britany; or from the archbishop of London, then resident in those parts; who probably kept up their succession for some time; as long as there were any hopes of returning to their own see, as is before observed."

Synod of Landaff.
Sir Harry Spelman's chron. p. 62.

Mauricus murders Cynetu by treachery.

Excommunicated.

In the year 560, we are told of a synod held at Landaff, by Oudocœus, the successor of Thelias in that see, upon an occasion which deserves a place here. Mauricus, who is said to have been king of Glamorganshire, and Cynetu, another petty king, met together at Landaff, where they swore a mutual peace upon the relics of their saints. This Mauricus, who seems to have been so severely lashed by Gildas, soon after treacherously slew Cynetu. The clergy, upon this, looking upon themselves as the guarantees of the stipulated peace, immediately proceeded to ecclesiastical censures against the offending party; and, in a full synod of the clergy, Oudocœus excommunicated Mauricus, first for the murder, and

secondly for the violation of his oath; the form of the excommunication ending with the following terrible imprecation: "Let his days be few, his children orphans, and his wife a widow." A censure of this kind against the treacherous prince, was, in effect, very terrible. The clergy seem to have thought themselves obliged to vindicate the rights of the people, who of themselves, perhaps, never would have asserted them without this severity. It is remarkable too, that this excommunication was pronounced without either the direction or intervention of the church of Rome. The king, upon this, found himself abandoned by his subjects, and was obliged to fly to the good bishop to have the penalty taken off. The bishop, after suffering him and his kingdom, which was cursed for his sake, to remain, for two years and upwards, under the terrible interdiction, consented to take it off; but this upon three conditions: the first was, that he should fast; the second, that he should pray; and the third, that he should give alms. These three were to be the means of atonement to God and the church. The king (1), says the old manuscript which informs us of this curious particular, having received the yoke of penance, gave, for the redemption of his own soul, and for the soul of Cynetu, four manors to the church of Landaff, and into the hands of bishop Oudocœus, and all his successors. As to the particulars, the reader may consult the note.

The excommunication taken off.

Upon what terms.

A very old manuscript of the church of Landaff.

I own I cannot help thinking, that this present to the venerable prelate and his successors, takes greatly off from the merit which a more disinterested conduct might have claimed. Commutation for murder is but a mercenary aim, when the consideration is to come into the pocket of the judge. We find, from a subsequent instance, that the British clergy, in those days, exercised the right of suspending kings from their temporal exercise of power; or rather, of laying them under such heavy interdictions, as created in the people an abhorrence for their persons: yet they never arrogantly presumed to deprive a monarch totally of his right, and substitute another in his place. Of this the following is a pregnant instance. Ibid. fol. 74. Morcant, and Frioc his uncle, two petty princes of Wales, had solemnly sworn, in presence of St. Oudocœus and his clergy in full assembly, that if either of them ever killed, or dealt treacherously by the other, the transgressor should not have it in his power to redeem himself, either by gold, or silver; but quietly resign the government of his kingdom, and end his days in pilgrimage. This alliance subsisted long inviolate; at last, says my authority, the devil put it into the head of Morcant to kill his uncle. He then came to beg off the penalty, both of perjury and murder, from the church of

Reflection.

The history of Morcant and Frioc.

Morcant murders Frioc.

(1) Rex Mauricus accepto jugo penitentiae dedit quatuor villas pro redemptione animæ suæ, et pro anima Cynetu, ecclesiæ Landaviæ, et in manu Oudocœi episcopi et omnibus suis successoribus, cum tota sua libertate, et ab omni servitio liberas in perpetuo, et cum tota communione per patriam suam manentibus in his terris, in campo, et in silva, in pascuis, et in aqua. Prima, Ruigraenau, II. Nantauan, III. est in qua occisus est Cynetu, ultra Nadauan, IV. trans Nadauan, ubi filius regis machatus est, ad palude Elletiusque Nadauan, id est, villa Gudberdh. De illis quatuor, viginti quatuor modii terrarum.

The king commutes his penance.

Remark.

Landaff. A full synod being called, it was decreed, that the king might commute his pilgrimage by fasting, prayers, and giving of alms; and, thereby, likewise purge away the crime of perjury. The reason given for this is, I think, for the honour of the British clergy, and was, that his kingdom might not be deprived of the protection of its natural lord, nor suffer through his misdeeds. The reader will remark here with me, that the censure incurred by Morcant was a voluntary act of his own, and not, as was the case of Muric, in consequence of an ecclesiastical excommunication, which it was in the power of the church to take off: whereas, in this case, it appears, that, had the censure taken place, the church did not conceive that they had a right to give the people another king; especially as the exile of Morcant was to be for life. It is likewise remarkable, that there is not, in all these transactions, the least intervention of any authority from the bishop of Rome. The British prelate does every thing by virtue of his own sacerdotal power, absolutely independent of the see of Rome. On the other hand, we find no attempts made, by the offending kings, to appeal to that see, either for the mitigation of the censure, or for absolution of the sin: whereas, had any such dispensing power been looked upon, at that time, as vested in the bishop of Rome, such an application would have been much more natural, honourable, and easy than an application of the same kind to their own clergy and subjects. I must not, however, omit acquainting my reader, that Morcant likewise purchased his peace (1) by a considerable present to the same church; but not till he had solemnly promised future amendment.

Another synod upon a like occasion.

We meet with another synod, at the same place, and under the same prelate, upon the following occasion. A petty prince, by name Guidnorth, in a competition about the kingdom, slew his brother Merchion, upon which he was excommunicated by Oudocœus and his synod. What the ground of the quarrel was we know not; nor do we find, upon the face of the manuscript, any atrocious treachery on the part of the fratricide. Guidnorth, however, remained three years under the sentence, and then he applied, for absolution, to Oudocœus. The latter, upon the prince's request, sent him in a pilgrimage to the archbishop of Dole, in Bretaign in France, to

whom he seems to refer the cause of the offender, for this remarkable reason given by the manuscript, because there not only was an intimacy between St. Thelias, who had been bishop of Landaff, and Samson, who had been bishop of Dole; but because Guidnorth, (2) with his Britons, and the then archbishop of that place, were of the same language and the same nation; and therefore the offender could more clearly renounce his wickedness before the said archbishop, and ask for indulgence. The prince seems to have performed the penance but in part; for he returned, before the expiration of the term appointed, to Britain. The prelate, on this failure, refused to take off the sentence, and soon after died. Guidnorth, however, upon a valuable consideration and solemn promises of amendment, obtained absolution from Berthguin, the successor of Oudocœus.

From those instances it appears, that the generality of British princes, in those days, were worthless and infamous; and nothing but the virtue and resolution of the clergy, who, in some sense, may be said to have been forced to the severity of this exercise, could have prevented the people from massacre and oppression.

Character of the British princes at this time.

But, beside those synods held by Oudocœus, we are told by Giraldus, in his life of St. David, of a synod held by him at a place called Vittory; in which the acts of the council at Brevy were confirmed, and several new ones made for the better government of the church.

The synod of Vittory.

It now remains I should speak of the state of religion in general, under the Saxons in Britain. If we are to give in to the melancholy account left us by Gildas, never was there a more dismal situation than the British Christians were in, soon after the arrival of those foreigners. He tells us, that all the cities and churches were burnt to the ground, from the east to the western ocean; the inhabitants destroyed by the sword, or buried in the ruins of houses and altars, which were defiled by the blood of the slain; in which horrible devastation the rulers of the church, and the priests, suffered together with the common people. So that he applies to this desolation the words of the psalmist: "They have cast fire into thy sanctuary; they have defiled, by casting down to the ground, the dwelling-place of thy name." And, "O God, the heathens are come into thine inheritance,

State of religion in general.

Gildas his account.

(1) Et rex Morcant assensu seniorum Morcan huc posuit manum suam super 4. evangelia et reliquias sanctorum, tenente illa Oudocœo et promittit imprimis se emendaturum de prædicto facinore sicut prædictum est, jejunio et oratione et eleemosina: et insuper promittit se nunquam tale quid amplius facturum, et se in omnibus regalem justiciam misericorditer acturum; juncta ei penitentia ad modum facinoris, et ad illius qualitatem, quantitatem, potentiam, et data sibi communione christiana, ablata prius sibi ab episcopo Oudocœo, clamavit tres congregationes Catori, Ilduti, Docunni, liberas ab omni regali servitio, Deo et sanctis Teliavo, Dubricio, Oudocœo, et omnibus successoribus suis: et ita cum omni sua dignitate et privilegio S. S. Dubricii, Teliavi in perpetua consecratione ecclesiæ Landaviæ, et uterem mellis, et lebetem ferream quæ ecclesiæ S. Ilduti regi debebat reddere, quietam rex Morcan clamavit, &c. Ibid. fol. 74.

(2) Finitis tribus annis requisivit veniam apud beatum Oudocœum, et data ei venia misit eum in peregrinationem usque ad archiepiscopum Dolensem in Cornugalliam propter veterrimam amicitiam et cognitionem quam sancti patres habuerant antecessores sui inter se, S. Thelias, viz. et S. Samson archiepiscopus primus Dolensis civitatis. Et propter aliam causam eo quod ipse Guidnorth, et Britones, et archiepiscopus illius terræ essent unius linguæ et unius nationis, quamvis dividerentur spatio terrarum, et tanto melius poterat renunciare scelus suum et indulgentiam requirere, cognito suo sermone. Post hæc Guidnorth promittens emendationem vitæ suæ amplius in jejunio et oratione, et eleemosina, suis lachrimis cum magna devotione absolutus est de episcopo, et juncta sibi penitentia plenaria ad modum culpæ. Postmodum Guidnorth memor divini sermonis; sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita eleemosina peccatum; donavit Deo et S. S. Dubricio, Teliav et Oudocœo, et in manu Berguini episcopi, et omnibus successoribus sui, ecclesiæ Landaviæ Lann, Catguala, Tye, cum omni sua tellure, cum silva, et cum maritimis, et cum omni sua libertate sine ullo censu homini terreno, nisi ecclesiæ Landaviæ, et pastoribus ejus, et cum refugio suo in perpetuo. De clericis testes sunt, &c. Ibid. fol. 82.

Bede's account.

Caution how to be admitted for truth.

The Saxons prepared for Christianity before the coming of Augustin.

Munster. in Cosmog.

"thy holy temple have they defiled, &c." Bede too (but after Gildas) faith, that a fire was kindled by the hands of the heathens, which executed vengeance on God's people for their sins, not unlike that of the Chaldeans, which burnt Jerusalem to the ground. So here, faith he, the wicked conqueror prevailing, or rather the just judge disposing, there seemed to be one continued flame from one sea to another; all public and private buildings demolished, the priest's blood spilt upon the altars, the prelates and people destroyed together by fire and sword, and no man durst to give them burial. Many of those that escaped at present, as Gildas faith, had their throats cut, and were thrown on heaps in the mountains, or delivered themselves up to slavery to avoid being famished, and thought it a favour to be presently dispatched; and others hid themselves among mountains, and rocks, and woods, to escape the fury of their enemies, where they lived in continual fear; and others went over into foreign parts. But, with all deference to those great authorities, we ought to be extremely careful how we believe the facts here laid down. The Saxons are here made to act like madmen, and the worst of barbarians; and the Britons to suffer like sheep. But great allowances are to be made to the gloom under which Gildas wrote, his chagrin, his grief, and his disquietude at the successes of the Saxons. As to Bede, what he says is after Gildas, and a credulous zeal for religion and deep prejudices against every thing that was Pagan, may have greatly influenced him. I make no doubt that the Saxons, when they met with resistance, treated the Britons very severely; but that they should be guilty of such excesses as are here described, is, I think, utterly improbable; neither are we to imagine the Britons to have been quite passive in the matter. I am apt to believe, that their zeal for the church, and the influence their clergy had over them, spirited them up to a very fierce resistance, when the invaders came to seize aught that was the property of the church. In such cases, indeed, the Saxons very probably treated them with little ceremony; but I am, from accidental circumstances, convinced, that they who were inclined to live quietly under the Saxon government, were indulged in the exercise of their religion: nay, I think it is pretty plain, from the face of those transactions, that the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity was, in a great measure, prepared before the arrival of Augustin in this kingdom. As a proof of this, we need go no farther than what William of Malinesbury tells us, when he says, that many of the Britons submitted to the government of the Saxons under king Cerdic; and we are told, that the exhortations of the pious Britons had such an effect

upon Offa, who was a Saxon prince, that he turned Christian. But there are farther and more authentic proofs still of this truth; the very answer given by pope Gregory to a question I have already taken notice of from Augustin, morally ascertains us, that there had been a considerable progress of Christianity among the Saxons, before the arrival of the papal missionary. He there says, that the church of the English was as yet new to the faith: *Anglorum ecclesia, says he, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est.* These words are worthy of observation; they imply, that two or three met together in the name of Christianity, though perhaps without the pale of what the Romanists have so arrogantly defined to be the limits of the church, deserve the name of a church. In the next place, it is plain from them, that the British church, though new, were by no means absolute strangers to Christianity. But we have a farther confirmation of the truth I have advanced, from the words of St. Gregory's letter to (1) Theodoret and Theobard, kings of the Franks, where he tells them, that, by the grace of God, the English nation had discovered a desire to become Christian; and almost in the same sentence he lets us into a very important secret, viz. that there was such animosity between the church of the Britons in Gaul, and the Saxons, that the former refused to encourage the sentiments of piety in the latter. Though this truth had not dropped from Gregory's pen, yet an historian might have ventured to have advanced it as a probable conjecture from the animosities prevailing between the Britons and the Saxons, which no doubt communicated itself very strongly to all the Britons in Armorica, and naturally from them to all the continent of Gaul.

But, if the authorities I have already given are not sufficient to prove, that the see of Rome had only an accidental, and not an original, merit in the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, we have a still stronger proof of it in a letter from the same pope Gregory (2) to Brunichild, queen of the Franks; where he says, that the English were very well disposed to quit the errors of Paganism, and to become Christian, but that the Gallican clergy, with an inhumanity inconsistent with their character, had no pastoral care about them; and that therefore he would send Augustin, a servant of God, of whose zeal he was well assured, to endeavour to effect their conversion. This, I think, is a superabundance of evidence to prove, not only that the Saxons suffered the Britons to live among them, nay, cultivated society, had an intercourse of manners, and were willing to profit by that intercourse with them; but that a very great progress was made in bringing them over to Christianity, before the arrival of St. Au-

Proofs of this;

More proofs of the same.

Inference.

(1) *Atque ideo pervenit ad nos Anglorum gentem ad fidem christianam Deo miserante desiderantur velle converti, sed sacerdotes vestros e vicino negligere, et desideria eorum cessare sua adhortatione accendere. Ob hoc igitur Augustinum servum Dei presentium portitorem, cujus zelus et studium bene nobis est cognitum, cum aliis servis Dei illuc prævidimus dirigendum. Lib. v. epist. 58.*

(2) *Ex qua re bene confidentes paterna charitate salutantes indicamus ad nos pervenisse, Anglorum gentem, Deo annuante, velle fieri christianam, sed sacerdotes qui in vicino sunt, pastorem erga eos sollicitudinem non habere. Quorum ne anime in æterna damnatione valeant depere, curæ nobis fuit presentium portitorem Augustinum servum Dei cujus zelus et studium bene nobis est cognitum, eum aliis servis Dei illuc dirigere, ut per eos potuissimus ipsorum voluntates addiscere, et de eorum conversione vobis quoque annitentibus, in quantum est possibile, cogitare. Lib. v. epist. 59.*

gustin in this island. If we consider the animosities that always subsisted between the unsubmitting Britons and the Saxons, there are little grounds to think, that the conversion of the English took even its infant rise from the labours of the Britons, who either retired to Wales, or to Bretaign in France. It must therefore have been owing to the suggestions of the Britons, who were tolerated under the Saxon government in England. And this determines what I have already intimated, that our Saxon ancestors were no such barbarous bloody-minded wretches as they have been represented by those weak historians, who have literally construed the words of Gildas and Bede.

History of the conversion of the Saxons.

It lies now upon me to give some account of the manner by which Gregory first received the hint of converting the English to the Christian religion; which was in the following manner:

Johan. Diac. Vit. Gregor. lib. i. cap. 2. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 1.

He happened, before his advancement to the see of Rome, to walk one day through the slave-market there, where observing certain young men, of very promising aspects and genteel air, their complexions remarkably beautiful, standing ready to be sold to the best bidder, the good man asked from whence they came. It was answered, from Britain; and that the inhabitants of that country, in general, were equally graceful in their persons as the sample he saw there. Gregory's zeal then prompted him to enquire what religion those handsom islanders professed, and whether they were Christians or Pagans. Being answered that they were Pagans, "What pity is it, said the father, with a sigh, that the prince of darkness should have power over those who nearly resemble the angels of light; and that so fine an outside should be so destitute of God's grace within." These reflections wrought within him a desire, from that moment, to labour in the conversion of this people. His character was high for piety and learning, and his design both plausible and virtuous. Benedict, a well-meaning man, then filled the see of Rome, and to him Gregory applies for leave to convert the English. The pope willingly indulged him in his request, and Gregory went on board a ship, to proceed on his voyage for Britain. While he was lying ready to sail, the citizens of Rome, with whom he was very popular, alarmed at their being deprived of his pious labours, found means to present to the pope, even in the streets, a kind of a remonstrance, upon his suffering Gregory to absent himself from his evangelical functions in that city. The pope, touched at their zeal, sent after Gregory, and recalled him. Thus, for some time, this pious work was retarded.

Gregory sets out for Britain,

but is recalled.

The popes, at that time, seem not to have possessed the zeal for making proselytes that inspired many of their successors. Though nothing was done in the conversion of the Britons during the reign of this Benedict, and his successor Pelagius, yet Gregory being, after him, raised to the papal see, resolved to effect, by his authority, what

he could not by his entreaties. Accordingly he ordered one Augustin, a monk, with several of his brotherhood, to undertake a voyage to Britain, to convert the Saxons. The good fathers obeyed; but, soon sick of the tediousness of travelling, discouraged by the difficulty of the attempt, and dreading the barbarity of the nation, they sent back Augustin to intercede with the pope that he would excuse them from their mission. But the pope was not a man of such a character, as to be diverted from what he had once proposed; therefore he sent back Augustin with the following persuasive answer:

Augustin sent to Britain for that purpose.

"Gregory, the servant to those who serve God, greets the servants of God (1). Gregory's letter to encourage the missionaries.

"Because better it is not to begin good works, than, upon reflection, to go backwards in them, after they are begun; therefore, my most dearly beloved sons, you ought, with the greatest zeal, to exert yourselves in fulfilling the good work, which, through the divine assistance, you are now engaged in. Be ye neither discouraged by the difficulty of the work, nor the tongues of wicked men; but, by the help of God, go through, with all earnestness, and all zeal, the work you have begun; knowing that the greater degree of glory hereafter awaits the greatness of the undertaking. In all things humbly obey Augustin your director, whom I have sent back, appointing him your abbot; knowing, that whatever shall be executed by you, through his advice, will, in every respect, be for the profit of your souls. May the Almighty God take you into his fatherly protection, and grant that, in his eternal kingdom, I may see the effects of your labours, though it is forbidden me to accompany you in them. May God keep you safe, my dearly beloved sons. Given the 21st day of July, in the fourth year of our most pious lord and emperor Manlius Tiberius, and in the thirteenth year after the consulate of our said lord, &c."

I have given the reader this letter, because I think it genuine, and serves to shew the zeal of Gregory in this work; but, in order to soften the fatigues of the voyage, he wrote, at the same time, another letter to Ethercus, archbishop of Arles, requesting him to furnish the father missionaries with any conveniences they might stand in need of in their journey, and recommended them both to the king and queen of the Franks. The piety of the design met with suitable encouragement; for that court removed the principal difficulty which attended their mission; I mean the ignorance of the English language. The Franks and the Saxons being originally from the same country, the missionaries took interpreters along with them of that nation. And here I shall leave Augustin and his brother, preparing to set out for Britain.

He writes to the archbishop of Arles on their account.

That I may make this history of the English church as complete as the bounds I am

(1) I have kept close to my original, as I find it in Bede, lib. i. cap. 23.

After being made pope, he labours in the conversion of the Saxons.

Characters of
the learned
men of this
period.

confined to will admit, I shall proceed now to give some account of the lives and characters of those who were most eminent in Britain, at this time, for learning, piety, and zeal.

I have already taken notice of Dubricius and St. David; but what is remarkable of the latter is, that he continued in his see sixty-five years; and, after founding twelve monasteries, died, if we may believe the best authors those times afford, in the hundred and forty-sixth year of his age. He left behind him the character of being a man whose eloquence adorned his piety, and of giving, by the example of his life, the strongest recommendation to virtue.

The two Sam-
sons archbi-
shops of Dole.

In this age lived the two Samsons. The elder was archbishop of York, and, upon the Saxon devastations, retired to his countrymen in Armorica, or Britany, where he was made archbishop of Dole. The other Samson appears to have succeeded him in both those honours, and is said to have been of royal birth. Bale tells us, that he carried away with him many records belonging to the history of the British church, which never could be recovered.

Cadocus, ab-
bot of Lan-
carvan.

In this age likewise we are to fix the excellent Cadocus, abbot of Lancarvan. He was the son of a petty prince, and inherited, from his family, a large estate. This, with a noble British hospitality, he employed in acts of munificence, maintaining, as we are told, three hundred persons, all of them clergymen and poor people, besides keeping an open table for all guests. His exemplary life, and the strictness of his discipline, is greatly commended, and he made use of the eminence of his birth to give force to his example.

Paternus.

Paternus was descended from a noble family of the Britons in Armorica. The cast of his mind led him to a religious solitude; and, to avoid the solicitations of his friends, who might endeavour to divert him from it, he concealed himself, for some time, in Ireland. From thence he sailed over to Wales, where his piety, disinterestedness, and wisdom gave him great weight. Con- tending princes, at his persuasion, in that country dropped their animosities, and were determined by his award. His residence was in Cardiganshire, where, according to Camden, there still stands a church dedicated to his memory, called Lhan Badern Vaur. After living in great friendship with St. David and Thelias, and doing great service to religion among the Britons, he returned to his native country, where he ended his days with great reputation. The French Britons had such a regard for his memory, that they kept, for a long time, three holidays in his honour. The first, the day on which he procured the celebrated peace among the British princes; the second, was that on which he entered into orders; and the third, was the anniversary of his death.

St. Petrock.

St. Petrock is next mentioned, as living in this age. He was a zealous promoter of the Christian religion; and is said to have lived twenty years in Ireland, where he studied divinity all the while; though he

was originally of Cornwall, Petrocstow, alias Padstow, in that county, deriving its name from him. Upon his return to Britain, he lived in a monastery near the Severn, where he instructed others in divinity, having, for his pupils, persons of great rank and eminence.

We have already had occasion to men- St. Thelias; tion St. Thelias, who was pupil first to Dubricius, then to St. David, and lastly to Paulinus. He was afterwards raised to the see of Landaff, where he obtained great reputation. As to his successor St. Oudo- cœus, the reader, from the circumstances of his life, which I have already related, may form a judgment of his character.

St. Kentigern (St. Mongo in Scotland) St. Kentigern; likewise ought to have a place here, hav- ing long lived in North Wales. His mo- ther, if we are to believe the historians of the times, was daughter to Lothus, king of the Picts. He was pupil to Servanus, and gave early indications of piety, absti- nence and zeal. When he grew up, he applied himself strenuously to the conver- sion of the infidels, and had great success in his labours. He was abbot of Glasgow in Abbot of Glas- Scotland, where, I am informed, there is gow. a church dedicated to his memory. His monastery was a seminary for missionaries, who were employed in converting the pagans. He came to North Wales upon his leaving Scotland; there he founded a religious society; and, after gaining great reputation by his preaching, he returned to Scotland, where he died, in the year 560.

St. Afaph was born in North Wales, and St. Afaph; the pupil of Kentigern. His virtue and learn- ing were more eminent than his birth, which was noble. He was so entirely beloved by his master Kentigern, that the latter made him his successor both in the monastery he had founded, and his bishopric. How long he continued in this station is uncertain, but he is said to have survived his master thirty years.

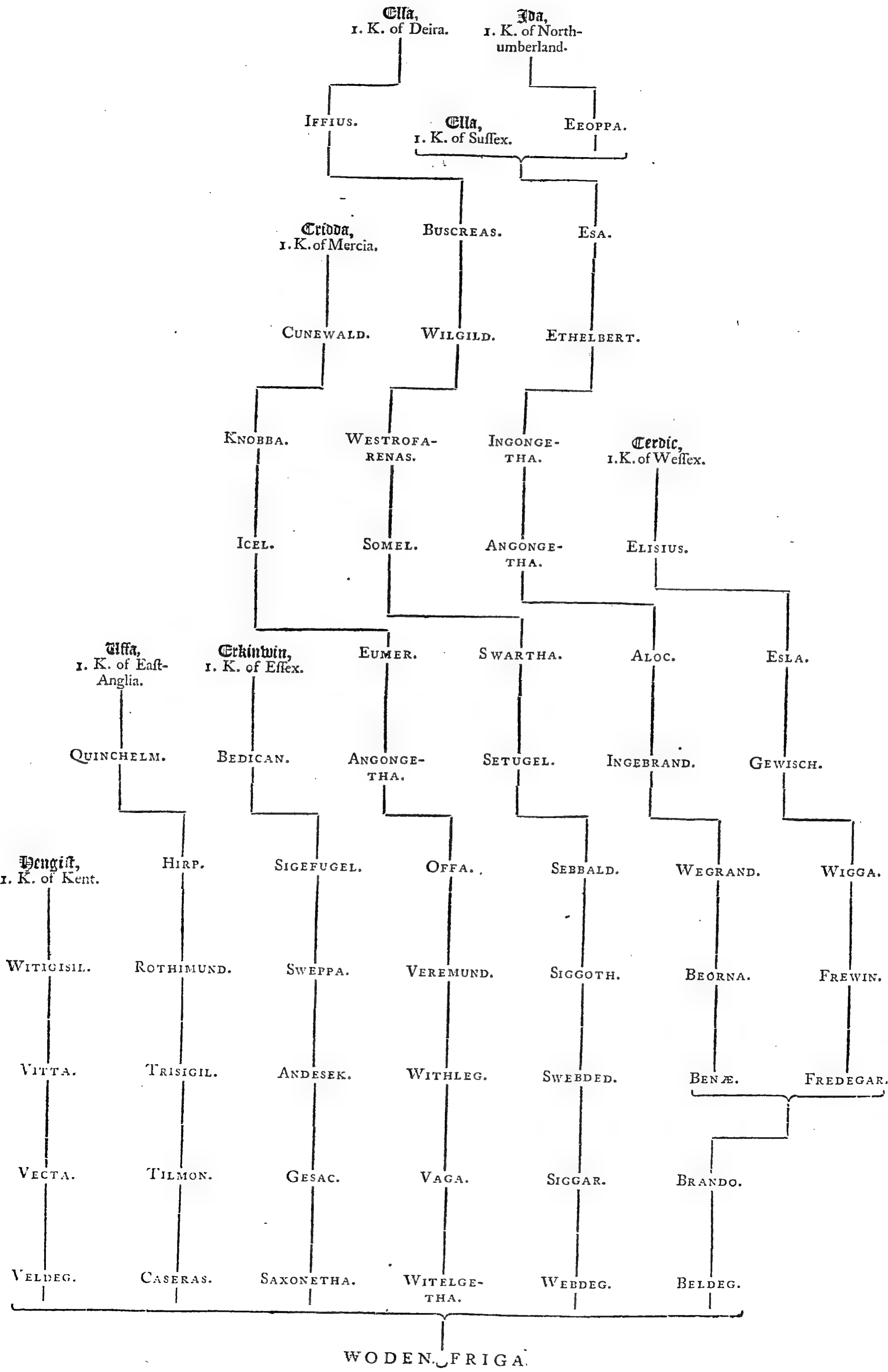
St. Columba was an Irishman, and St. Columba; North Britain was the scene of his evan- gelical labours; therefore I shall only men- tion him on this occasion.

His great au-
thority with
the British
princes.

Gildas, whom I have so often men- Gildas, tioned, was multiplied into three of that name, of whom we have many ridiculous stories. What seems to be most certain, with regard to this author, is, that he studied under Iltutus, and was a monk, first at Glassenbury, and afterwards of Bangor. His famous epistle and history, if it deserves that name, were wrote in Bretagne in France, where he seems to have been so much exasperated at the Sax- ons, that what drops from his pen is some- what between the invective and elegiac kind. The learned primate of Armagh fixes the time of his death to the year 570.

As to the other learned men who lived in this period, they either have no rela- tion to a general history of England, or the most remarkable particulars of their lives have been already recounted; there- fore I shall here finish the history of the church for this period.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE of the POSTERITY of WODEN.



A

GENERAL HISTORY

O F

ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

From the conversion of the SAXONS to Christianity, to the reign of
 EGBERT; containing a period of about two hundred and twenty-
 eight years.

A. D. 600.

Review of the
 Saxon govern-
 ment before
 their conver-
 sion.

THAT the reader may enter upon the history of the great event I am now to open, with the greater clearness and instruction, it is absolutely necessary for us to premise a short general account of the Saxon government before their conversion to Christianity. This will let him into a train of causes, which, beside the efficacy of the divine grace, naturally or politically co-operated in this great alteration; and, with some attention, he will be able to distinguish those parts of their constitution, which received a new modeling from this alteration in religion, from those which did not; and it may give him an idea of the general and mutual relation, or independency, that ought to subsist between the civil and ecclesiastical authority.

What I have to offer upon this head shall be divided into three parts:

I. The civil polity,

II. The religion,

III. The miscellaneous customs, of the English Saxons, before their conversion to Christianity.

In treating of the civil polity of the Saxons, the reader is not to expect any satisfactory account of the original of those in-

stitutions they imported with them into England, since we are told, by Tacitus (1), that the Germans in general were ignorant of the mystery of learning. Immemorial custom was the same to them as written laws; but more effectual, in regulations of justice and government, than the best laws are in other countries. Their government was aristocratical, rather than monarchical; success in war gave rank; wisdom in council, authority. Of lesser affairs, their leading men consulted; of more important, the whole: but, as we find the constitution of Athens, by Solon's laws, to have been, the nobility had still the cognizance of those matters that came before the commons. Their places of public meeting were ascertained, as were the days. They generally met in arms. Silence was proclaimed by a priest, whose authority, on that occasion, seems to have been great. The meeting being solemnly convened, some one, of greater eminence and dignity for military virtue, experience, quality, or eloquence, rose up and spoke to the occasion of their assembling; making use, says my author, of that kind of eloquence which rather persuades than commands. Their dislike was expressed by a tumultuous noise, their approbation by the clangor of their arms.

A. D. 600.

Form of their
 government.

Their coun-
 cils.

Division.

Their civil
 polity.

(1) *Literarum secreta viri pariter et feminae ignorant.—De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus, omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coeunt nisi quid fortuitum et subitum inciderit certis diebus.—Ut turbæ placuit, confidunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercendi jus est, imperatur. Mox rex, vel princeps, prout ætas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia fremitu aspernantur: si placuit, frameas vicosque reddunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul & auctoritas, adfunt. Tacitus de moribus Germanorum.*

A. D. 600.

Their manner
of chusing
their ma-
gistrates.

The business of these assemblies was to appoint the chiefs who were to preside in their several divisions, shires, streets, and villages. Each of those chiefs had a hundred of the commons as their assessors; from whence we may easily discern the reason why the general division of their country was into hundreds. The leader, or, if the reader pleases to call him, prince, of each portion of territory was in great respect with his inferiors. He was the source of honour through all his little court, and his officers shewed great emulation to win and preserve his favour (1).

Their other
regulations.

Besides those customs mentioned by Tacitus, in which the seeds of our present constitution and polity in England are easily discernable, some others of a more particular kind, relating to distributive justice, are given by the same great authority. We are told, that they generally held their public consultations in armour (2); but that no man could wear arms without the public permission; for the youth who aspired to this distinction must previously be approved of by a council, and, with their leave, one of the principal men, or the next in kindred to the candidate, invested him with a shield and a lance. By this ceremony the party was foris-familiated. In this custom the reader will easily discern the principles of knighthood; and, as the business of the whole nation was arms, it was no wonder if their habit corresponded to their trade, in the same manner as the robes of honour, worn in England now by the house of peers, and formerly by the commons, are emblems of a more civil capacity. We may likewise, from this custom, easily discern those seeds of knighthood which, in later ages, inspired that martial prowess which rendered the several successors of those Germans so terrible to their enemies, and always in proportion as their honour and dignity of knighthood was held in esteem. But now that war is become a particular, instead of a general, trade, the source of honours communicates itself through civil as well as military channels, and knighthood is bestowed for other services than those of the field.

Original of
knighthood.

That public honours among our German ancestors might be derived from the merits of their forefathers, may be very expressly proved from another passage of our great author, when compared with the foregoing (3). "Eminent nobility, says he, or great merits of forefathers, give even very young men a right to the dignity of being leaders." Hereditary honours, however they

Honour
among them
hereditary

may be abused by indolent posterity, are undoubtedly, next to virtue and glory, the strongest motive for virtuous and brave actions in every present age. It gives a double edge to courage, while the hero or the patriot knows that his honours shall survive in his posterity; and it has ever been cherished in all countries, where the right principles of government were understood.

A. D. 600.

Reflection.

I shall not, however, with some great authors, pretend that the custom of armorial bearings took its rise from this inveterate of the young German nobility. The wearing devices upon shields, and particular colours of arms, were customs much more ancient than any thing we learn of the Germans, and I believe in common to them with other nations; but they, if I mistake not, were the first who rendered those devices hereditary, and thereby gave rise to that science we call heraldry.

Antiquity of
armorial bear-
ings.

There was a part of the municipal German law, which the reader will easily find among their present successors (4). The husband, says my author, settled a dower upon the wife, and not the wife upon the husband. This custom, Mr. Selden says, was formerly called morgang heb, and serves to prove the antiquity of dower among the Germans and Anglo-Saxons.

Their manner
of settling a
dower.

There is another custom marked by the same author, which, though not tallying with the modern practices in cases of the like nature, is yet sufficient to shew the justice of our ancestors, before fashion disguised the deformity of vice (5). The husband, says he, when his wife proved false, cut off her hair, stripped her naked, turned her out of doors in the presence of her relations, and then whipped her through all the town; but the severity of this punishment, as we shall have occasion to see elsewhere, was mitigated by the English Saxons.

Punishment of
adultery.

The next usage I shall take notice of is, (6) that every man succeeded to his father, without any alteration of property being allowed by will; but, after the English Saxons got footing in Britain, they found great reason to alter this institution. They looked upon themselves as conquerors, and the property accruing by conquest to be personal, therefore, alienable. Hence they conceived all bocland, that is, free-tenure, grantable by deed, to be alienable by will; but, in lands held by feofage, all the sons inherited alike. The Normans, who never ventured to found their title merely upon the principle of conquest, and who are de-

No will in
matters of
succession.

(1) There are yet, in some parts of Germany, as in the Palatinate, Franconia, &c. courts criminal, which are called Zentgericht, or hundred-right, or court; and the presidents of them Zent-groffer, or Zent-greven, the hundredary, or judge of the hundred; and the assessors Zent-schoppen, or Zent-schappen; which most ancient institution of the Germans had its name from the number of assessors: and from thence also we derive our hundred courts in England, where, anciently, there was a particular person, called the Centenarius, or Hundredarius, who was judge, and all the best and chief men of the country suitors, assessors, or jurors; where also the bishops often sat with the hundredarie. Brady's history of England, p. 55.

(2) Nihil publicæ vel privatæ rei nisi armati agunt, sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio, vel principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus, scuto frameaque juvenem ornant: hæc apud illos toga, hic primus juventæ honos: ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox reipublicæ. Tacitus.

(3) Insignis nobilitas, aut magna patrum merita, principis dignationem, etiam adolescentulis assignant. Ibid.

(4) Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. Ibid.

(5) Accisis crinibus, nudatam adulteram coram propinquis expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verbere agit. Ibid.

(6) Hæredes, successoresque sui cuique liberi; et nullum testamentum. Ibid.

A. D. 600. descended from the same ancestors with the the English Saxons, and originally had many of their laws and customs in common with them, reverted to the original institution of their German ancestors, and under them, for a long time, no alienation could be made, by will, of lands gained by military services.

Their encouragement of family feuds.

The next institution I shall take notice of, was of a fatal impolitic nature, and greatly owing to the circumscription of the government in penal cases; for my author (1) tells us, that they held it absolutely necessary to prosecute paternal and family animosities, as well as paternal and family friendships. But this barbarity was not peculiar to the Germans; the Romans, in the most polished time of their republic, openly avowed this principle; and it is defended and applauded by their greatest writers. In short, it was in common to all nations, who were of Celtic or Scythian original, and was but lately extinguished in a neighbouring country, though not of Saxon or German extraction.

Scotland.

Commutation allowed in cases of blood.

The (2) placability of our ancestors, in cases of blood, is easily discerned by the commutation which all matters of blood admitted of by their laws; for homicide was redeemable by a certain price of great and small cattle. This principle was so strongly riveted in their constitution, and continued so long in force after their settlement in England, that it was found necessary at last to settle the precise prices of blood, from the clown even up to the king, and his life was rated only at a higher degree of forfeiture.

The rights of landlords.

The last institution I shall take notice of, regards the right which the lord had in the glebe; for we are told, (3) that the lord of the soil prescribed to his tenant the quantity of the corn, cattle, or cloaths he was to pay in rent, for occupying his land. Here we may easily see the original of taking the rents of farms in kind, which continued so long in England, and still prevails in many places of Scotland.

This slight review of what so great an author gives us, with regard to the laws and polity of the Germans, has with it more weight than the most laboured comments upon authors of an inferior age, where the first labour of an historian is to establish the authority of the testimony, and his

next to find a meaning in the words. A comparison between what I have given here, with the old and the still remaining principles of our government; as we have it from our Saxon forefathers, are the strongest proofs that the Saxons were part of the Germans here described. And I must farther observe, that there runs, through the whole of what the noble author has delivered concerning the manners of the Germans, a peculiar character, which agrees extremely well with what a curious observer of manners may at present discover in the general character of the English nation.

A. D. 600.

The Saxons and Germans the same.

But I proceed now to authorities of an inferior credit, though with the best opportunities of information which the times could admit of; and, from the whole, I shall endeavour to give the reader as full and consistent a view as can be had of what I have proposed; but, at the same time, he is always to carry in his mind, that I confine this description to the character and manners of the Saxons, at the period when I am to resume this history. We are told, by an old author of their own nation, that the ancient Saxons were divided into four ranks of men, viz. noblemen, freemen, manumised slaves, and slaves who continued so; but I should be inclined, with another author, to contract these ranks to three, viz. noblemen, freemen, and slaves, since a manumised slave was, properly speaking, a freeman, otherwise he could not be said to be manumised. These ranks were to continue pure and unmixed, by promiscuous marriages, of one into the other. This custom continued long in England, and so late as passing the statutes of Magna charta; and Merton, the legislature, was so jealous of its being neglected, that the lord was to lose the benefit of his wardship, if he married his ward to his disparagement (that is, below his birth, into an inferior rank) in case complaint was made by the kindred.

Farther review of this subject.

Before the arrival of the Saxons into England, as has been already hinted, the province of the leading men was confined to war. We have an express testimony of this from the venerable historian, who, speaking of the Frisians (4), one of the Saxon nations imported into Britain, tells us, that one of the Christian missionaries, coming to Friesland, asked admittance to the lord of the

The leading men had only authority in time of war.

(1) Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias, necesse est. Ibid.

(2) Nec implacabiles durant: Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem uniuersa domus.

(3) Frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis, colono injungit.

(4) That the Frisians came along with them into Britain, is plain from Procopius; and, because that book is not extant, it may not be amiss to give you the piece entire, as I had it transcribed from a copy in the king's library at Paris, by that singular good man and complete antiquary, Franciscus Pithæus. Βρεττανία την νησον εβη τρια πολυανθρωπηδα εχουσα. Βασιλευς τε εις αυτον εκαστω εφεστηκε, η ονομα κειται τοις εθνεσι τελοισι, Αγγιλοι, η Φρισσωνες, τε οι νησω αμυνουμι Βριτλωνες. Ισ-σαυλη δε η των εθνων πολυανθρωπια φανηται ησα, ωτε αναπανειος καλα πολλες ενθενδε μελαινισαμενοι ζυν γυναιξει, η παισιν εις φραγγων χορραι: οι δε αυτες ενικιζουσι εσχης της σφελερας των ερεμωτεραν δοκεσαν ειναι. η απ' αυτων την νησον προσποιουσθαι φασιν. ωτε αμειν η πολλω προτερον ο φραγγων βασιλευς επι παρεστεια των οι επιηδειων πινυς παρα βασιλεα Ιουστιανον εις Βιζαντιον στείλας ανδρας, αυτους εκ των Αγγιλων ευνεπεμπε φιλοδιμεμενους, ως η νεσος ηδε προς αυτη αρχεται. i. e. (in my rude translation) "The island of Britain is inhabited by three most populous nations, each whereof has their several kings. The names of the people are the Angles, the Frisones, and those of the same name with the island, the Britons. As to the inhabitants, they seem to be so numerous, that every year they flock over in great companies, with their wives and children, to the Franks, who assign them that part of their island which is least cultivated. Upon this they pretend a claim to the whole island [of Britain;] and it is not long since the king of the Franks, dispatching some of his own subjects upon an embassy to Justinian at Constantinople, sent along with them some of the Angles, out of pure ostentation, as if the island were part of his dominions." Camd. Gib. Ed. p. 159.

A. D. 600. village where he lodged: "For, (1) says the author, those ancient Saxons had no king; but there were some leading men of every tribe, who, upon the immediate approach of war, cast lots for chieftanship; and the tribe follows him upon whom the lot falls, and obey him during all the time of the war; but this pre-eminence ends with the war, and the noblemen then return all of them to their old footing of equality."

To this testimony of Bede we may add the silence of all authors, with regard to any application made to a king by the Britons who first treated with the Saxons. Had any king been then invested with either absolute or political power, it would have been natural for the Britons to have applied to him. I have given, in the notes, the (2) manner in which an historian of their own nation (who could scarce be imposed upon with regard to their forms of government, however the zeal for the honour of his nation might lead him to impose upon others) delivers this fact; and I shall here, from another modern authority, who seems to have had the opportunities of information which we are deprived of, give a full account of their constitution in this respect. "As for the general government of the country, says Verstegan, they ordained twelve noblemen, chosen from among others for their worthiness and sufficiency. These, in the time of peace, rode their several circuits, to see justice and good customs observed; and they often of course, at appointed times, met all together, to consult and give order in public affairs; but, even in time of war, one of these twelve was chosen to be king, and so to remain as long only as the war lasted; and, that being ended, his name and dignity as king also ceased, and he became as before. And this custom continued among them until the time of their wars with the emperor Charles the great, at which time Wittekind, one of the twelve, as aforesaid, a nobleman of Angria in Westphalia,

bore over the rest the name and authority of king; and he being afterwards, by the means of the said emperor, converted to the faith of Christ, had, by him, his mutable title of king turned into the enduring title and honour of duke. And the eleven others were, in like manner, by the said emperor, advanced to the honourable titles of earls and lords, with establishment for the continual remaining of these titles and dignities unto them and their heirs; of whose descents are since issued the greatest princes at this present in Germany."

From all those authorities it appears, that the Saxons, by their original constitution, had no kings, in the modern acceptation of that word; since all the authority among them, which resembled royalty, did terminate with the particular exigence on which they were created. We are to look upon those who first invaded England in no other light than as being so many adventurers, and resolving to purchase property by their swords. After their settlement here, indeed, they had very good political reasons, as I shall prove in another place, and have partly touched upon already, for erecting their leaders into kings; but the rights accruing by conquest accrued equally to the people as to the leader, therefore the nature of the people's liberty never could be altered by the increase of their general's dignity.

I shall not, in this place, enter upon any disquisition into the nature of the ghemots, those assemblies from which our parliaments took their rise; nor of the several rights and dignities which composed them. The lights we have of them at this period are but faint, and they will be much more properly considered when we come to take a view of the Anglo-Saxon government in Britain in its full maturity, as we now do of it in its infancy.

The next head I proposed to speak of, was the religion of the Saxons. I have already taken notice of their superstition with regard to a horse, which they had

The Saxons had originally no kings.

The religion of the Saxons.

(1) Non enim habent regem iidem antiqui Saxones, sed satrapas plurimos suæ genti præpositos, qui ingruente belli articulo, mittunt æqualiter sortes, et quemcumque fors ostenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur, huic obtemperant; peracto autem bello, rursum æqualis potentia omnes fiunt satrapæ. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 10.

(2) Britain, having been long before reduced into the form of a province by Vespasian the emperor, and having flourished a great while under the protection of the Romans, was at last invaded by the neighbouring nations, as seeming to be abandoned by the Roman aids; for the Romans, after Martian the emperor was murdered by the soldiers, were heavily annoyed by foreign wars, and so were not able to furnish their allies with aids, as they had formerly done. However, before they quitted the nation, they built a large wall for its defence, running along the borders thereof from sea to sea, where they imagined the enemy would make their inroads. But, after a soft and lazy people were left to encounter a resolute and well-disciplined enemy, it was found no hard matter to demolish that work. In the mean time, the Saxons grew famous for their success in arms, and to them they dispatched an humble embassy, to desire their assistance. The ambassadors, being admitted to audience, made their addresses as follow: "Most noble Saxons, the miserable Britons, shattered and worn out by the frequent incursions of their enemies, upon the news of your many signal victories, have sent us to you, requesting that you would assist them at this juncture. A land large and spacious, abounding with all manner of necessities, they give up entirely to your disposal. Hitherto we have lived happily under the government and protection of the Romans; next to the Romans, we know none of greater valour than yourselves, and, therefore, in your courage do we now seek refuge. Let but this courage and those arms make us conquerors, and we refuse no service or duty you shall please to impose." The Saxon nobles returned them this short answer: "Assure yourselves the Saxons will be true friends to the Britons; and, as such, shall be always ready to relieve their necessities, and to advance their interests." The ambassadors, pleased with the answer, return home, and comfort their countrymen with the welcome news. Accordingly, the succours they had promised being dispatched into Britain, are joyfully received by their allies, and do, in a very little time, clear the kingdom of invaders, and restore the country to the inhabitants. And indeed there was no great difficulty in doing this, since the fame of the Saxon valour had so far terrified them, that their very presence was enough to drive them away. The people who infested the Britons were the Scots and Picts, and the Saxons were supplied by the Britons with all necessaries to carry on the war against them; upon which they staid in the country for some time, and lived in very good terms with the Britons, till the commanders (observing that the land was large and fruitful, and that the natives were not at all inclined to war; and considering that themselves, and the greatest part of the Saxons, had no fixed habitation) send over for more forces; and, striking up a peace with the Scots and Picts, make one body against the Britons, force them out of the nation, and divide the country among their own people.

A. D. 600. not only in common with the Persians, but with the Romans. Virgil mentions a horse as the emblem of menacing war :

Bello armantur equi, bella hæc armenta minantur.

“ For war the horse is arm’d; the burst-
“ ing rage

“ Of instant war, those gen’rous brutes
“ preface.”

(1) But we find other superstitions in common with them and other nations.

According to Tacitus, they practised divination by lots in a peculiar manner, in which, in public matters, the priest, and, in private, the master of the family, presided. Another method of divination they had, was by obliging the captive of a nation they were at war with to fight, with the arms of his own country, against a champion of their country; and, from the event of the combat, they interpreted the fate of the war.

Their (2) idols were various, and the curious scholar may find a very strong agreement between them and those of the other heathen

A. D. 600.

(1) Auspicia, sortisque ut qui maxime observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam frugifero arbori decidam, in furculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt: mox, si publice consulatur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse paterfamilias precatus deos, cælumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt; nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio. Sin permissum; auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur, et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces, volatusque interrogare. Proprium gentis, equorum quoque presagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis candidi, et nullo mortali opere contacti, quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes. Se enim ministros deorum, illos confcios putant. Est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Ejus gentis cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum, cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis committunt. Victoria hujus vel illius, pro præjudicio accipitur. Tacitus de moribus Germanorum.

(2) As touching the idols which our Saxon ancestors adored, they were divers, and those not such as the Pagan Romans were wont to adore, but idols of their own, as the Romans had theirs. For with the idols only proper to the Romans, they were unacquainted before the coming of the Romans into Germany; albeit, some authors have interpreted some of their idols to have been such, as among the Romans were called by other names. Of these, though they had many, yet seven among the rest they especially appropriated unto the seven days of the week; which, according to their course and properties, I will here, to satisfy the curious reader, describe.—First then, unto the day dedicated unto the especial adoration of the idol of the Sun, they gave the name of Sunday, as much as to say, the Sun’s day, or the day of the Sun. This idol was placed in a temple, and there adored and sacrificed unto; for that they believed, that the sun in the firmament did with (or in) this idol correspond and co-operate. It was made like half a naked man, set upon a pillar; his face, as it were, brightened with gleams of fire, and holding, with both his arms stretched out, a burning wheel upon his breast; the wheel being to signify the course which he runneth round about the world, and the fiery gleams and brightness, the light and heat wherewith he warmeth and comforteth the things that live and grow.—The next, according to the course of the days of the week, was the idol of the Moon, whereof we yet retain the name of Monday, instead of Moon-day. The form of this idol seemeth very strange and ridiculous; for being made for a woman, she hath a short coat like a man; but more strange it is to see her hood with such two long ears. The holding of a moon before her breast may seem to have been to express what she is; but the reason of her chapron with long ears, as also of her short coat and piked shoes, I do not find.—The next unto the idols of the two most apparent planets, was the idol of Tuysco, the most ancient and peculiar god of all the Germans, and after whom they do call themselves Tuiythen, that is, Duiythes, or Duiyth people. The day which yet among us retaineth the name of Tuesday, was especially dedicated to the adoration and service of this idol.—The next was the idol Woden, who was made armed; and, among our Saxon ancestors, esteemed and honoured for their god of battle, according as the Romans reputed and honoured their god Mars. He was, while some time he lived among them, a most valiant and victorious prince and captain; and this idol was, after his death, honoured, prayed, and sacrificed unto, that by his aid and furtherance they might obtain victory over their enemies; which when they had obtained, they sacrificed unto him such prisoners as in battle they had taken. The name Woden signifies fires, or furious; and in like sense we yet retain it, saying, when one is in a great rage, that he is wood, or taketh on as if he were wood. And after this idol we do yet call that day of the week Wednesday, instead of Wodensday, upon which he was chiefly honoured. Venerable Bede nameth one Woden to have been the great-grandfather of Hengistus, that first came with the Saxons into Britain; but this seemeth to have been another prince of the same name, and not he whose idol is here spoken of, who in much likelihood was long before the great-grandfather of Hengistus.—The next in order as aforesaid, was the idol Thor, who was not only served and sacrificed unto of the ancient Pagan Saxons, but of all the Teutonic people of the septentrional regions; yea, even of the people that dwell beyond Thule or Island, for in Greenland was he known and adored; in memory whereof, a promontory, or high point of land lying out into the sea, as also a river which falleth into the sea at the said promontory, doth yet bear his name. This great reputed god, being of more estimation than many of the rest of like sort, though of as little worth as any of the meanest of that rabble, was majestically placed in a very large and spacious hall, and there set as if he had reposed himself upon a covered bed. On his head he wore a crown of gold; and round, in compass above and about the same, were set, or fixed, twelve bright burnished golden stars; and in his right hand he held a kingly scepter. He was, of the seduced Pagans, believed to be of most marvellous power and might; yea, and that there were no people throughout the whole world that were not subjected unto him, and did not owe him divine honour and service. That there was no puissance comparable to his; his dominion, of all others, most farthest extending itself, both in heaven and earth. That in the air he governed the winds and the clouds; and, being displeased, did cause lightning, thunder, and tempests, with excessive rain, hail, and all ill weather; but, being well pleased, by the adoration, sacrifice, and service of his suppliants, he then bestowed on them most fair and seasonable weather, and caused corn abundantly to grow, as also all sort of fruits, &c. and kept away from them the plague, and all other evil and infectious diseases. Of the weekly day which was dedicated unto his particular service, we yet retain the name of Thursday, the which the Danes and Swedians do yet call Thorfsday. In the Netherlands it is called Dunders-dagh, which, being written according to our English orthography, is Thunders-day; whereby it may appear, that they anciently therein intended the day of the god of Thunder; and, in some of our old Saxon books, I find it to have been written Thunres-deag: so, as it seemeth, that the name of Thor, or Thur, was abbreviated of Thunre, which we now write thunder.—The next following in rank and reputation, was the goddess Friga. This idol represented both sexes, as well man as woman; and, as an hermaphrodite, is said to have had both the members of a man and the members of a woman. In her right hand she held a drawn sword, and in her left a bow; signifying thereby, that women, as well as men, should, in time of need, be ready to fight. Some honoured her for a god, and some for a goddess; but she was ordinarily taken rather for a goddess than a god, and was reputed the giver of peace and plenty, as also the causer and maker of love and amity; and of the day of her especial adoration, we yet retain the name of Friday. And as, in the order of the days of the week, Thursday cometh between Wednesday and Friday, so (as Olaus Magnus noteth) in the septentrional regions, where they made the idol Thor sitting or lying in a great hall upon a covered bed, they also placed on the one side of him the idol Woden, and on the other side the idol Friga. Some do call her Freia, and not Friga; and her day our Saxon ancestors called Frigedag, from whence our name now of Friday indeed cometh. Saxo Grammaticus saith, that the people which, by reason of the great famine in the time of Sneo, king of Denmark, were constrained by lot to go seek them new habitations, were, by the goddess Friga, commanded to call themselves Longobards; which is an opinion, by Crantzius and others, rejected as fabulous; and for no less I esteem it.—The last, to make up here the number of seven, was the idol Seater, fondly of some supposed to be Saturnus; for he was otherwise called Crodo. On a pillar was placed a peach, on the sharp prickled back whereof stood this idol. He was lean of visage, having long hair and a long beard, and was bare-headed and bare-footed. In his left hand he held up a wheel, and in his right he carried a pail of water, wherein were flowers and fruits. His long coat was girded unto him with a towel of white linnen. His standing on the sharp fins of this fish was to signify, that the Saxons, for their serving him, should pass stedfastly, and without harm, in dangerous and difficult places. By the wheel was betokened, the knit unity and conjoined concord of the Saxons, and their concurring together in the running one course.

A. D. 600.

then nations. Woden seems to be the same with Mercury, and to him they offered human sacrifices, and consecrated the fourth day of our week. Venus they seem to have worshipped under the denomination of Frea, to whom they allotted the sixth day. And Tuesday had its name from Tuisco, whom they regarded as the founder of their nation. They likewise had a goddess, whom they termed Eoster, to whom they (1) consecrated the month of April, and which still gives name to a (2) holy festival amongst us, generally falling in that month. But the peculiar patroness of our English ancestors, as we learn from Tacitus, was Herthus (3), by whom they meant mother earth, who they thought concerned herself in human affairs. Her residence was within a vehicle, covered by a sacred

An account of
the goddess
Hertus.

vestment, which stood in a holy wood in an island of the ocean. This portable temple was carried about by cows, and attended by a priest, who was in the secrets of the goddess; nor durst any mortal, besides himself, touch the vehicle. When the goddess was pleased to move abroad, every place then honoured with her presence was instantly filled with joy and festivity; all tumult and war ceased, the sword was sheathed, and tranquility then alone was known, then alone was loved. When the deity had got enough of human conversation, she returned to her temple, and then the vehicle, the vestments, and the goddess herself perhaps, are purified in a secret lake. A learned Englishman has given us a curious dissertation upon this goddess, and seems to question whether the famous monument of

A. D. 600.

By the girdle which, with the wind, streamed from him, was signified, the Saxons freedom. By the pail, with flowers and fruits, was declared, that with kindly rain he would nourish the earth, to bring forth such fruits and flowers. And the day unto which we yet give the name of Saturday, did first receive, by being unto him celebrated, the same appellation.—The Saxons had, besides these, the idol Ermenfowl in great reputation; his name of Ermenfowl, or Ermesfowl, being as much as to say, the pillar or stay of the poor. This god (or more truly devil) was made armed, standing among flowers. In his right hand he held a staff, having at it a banner, wherein was painted a red rose. In his other hand he held a pair of ballance, and upon his head was placed a cock; on his breast was carved a bear, and before his middle was fixed an escutcheon, in chief whereof was also a pair of ballance, in face a lion, and in paint a rose. And this idol the Franks and the other Germans, as well as the Saxons, did also serve and adore. And whereas Tacitus saith, that, of all the gods, the Germans especially honoured Mercury, and upon certain days offered men unto him in sacrifice. This idol (Ermenfowl) is of divers taken to be the same that the Romans interpreted for Mercury, though some others have interpreted him for Mars, and Woden (with less reason) for Mercury; for that he was held of the Saxons for their god of war, as Mercury among the Romans never was. And, in all likelihood of truth, the Romans, for some property which the Germans ascribed to their idols, might well, for the like property ascribed by them unto theirs, take them to be the very same idols; albeit, they were of the Germans called by other names, and made in other manner. And so, in like sort, hath Thor been of some interpreted for Jupiter, for that, among his other marvels, he made and caused thunder, and was chiefly honoured upon the same day whereon the Romans honoured their Jupiter. Friga is also interpreted for Venus, because, among other her qualities, she was a furtherer of friendship, and that, on the very day of her chief celebration, the Romans chiefly honoured their amiable Venus. Seater, alias Crodo, was also mistaken for Saturnus, not in regard of any saturnical quality, but because his name sounded somewhat near it, and his festival day fell jump with that of Saturn. But I can find no reason to think, that any of these were intended for such, before it pleased the Romans to interpret them so; and perhaps some of the Germans, for their idol's more honour, were afterward content to allow it so. They adored also the idol Flynt, who had that name for his being set upon a great flint stone. This idol was made like the image of death, and naked, save only a sheet about him. In his right hand he held a torch, or, as they termed it, a fire-blaze; on his head a lion rested his two fore-feet, standing with the one of his hinder-feet upon his left shoulder, and with the other in his hand, which, to support, he lifted up as high as his shoulder. Verstegan, p. 53—66.

(1) Adam Bremenensis gives a more full account of these matters. "In a temple, says he, (called in their tongue Ubsolas; the furniture whereof is all of gold) the people worship the statues of three gods. Thor, the most powerful of them, has a room by himself in the middle, and on each side of him are Woden and Fricco. The emblems of them are these: Thor they take to be the ruler of the air, and to send, as he sees convenient, thunder and lightning, winds and showers, fair weather, and fruit. Woden, the second, is more valiant; it is he that manages wars, and inspires people with courage against their enemies. Fricco, the third, presents men with peace and pleasure; and his statue is cut with a large privy member. They engrave Woden armed, as Mars is with us. Thor seems to be represented with the scepter of Jupiter."

(2) They called April by the name of Oster-monat; some think, of a goddess called Goster, whereof I see no great reason; for, if it took appellation of such a goddess (a supposed causer of the easterly winds) it seemeth to have been somewhat by some mis-written, and should rightly be Oster, and not Goster. The winds indeed, by ancient observation, were in English is East-end, hath that name from the easterly situation thereof, as to the ships it appeareth which, through the narrow seas, do come from the west. So, as our name of the feast of Easter may be as much as to say, the feast of Oster, being yet, at this present, in Saxony called Ostern, which cometh of Oster-monat, their (and our) old name of April. Verstegan, p. 48.

(3) In commune Herthum, id est, Terram matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehì populis arbitrantur. Est in infula oceani Caltum nemus, dicatum in eo vehiculum veste contectum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vestamque bubus fœminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quæcunque adventu hospitio dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt, clausum omne ferrum, pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos fatiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat, mox vehiculum et vestes, et si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror, sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident. Tacitus de moribus Germanorum.—De Hertho dea in nostrarum antiquitatum latibulis nihil reperio: ni ingentia illa saxa, quæ in planicie Salisburienfisi conspiciuntur, vestigium præferunt, faxis aliis ita aliis impositis, ut pendere quædam magis videantur, quam suffulciri: atque inde Stoneheng, i. e. Saxa pensilia, appellari. Hac templi specie terram coluere veteres. Henrici Spelmani Glossarium Archæologi-cum, p. 290.

Hanc veteres Græcùm docti cecinere poetæ
Sublimem in curru bijugos agitare leones:
Aeris in spatio magnam pendere docentes
Tellurem, neque posse in terra sistere terram.
Adjungere feras, quia quamvis effera proles
Officiis debet molliori victa parentum.
Muralique caput summum cinxere corona,
Eximiiis munita locis quia sustinet urbes:
Quo nunc insigni per magnas prædita terras
Hæc fertur divinx matris imago.

Lucret. lib. ii.

"The poets sing, that, through the heav'ns above,
"She chariots, drawn by fierce yok'd lions, drove;
"And, riding to and fro, she wanders there.
"They teach, by this, that in the spacious air
"Hangs the vast mass of earth, and needs no prop
"Of any lower earth to keep it up.
"They yoke such beasts, to shew that ev'ry child,
"Though form'd by nature fierce, untam'd, and wild,
"Softened by care and love, grows tame and mild.
"Her lofty head a mural garment wears,
"Because she towns and stately castles bears:
"And, thus adorn'd with gaudy pomp and show,
"Goes through our towns; and, as she passes through,
"The vulgar fear, and all, with reverence, bow."

Creech's Lucret. book ii. lin. 559—572.

Stone-

A. D. 600. Stone-henge, upon Salisbury-plain, might not have been a temple dedicated to her; but the reasons he gives for this opinion smell too much of the lamp. Much more to his purpose is the description left us by **Lucretius.** of this goddess, which agrees in the main with the English deity; only the attributes of the latter were much more proper than those of the former; since cows are more expressive of the earth's fertility than the lions, which the Romans yoked in her chariot.

The speculative divinity of the Saxons.

Vertegán.

As to the speculative divinity of our ancestors, it is probable they had none which in the least agreed even with the Systems of the more enlightened heathens: but, if we are to give any credit to the representations of their deities, which have been given us by modern writers, and which appear, from the German learning, to be well supported, their notions of the properties of their several deities were ingenious, and their conceptions of their qualities far from being barbarous. Thus much I have thought proper to premise with regard to the religion of our heathen ancestors; but, if the reader is solicitous to know a great many curious particulars with regard to their other deities, let him consult the notes.

The miscellaneous customs of the Saxons.

I now come to the last head I proposed, which was the miscellaneous customs of the Saxons. As this is a very large field, it is not to be supposed that we can range over it all; it is sufficient that we point out the most observable passages; and first, of their manner of living. But here we must observe, that though we have, from Tacitus, a very full account of the manners of the Germans, among whom the Saxons undoubtedly are comprehended; yet the English Saxons, who are the subjects of this disquisition, at the time they came hither, are to be considered not, with Tacitus, as an inland, but as a maritime power. The manners of a race alter greatly by the change of their situation, though their laws and religion may, in the main, be the same. There are, however, certain general characters, as I have already observed, which the Saxons and their descendants still retained from the days of Tacitus. The hospitality of the old Germans, which, we are told by that noble historian, was as great as any nation ever exercised, still survives in the middling rank of the English, who live at a distance from the vices and hurry of great cities. The

Their hospitality.

excessive drinking taken notice of by Tacitus (1), I am apt to believe, was greatly moderated by the laborious roving lives which the English Saxons were obliged to lead some time before their invasion; though it appears that they soon relapsed into all the national excesses taken notice of by the historian, after they had been for some time settled in Britain.

A. D. 600.

Their excesses in drinking.

Malt liquor we find was the favourite and natural drink with our ancestors, as it is still with the commonalty among their posterity. And they are celebrated, by Tacitus, for the great plainness and simplicity of their food; their wantonness in provoking and sporting with feats of arms, which still survives to their posterity in the exercise of boxing, so peculiar to them. But the same historian notes them for another vice, of which there is not the least vestige among the English commonalty; I mean an intemperate eagerness for games of chance, in which they were so excessive, that, after losing all their effects, they generally plaid away their persons and their liberties. The loser, though he had ever so much the superiority of youth, strength and vigour over the winner, in such cases, patiently endured to be bound and treated as a slave. The same author tells us, that slaves won by game were generally trafficked away. From this hint I am inclined to believe, that this passion for gaming subsisted long after they were settled in Britain; otherwise I am greatly of opinion that it will be very difficult for us to account why English slaves should be publicly exposed to sale on the streets of Rome, as they were in an instance I have already given. But in nothing do the modern English more resemble their German ancestors, than in the sudden fits of passion to which they were subject; and the gentleness with which they treated their inferiors, when those fits were over. Their freed-men had but few privileges above their slaves. Usually they knew no more of agriculture than as much as could barely raise corn. In their funerals they were modest, despising monumental vanities, as a load to the dead. Their mourning was soon laid aside; their grief remained long. It was decent in women to express, but in men to cherish, concern.

Malt liquor their chief drink.

Their feats of arms.

Their excessive eagerness for games of chance.

Sudden fits of passion soon over.

Their modesty in their funerals.

Hanging and drowning their capital punishments.

The ignorance of the Saxons was gross, therefore, when Christians, their transition to all the extravagances of superstition was natural. Their capital punishments were hanging and drowning, which answers to the pit and

(1) Diem noctemque continuare potando, nulli probrum. Crebræ ut inter vinolentos rixæ, raro conviciis, sæpe cæde et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de conciliandis invicem inimicis, et jungendis affinitatibus, et adsciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant: tamquam nullo magis tempore, aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalcescat. Gens non astuta nec callida, aperit adhuc secreta pectoris, licentia loci. Ergo detesta frequent quarrels, as usual, happen in their cups; but they pass seldom over with scolding, but with wounds and bloodshed. At the same time, in their carousings, they generally treat of making up animosities, cementing friendships, raising great men; in short, of all matters of peace and war; as if, at no time, the heart was more open for dealing plainly, or more fervent for acting nobly. In a race which is neither designing nor cunning, the freedom of the company farther unlocks the secrets of the heart; therefore every man is frank and open. My reader cannot be displeased to compare this character with that given us of the English yeomanry by honest Holinshed, whom we cannot suspect of stealing from Tacitus; and is as follows: "But the artificers, in cities and good townes, doe deale farre otherwyse; for albeit, that some of them doe suffer their iawes to goe oft before their clawes, and divers of the, by making good cheare, doe hinder themselves and other men; yet the wiser sort can handle the matter well ynough in these iunkettinges, and therefore their frugalitie deserueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficiently liberall, and very friendly, at their tables; and when they meete, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inwarde craft and subtilty, that it woulde doe a man good to be in companie among them." Holinshed's chronicle, fol. 95.

A. D. 600.

For lesser offences, mulcts imposed.

gallows so often mentioned in our ancient charters and laws. For lesser offences, they imposed mulcts, to be paid in horses or cattle; part of which belonged to the nation, or to the leading man, and part to the plaintiff; a custom of which we have still remarkable traces in the English laws. As to the famous trials, or ordeals, I am by no means satisfied that it was generally practised by this people at the period I now speak of; therefore I shall reserve their description to a more proper opportunity.

Account of the Saxons on their first landing in Britain.

Witichindus.

The character given of them by Paulus Diaconus, Marcellus, Zozimus, Orosius, Hegeffippus, Isidore, &c.

I shall now proceed, in the last place, to give some description of this people, as they are represented to us at or about the very time of their arrival in this island. The reader may remember I have already described them as roving about, and infesting the sea-coasts of the Franks. The monk, whom I have already quoted, gives us a very particular and lively description of them. “The Franks, says he, were amazed to see men of such vast bodies, and such great souls. They wondered at their strange habit and armour, at their hair hanging down upon their shoulders, and, above all, at their courage and resolution. Their cloaths were cassocks, their arms long spears; when they stood, they leaned upon little shields, and wore a sort of large knives hanging before.” Paulus Diaconus, in describing the Longobards, says, that “their cloaths were loose, and generally of linen cloth, such as the English Saxons use, trimmed with broad borders, wrought of several colours.” We are told, by Zozimus, that “they were considered, by the Romans, as being the bravest of all the German nations, whom they excelled in magnanimity, strength of body, and firmness of constitution.” Marcellinus says, that “the quickness of their motions rendered them the most terrible of all enemies to the Romans.” And Orosius particularly takes notice of their courage and activity. It appears, however, from the concurrent testimony of all the authors who write so late as the fourth century, that they principally relied on their maritime power. “Saxony, says an old writer, is a place inaccessible by reason of the marshes, and the frontiers of it are unpassible. But though this may

A. D. 600.

Isidore:

“seem to secure them, in great measure, against invasions, and though the captive Saxons frequently made up a part in the Roman triumphs; yet are they accounted a most stout people, excelling all others in piracies: however, in these they rely more on their fly-boats, than their courage, and make it their business not so much to fight, as to run.” In this he is followed by Isidore, who tells us, that “the Saxons, situated on the sea-shore, and among fens unpassable, are very stout, and very active; from whence they took their names, as being a hardy resolute sort of men, and, in piracy, outdoing all others.” The beauty and grace of their persons was remarkable, as may be gathered from the story already mentioned of pope Gregory. In their more early days they shaved their heads close to the skin, excepting a little about the crown, which they incircled with a plate, to make the tuft appear large and voluminous (1).

Their custom of shaving their heads.

Their piracy:

The poet I have quoted in the notes says, that they dreaded the land; and this might either happen from their being long accustomed to the sea, so that it was with reluctance they lived upon the land; or for the punishment awaiting their piracies, whenever they could be caught ashore. And indeed their dexterity in their trade was very alarming to the Roman court; and, as we have already observed, obliged them to create a count of the Saxon shore, all along the coasts of Britain and France. But the reader can never have so good an idea of the manner in which they carried on their piratical wars, as from the following fine description given us by a contemporary author (2): “The messenger, says he, with whom we had a good deal of discourse with regard to your affairs, told us, that you were lately employed in nothing but sounding charges to fight on board your ships, and acting sometimes the part of a soldier, sometimes of a sailor; and that you were winding along the crooked shores of the ocean, after the Saxon vessels. Believe me, all the rowers you see among them are so many arch-pirates; at once they command, obey, teach, and learn to rob; so that, at this juncture, there is all the reason in the world to advise you to be strictly upon your guard.

(1) This particular we have from Sidonius Apollinaris, who very happily expresses it as follows:

Istic Saxona cœrulum videmus,
 Adfuetum ante salo, solum timere,
 Cujus verticis extimas per oras,
 Non contenta suos tenere morfus,
 Altit lamina marginem comarum.
 Et sic crinibus ad cutem rescissis,
 Decrescit caput, additurque vultus.

(2) Nuncius cum quo dum tui obtenta aliquid fermocinanter extraximus, constanter asseveravit nuper vos classicum in classe cecidisse, atque inter officia nunc nautæ, modo militis, littoribus oceani curvis inerrare contra Saxonum pandos myoparones. Quorum quot remiges videris, totidem te cernere putes archipiratas: ita simul omnes imperant, parent, docent, docent latrocinari, ut nunc etiam, ut quam plurimum caveas, causa subit maxima monendi. Hostis est omni hoste truculentior. Improvisus aggreditur, provissus elabatur, spernit objectos, sternit incautos; si sequatur, intercipit, si fugiat, evadit. Ad hoc exercent illum naufragis, non terrent. Est eis quadam cum discriminibus pelagi non notitia solum, sed familiaritas. Namque ipsa si qua tempestas est, hinc securos efficit occupandos, hic prospici vetat occupaturos. In medio fluctuum scopulorumque confragolorum, spe superventus lati periclitantur. Præterea priusquam de continenti in patriam vela laxantes, hostico mordaces anchoras vado vellunt, mos est remeaturis, decimum quemque captivum per æquales, et cruciarias penas, plus ab hoc trilli, quod superstitioso ritu necare, subque collectam turbam peritorum, mortis iniquitate furtim agilitatem dispergere. Talibus se ligant votis, victimis solvant et per hujusmodi non tam sacrificia purgati, quam theologia polluti, religio tam putant cædis infamæ perpetratores de capite captivo magis exigere tormenta, quam pretia. Sidonius, lib. viii. epist. ad Namantium.

Thus englished by the right reverend editor of Camden.
 “Here ’twas we saw the purple Saxon stand,
 “Us’d to rough seas, yet shaking on the land.
 “The frozen plate that on their crown they wear,
 “In one great turf, drives up their bushy hair;
 “The rest they keep close shav’d; and thus their face
 “Appears still bigger, as their head grows less.”

A. D. 600.

A. D. 600.

“ Of all enemies they are the most dreadful. His attack is sudden, his retreat artful, he despises the opposing, he routs the unguarded, overtakes the flying, and escapes from the pursuer. Shipwrecks give him exercise, and not dread. They are not only acquainted, but familiar, with the dangers of the sea. If a tempest happens, it secures them against being attacked; or conceals them, if they are to attack others. With joy do they encounter the dangers of billows and rocks, from the prospect of success. Besides, when setting sail for their own country, they weigh anchor upon an hostile shore, their manner is to kill every tenth captive with equal and excruciating pains; a practice the more melancholy, because the effect of superstition. When the condemned are brought together in a body, they pretend to compensate the iniquity of their death by the equity of their lots. Such are their vows, and with such sacrifices are they paid.”

The last circumstance related by this author, of their decimating their captives, is, undoubtedly, no way for the honour of our ancestors, in the manner he represents it. But we are to consider, in the first place, that this is the testimony of an enemy, which, however true with regard to their courage and activity, may justly be doubted with regard to their morals. But, in the second place, admitting it to be true, the Saxons were driven by necessity, perhaps by the cruelty and tyranny of the Romans, to this way of life. Necessity was no excuse to the Romans; they declared the Saxons to be pirates; they treated them accordingly, put them to death, and often to the worst of deaths, a theatrical death, whenever they fell into their hands. Far be it from me to excuse rapine and barbarity; but, if once we admit what is laid

down by all writers and historians, that the Saxons were necessitated to quit their original lands, unable to maintain their numbers; if the pride and tyranny of a degenerated government reduced them to the melancholy alternative of starving or plundering, it would have been a degree of virtue above the fortitude of human nature, had they abstained from the latter. In what light then must they stand? The outlaws of mankind, proscribed, enslaved, and murdered. Can we then imagine that they would make no reprisals upon their enemies? Is not this a practice even in fair war? When one party gives no quarter, is not the other party, by the law of nations, warranted in the like inhumanity? The Saxons, from the words of my author, appear even moderate in their revenge, since a decimation of their captives compensated for a general slaughter of their own countrymen falling into the hands of the Romans.

But their enemies allowed them great virtues. “ The Ellani, says Salvian, a writer of those days, are immodest, but not treacherous; the Franks are treacherous, but complaisant; and the Saxons cruel, but very chaste. The ignominy of being exposed to public shame, with them, was more terrible than death itself. Symmachus, a Roman (for what can be cruel in a Roman) had doomed a great number of them, without the benefit of decimation, to fight for their lives on a public theatre; but some of the Saxons bravely disappointed this cruel vanity, by strangling themselves the day before they were to be brought upon the stage (1).”

I shall here close the account of our Saxon ancestors, before their conversion to Christianity, and now proceed in the course of this history; but, to do this with the less confusion, it will be necessary to exhibit to the reader the following

(1) Symmachus himself gives us this particular in the following words: *Saxonum numerus morte contractus. Nam quando non prohibuisset privata custodia desperatae gentis impias manus, viginti et novem fractas sine laqueo fauces primus Iudi gladiatorii dies viderit. Symmachus, lib. ii. epist. 46.*

Decimation
of captives.

This custom
vindicated
from barba-
rity.

GENERAL PLAN and DIVISION of the SAXON HEPTARCHY.

				Reigned years								
Pagans.	{	1. HENGIST,	-	-	-	31	{	11. WITHRED,	-	-	-	33
		2. ESCA,	-	-	-	24		12. EDBERT,	-	-	-	23
		3. OTTA, or OCTA,	-	-	-	20		13. EDILBERT,	-	-	-	11
		4. IMMERIC,	-	-	-	29		14. ALRIC,	-	-	-	34
Christians.	{	5. ETHELBERT,	-	-	-	56	15. EDILBERT,	-	-	-	3	
		6. EADBALD,	-	-	-	24	16. CUTHRED,	-	-	-	8	
		7. ERCOMBERT,	-	-	-	24	17. BALDRED,	-	-	-	18	
		8. EDGBERT,	-	-	-	9						
		9. LOTHAIR,	-	-	-	12						
		10. EDRIC,	-	-	-	7						

The second was the kingdom of the South Saxons, and contained Suffex and Surrey, or at least part of it. This was mostly under the power of the kings of Kent and the West Saxons, and therefore the names of but few kings are taken notice of in story, which were these :

Pagans.	{	1. ELLA, - - 2. CISSA, - - -	<div style="margin-bottom: 5px;">Reigned years</div> <div>- 32</div> <div>- 75</div>		{	Christians. 3. EDILTWACH, alias ETHELWOLF, 4. BERTHUNE. 5. AUTHUNE.	<div style="margin-top: -60px;">Reigned years</div> <div style="margin-right: 10px;">25</div>
----------------	---	--	--	--	---	---	---

The third was the kingdom of the West Saxons, and contained Cornwall (where notwithstanding were part of the remains of the Britons) Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire; and had these kings:

				Reigned years					Reigned years						
Pagans.	{	1.	CERDIC,	-	-	-	16	{	9.	KENTWIN,	-	-	-	9	
		2.	CYNRIC,	-	-	-	-		26	10.	CEDWALLA,	-	-	-	2
		3.	CEAULIN,	-	-	-	31		11.	{	INA, but 15 only; ac- cording to Lambard's Leges Inæ,	-	-	-	38
		4.	CEBRIC,	-	-	-	6								
		5.	CEOLWULF,	-	-	-	14								
Christians.	{	6.	{	CINEGILS,	-	-	-	31	{	12.	ETHELHARD,	-	-	-	14
			{	and						-	-	-	14		
		7.	{	RINCHELM,	-	-	-	1							
			{	KENEVALE,											
			{	and						-	-	-	29		
8.	{	SEXBURGE,	-	-	-	16									
	{	ESCIWIN,					-	-	-	2	17.	EDGBERT,	-	-	-

The fourth was the kingdom of the East Saxons, which contained Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. The dates of the kings reigns are not added, because there is nothing certain of them.

Pagans.	{	1. ERKENWIN. 2. SLEDDA. 3. SEBERT.					
Christians.	{	4. { SEXRED, SEWARD, SIGEBERT,	} brothers.		Christians.	{	6. SIGEBERT the Good. 7. SWITHELM. 8. SIGHER, and SEBA. 9. SIGHEARD, and SENFRED. 10. OFFA. 11. SELRED. 12. SWITHRED.
	{	5. SIGEBERT the Little.					

The fifth was the kingdom of Northumberland, which contained Lancashire, Yorkshire, the bishopric of Duresm, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and part of Scotland, as far as Edinburgh frith; and had these kings:

		Reigned years				Reigned years	
Pagans.	{	1. IDA,	-	-	-	12	
		2. ELLA,	-	-	-	30	
		3. EDELRIC,	-	-	-	4	
		4. EDELFRID,	-	-	-	24	
Christians.	{	5. EDWIN,	-	-	-	17	
		6. OSWALD,	-	-	-	9	
		7. OSWY,	-	-	-	28	
		8. EGFRID,	-	-	-	15	
		9. ALFRID,	-	-	-	19	
		10. OSRED,	-	-	-	11	

Christians.	{	11. KENRED,	-	-	-	2	
		12. OSRIC,	-	-	-	11	
		13. CEOLWULF,	-	-	-	8	
		14. EDGBERT, alias EAADBERT,	-	-	-	20	
		15. OSULF,	-	-	-	1	
		16. ETHELWALD, alias MOLLO,	-	-	-	6	
		17. ALURED,	-	-	-	9	
		18. ETHELRED, alias ETHELBERT,	-	-	-	4	
	{	19. ALFWOLD,	-	-	-	11	
	{	20. OSRED, then ETHELBERT again.	-	-	-		

The sixth was that of the East Angles, which contained Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, with the isle of Ely; and had these kings:

				Reigned years					Reigned years		
Pagans.	{	1. UFFA,	-	-	-	7	{	8. ETHELBERT.			
		2. TITIST,	-	-	-	10		9. ETHELWALD,	-	-	9
		3. REDWALD,	-	-	-	44		10. ADULF,	-	-	19
		4. EORPWALD,	-	-	-	12		11. ELFWALD,	-	-	7
		5. SIGEBERT.						12. BEORNA,	-	-	24
		6. EGRIC.						13. ETHELRED,	-	-	52
		7. ANNA,	-	-	-	13		14. ETHELBERT,	-	-	5

The seventh was the kingdom of the Mercians, which contained Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, Cheshire, and part of Hertfordshire; and had these following kings:

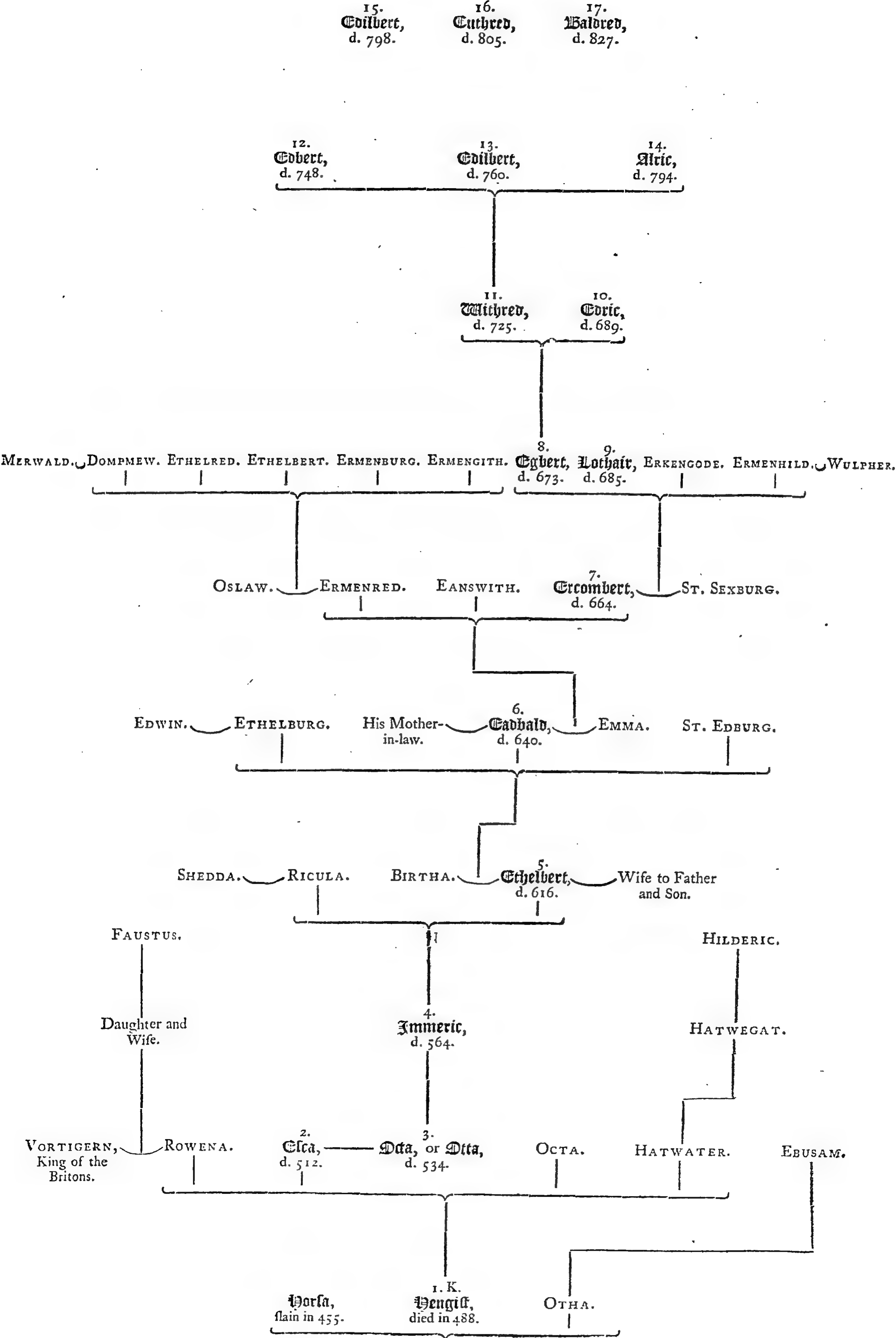
		Reigned years			Reigned years				
Pagans.	{ CRIDDA, WIBBA, CHEORL, }	petty kings.		{ 8. BEORNRED, 9. OFFA, 10. EGFER, 11. KENULF, }					
	1. PENDA.								
	2. { PEADA, and OSWY, }	dukes,		12. { KENELM, CEOLULF, }					
Christians.	3. WULFER,	-	-	16	13. BEORNULF,	-	-	-	3
	4. ETHELRED, alias ÆDIREÐ,			30	14. LUDECAN,	-	-	-	2
	5. KENRED,	-	-	4	15. WITHLAF,	-	-	-	13
	6. CEOLKED,	-	-	8	16. BERTULF,	-	-	-	13
	7. ETHELBALD,	-	-	41	17. BURRTRED,	-	-	-	22
					18. CEOLWULF.				

It began under Cridda, A. D. 582, under Penda, A. D. 625; it ended A. D. 874, and continued 292 years.

Of these in order.

The

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE of the KINGS of KENT.



The KINGDOM of KENT.

A. D. 597(*).

HAVING already brought the history of this kingdom, so far as we know of it, down to the arrival of Augustin the monk, I shall now proceed to give the reader the history of Ethelbert's conversion. As I look upon it as a civil transaction, happening without the pale of the British church at this time, and attended with great consequences in the state, it comes more properly in here, than in the history of the church.

Augustin, arriving in the isle of Thanet, sends interpreters to the Kentish court.

Baronius, tom. 8. ad Am. 587.

Ethelbert's private attachment to Christianity.

See page 108.

Augustin arriving in the isle of Thanet, was attended, interpreters included, by a train of about forty persons. No sooner was he landed, than he sent one of his interpreters to the Kentish court, then the most splendid in Britain, declaring, that he came from Rome with an offer of eternal happiness to those who should embrace his doctrine. I have already observed the great probability of the favourable dispositions the Saxons then entertained in favour of the Christian religion. If I may speak my own sentiments, Ethelbert was privately acquainted with the purport of this message before it came. Clotaire, king of the Franks, father to his queen BIRTHA, was a zealous Christian, and had educated his daughter in all the strictness of his own faith. In consequence of this, he had taken care, by the marriage articles, to secure her the liberty of her religion; and there was actually at court a bishop, named LUDHARDUS, who officiated as her chaplain and confessor. She had likewise the church of St. Martin (1), in the suburbs of Canterbury, allowed her for the celebration of divine service. From all those circumstances it appears, that the missionaries were in no great danger of martyrdom, since they had so strong an advocate on their side as a wife dear to Ethelbert, not only personally, but politically. Add to this what we are told by an English historian: "After the marriage of Ethelbert with BIRTHA, says he, the Saxons, by their intercourse with the French, began to cultivate the same way of living, daily to rid themselves of their barbarous notions, and to slide into gentler manners. We may add to this, continues he, that LUDHARDUS, the bishop who came along with the queen, by the sanctity of his life, was a silent advocate for the truth of Christianity. By these means it happened, that the king's mind being softened, easily yielded to Augustin's preaching (2)."

(*) The reader will easily see the reason why here, and through the history of the heptarchy, the chronology is often repeated.

(1) The church of St. Martin is much celebrated, both for the great antiquity of it, and also for the resort of Augustin and his fellow-labourers thither to their devotion at their first arrival, by the licence of king Ethelbert, imparted to them in favour of queen BIRTHA his wife (a Christian, and descended of Christian parentage, being the daughter of Chilperike, king of France) to whom this church (built long before, to wit, as Bede saith, by the Romans, as some say, indeed, seems very ancient, being built (the chancel especially) mostly of British or Roman brick, the noted relics and tokens of old age in any kind of building, whether sacred or profane. Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 64, 65.

(2) Tum vero Francorum contubernio gens haec tenus barbara ad unas consuetudines confederata, silvestres animos indies exuere, et ad leniores mores declinare. His addebatur Letardi episcopi, qui cum regina venerat celebs admodum, vita, qua regem ad Christi domini cognitionem etiam tacens invitabat: quo factum est, ut postea beato Augustino praedicanti regis animus jam emollitus facile cederet. Williel. Malmesbur. fol. 4.

But there were, perhaps, other concurrent reasons, which had great effect in determining the royal convert to this step. His ambition had already drawn upon him jealousy and ill-will from the cotemporary princes of his own nation. He had joined with the Britons in subduing Ceaulin, which could not but sensibly affect the other Saxons, however they might stifle their resentment. Neither can we suppose his marriage to have been a matter overlooked by the princes of the confederacy; and his injustice to the orphan prince of Mercia, with the restitution he was obliged to make, is a proof that he thought himself too weak alone to resist. It was, therefore, wise and politic in Ethelbert to think of strengthening himself by some other alliances. His declaring himself a Christian could not but have the best effect upon the Britons, averse chiefly through difference in religion. This step likewise secured him, upon all occasions, a powerful supply from the continent, his own dominions lying most commodious of any in Britain for receiving foreign succours. It had indeed been to be wished, that another instrument had been employed in the means of his conversion, than one devoted to papal superstition and power, as Augustin was. But then we are to consider the great influence which the see of Rome, by this time, had obtained with all the princes on the continent; and that Ethelbert was in the arms of a wife, whose conscience was directed by a bishop, perhaps a creature, of the same power.

Ethelbert receiving Augustin's message, did not immediately grant him audience, but ordered him to be furnished with all kind of necessaries in the isle of Thanet. The missionaries, all this time, lay in the open air, fearful of necromantic practices, should they enter a house, say our credulous historians; but this, perhaps, was only an artful pretence to move the king the sooner to give them audience. Ethelbert was too polite to keep them long in this inconvenience; he soon came to the island, where the missionaries appeared before him with all the foppery of degenerating religion. The ceremonial of their audience proved them the ambassadors of Gregory, rather than of Christ; and their exhortations to the king seem rather formal than essential. Ethelbert, however, was too cautious to venture upon an immediate declaration in their favour. He very wisely told them,

A. D. 597.

Political reasons for Ethelbert's declaring himself a Christian.

Ethelbert orders Augustin and his fellow-missionaries to be furnished with all necessaries.

A. D. 597.

and gives
them a re-
sidence in
Canterbury.

that all the favour he could now shew them, was protection, and fair liberty of making as many profelytes of his subjects as they could. At the same time, he ordered them to be provided in every thing, and a residence in Canterbury, the capital of his dominions. The industry of the court of Rome, in making profelytes, never was questioned. I am willing to believe, that neither the missionaries, nor the principal, had those interesting motives, in this mission, which latter ages have produced in others; and that the church of Rome was then a stranger to many of its modern superstitions and impieties: but, at the same time, it cannot be dissembled that the principles of arrogance and ambition were, by this time, laid in that see, and even the virtues of its possessors served to encourage and increase them. In short, the difference between Gregory and his successors, in point of politics, is, that he thought he was advancing the honour of God, while he was enlarging the power of his see; while his successors used the former as the means to compass the latter.

Their success.

A religion built upon the principles of self-denial, required the practice of this virtue to recommend it. Augustin, and his company, were no sooner brought to the houses assigned them, than they endeared themselves to the people by the purity of their manners, and the disinterestedness of their conduct. The missionaries took every opportunity of preaching in the queen's chapel of St. Martin's, when all had free admission. Their labours soon gained such a number of converts, that the king was under no apprehension as to the consequences that might attend his publicly declaring himself in favour of Christianity. I forbear speaking of the miracles which are said to have contributed to this.

Ethelbert declares himself
a Christian,

and enlarges
the privileges
of the mission-
aries.

The king, having declared his conversion, enlarged the liberty of the missionaries. Their labours were now extended through all parts

of the city and the country. Their success was great; and the greater, because the effect not of compulsion, but persuasion. Ethelbert was too wise to proceed to force; whatever success might have attended it, his footing, as a Christian king, must have been fallacious, and, in the end, have proved fatal. However, his own example in the zealous practice of the Christian duties, and the distinctions of favour he bestowed upon the missionaries, had, no doubt, a wonderful effect in the general success attending their labours. The pope himself, according to the venerable historian, rewarded the piety of Ethelbert, not only by ghostly counsels, but by several presents of value. The rest of this Augustin's actions and behaviour, together with the churches he built, the priests he ordained, and the preferments he met with, shall be mentioned in the ecclesiastical history. There we shall have an opportunity of seeing the wonderful art by which the papal interest in Britain grew.

A. D. 597.

His example
encourages
more profe-
lytes.

As to the remainder of Ethelbert's civil history, there is reason to believe, that this step served to confirm his power. The disputes between the British and the Romish clergy, shall likewise be taken notice of in the ecclesiastical history. But we must here inform the reader, that the pontifical pride of Augustin, increasing with his success, had almost raised a general flame through all Britain. Ethelbert, after his conversion, by the advice and consent of the wisest men of his kingdom, ordered some laws to be drawn up, and ingrossed in the English language, for the better government both of the church and state. As they are the most early digest I know of the English Saxon laws, and in themselves very remarkable, they deserve a place in the notes, because the reader will thereby have an opportunity of consulting a kind of a commentary upon the more general laws and customs I have taken notice of in my description of the Saxons (1).

He orders
laws to be
drawn up.

The remarkable event of this prince's conversion

(1) I. Let sacrilege be compensated twelve-fold; the theft of the goods of a bishop, eleven-fold; of the goods of a priest, nine-fold; of those of a deacon, six-fold; of those of a clerk, three-fold; the violation of the peace of a church, two-fold; and of that of a monastery, two-fold.

II. If the king call an assembly of his people, and any damage be done to them there, let it be repaid two-fold, and fifty shillings be paid to the king.

III. If the king is at an entertainment in any one's house, and any damage be done there, let it be compensated two-fold.

IV. If a freeman steal any thing from the king, let him compensate it nine-fold.

V. Let him that killeth a man in the city of the king be amerced in fifty shillings.

VI. Let him that killeth a freeman pay fifty shillings to the king for his loss of a subject.

VII. If any one kill the servants of the king's master-smiths or butler, let him pay the ordinary mulct.

VIII. Let the violation of the king's patronage be compensated with fifty shillings.

IX. If a freeman steal any thing from a freeman, let him repay it three-fold; let a mulct be imposed, and all his goods confiscated to the king.

X. If a man lie with the king's maid-servant, being a virgin, let him compensate her virginity with fifty shillings.

XI. If she be a grinding-maid, let the compensation be twenty-five shillings; if of the third rank, twelve.

XII. Let the violation of the chastity of the king's victualling-maid be compensated with twenty shillings.

XIII. Let him that killeth a man in the city of an earl be amerced in twelve shillings.

XIV. If a man lie with a maid that is an earl's cup-bearer, let him compensate her virginity with twelve shillings.

XV. Let the violation of the patronage of a yeoman be compensated with six shillings.

XVI. Be the violation of the chastity of a maid that is a yeoman's cup-bearer, compensated with six shillings; that of a yeoman's other maid-servants, with fifty scættas; and of those of the third rank, thirty scættas.

XVII. Let him that first breaketh into another man's house be amerced in six shillings, the second in three shillings, and each of the rest in one shilling.

XVIII. If any one lend a man arms where there is a quarrel, though no harm be done thereby, let him be amerced in six shillings.

XIX. If robbery be committed, be it compensated with six shillings.

XX. But if a man be killed, let the murderer compensate his death with twenty shillings.

XXI. If a man kill another, be the ordinary mulct of an hundred shillings imposed upon him.

XXII. If a man kill another at an open grave, let him compensate his death with twenty shillings, besides the ordinary mulct, which he must pay within forty days.

XXIII. If the homicide fly his country, let his relations pay half the ordinary mulct.

XXIV. Let him that bindeth a freeman make a compensation of twenty shillings.

XXV. Let

Ab A. D. 597 conversion has, as usual, by its lustre, eclipsed all the civil actions which followed: for the monks, who are now the only historians of those days, tell us no more of this prince, than that he paid his debt to nature on the 24th of February, 616, after reigning fifty-six years, twenty-one of which he was a Christian.

He is succeeded by his son Eadbald. His degeneracy. He marries his mother-in-law.

his bed; but this lady was not the virtuous BIRTHA, she having died before her husband. We are told, that the infamy of this incest has prevented the lady's name from being known to posterity; but we are acquainted by others, that her name was Emma, and that she was the daughter of a French prince. This step, together with an open contempt of Christianity, was a great stumbling-block to the new converts, and turned many from the faith. At the same time we are to remember the history says, that this prince was a lunatic. This conduct, together with his own character, brought him into such contempt, that the Saxon princes threw off

Ab A. D. 616
Ad A. D. 639.
[Notæ ad Bedam, Ed. Smith, l. ii. c. 5.]
Openly renounces Christianity.

- XXV. Let the murderer of a yeoman's guest compensate his death with six shillings.
XXVI. But if the landlord killeth his chief guest, let him compensate his death with eighty shillings.
XXVII. If he kills the second, let him make a compensation of sixty shillings; if the third, of forty.
XXVIII. If a freeman cut down a hedge, let him make a compensation of six shillings.
XXIX. If a man take away a thing kept within a house, let him compensate it three-fold.
XXX. If a freeman break over a hedge, let him make a compensation of four shillings.
XXXI. Let him that killeth a man make compensation; according to the true valuation, in current money.
XXXII. If a freeman lie with a freeman's wife, let him make amends for his crime, by buying another wife for the injured party.
XXXIII. If a man prick another in the right thigh, let him compensate the same.
XXXIV. If he catches him by the hair, let him pay fifty scættas.
XXXV. If the bone appear, let him make a compensation of three shillings.
XXXVI. If the bone be hurt, let him make a compensation of four shillings.
XXXVII. If the bone be broke, let him make a compensation of ten shillings.
XXXVIII. If both be done, let him make a compensation of twenty shillings.
XXXIX. If the shoulder be lamed, be it compensated with twenty shillings.
XL. If he is made deaf of an ear, let twenty-five shillings compensate it.
XLI. If the ear be cut off, be it compensated with twelve shillings.
XLII. If the ear be bored through, let three shillings be the compensation.
XLIII. If the ear be clipped off, be six shillings the compensation.
XLIV. If the eye be struck out, let fifty shillings compensate it.
XLV. If the mouth or eye be injured, let twelve shillings make a compensation.
XLVI. If the nose be bored through, let nine shillings be the compensation.
XLVII. If but one membrane is bored, be three shillings the compensation.
XLVIII. If both, be six shillings the compensation.
XLIX. If both nostrils are slit, let each be compensated by six shillings.
L. If bored, by six shillings.
LI. Let him that cutteth off the chin-bone make a compensation of twenty shillings.
LII. For each of the four fore-teeth be compensated six shillings; for the one that stands next, four shillings; for the next, three shillings; and for each of the rest, one shilling: if it be an impediment to his speech, be twelve shillings compensated; and if the jaw-bone be broke, six shillings.
LIII. Be the bruising of a man's arm compensated with six shillings, and the breaking of it with six shillings.
LIV. If the thumb be cut off, let it be compensated with twenty shillings; the nail of the thumb, with three shillings; the fore-finger, with eight shillings; the mid-finger, with four shillings; the ring-finger, with six shillings; the little-finger, with eleven shillings.
LV. For each nail, a shilling.
LVI. For the least blemish, three shillings; and for greater ones, six shillings.
LVII. If any one give another a blow on the nose with his fist, three shillings.
LVIII. If it be wounded, one shilling.
LIX. If the stroke be black without the cloaths, let it be compensated with thirty scættas; if within the cloaths, with twenty scættas.
LX. If the diaphragm be wounded, let it be compensated by twelve shillings; if bored, by twenty.
LXI. If one is made to halt, let it be compensated by thirty shillings.
LXII. If one wound the callus, let thirty shillings be the recompence.
LXIII. If a man's privy member be cut-off, let it be compensated by thrice the ordinary mulct; if it is bored, by six shillings; if cut, by six shillings.
LXIV. If a man's thigh be broke, let twelve shillings be the recompence; if it is lamed, let the friends judge.
LXV. If a rib be broke, let it be compensated with three shillings.
LXVI. If the thigh be pricked, for every prick be paid six shillings; if it be an inch deep, one shilling; if two inches, two shillings; if above three inches, three shillings.
LXVII. If a vertebra be wounded, let it be compensated with three shillings.
LXVIII. If the foot be cut off, with fifty shillings.
LXIX. If the great toe be cut off, with ten shillings.
LXX. For each of the rest of the toes, be paid half the price, as is enacted of the fingers.
LXXI. Let thirty scættas compensate the nail of the great toe, and ten scættas each of the rest.
LXXII. If a free-woman, wearing her hair, do any thing dishonourable, let her compensate it by thirty shillings.
LXXIII. Let the compensation of a virgin be the same as that of a freeman.
LXXIV. Let the violation of the patronage of the chief widow of a noble family be compensated by fifty shillings; of the next, with twenty: of the third, by twelve; and of the fourth, by six.
LXXV. If a man marry a widow who is not at her own disposal, let him twice compensate the violated patronage.
LXXVI. If a man buy a maid with his money, let her stand for bought, if there is no fraud in the bargain; but if there be, let her be returned home, and the purchaser's money restored him.
LXXVII. If she bring forth any live issue, let her have half of the man's goods, if he die first.
LXXVIII. If she has a mind to depart, with her children, let her have the half of his estate.
LXXIX.
LXXX. If she have no issue, let her relations have the goods and the dowry.
LXXXI. If a man take a maid by force, let him pay fifty shillings to her first master, and afterwards redeem her according to his pleasure.
LXXXII. If she be before betrothed to another, let him make a recompence of twenty shillings.
LXXXIII. If she be with child, let him pay thirty-five shillings, and fifteen shillings to the king.
LXXXIV. If a man lie with the wife of a servant, while her husband is alive, let him make a double recompence.
LXXXV. If a slave kill another slave, being innocent, let him compensate his death with all his substance.
LXXXVI. If a servant's eye and foot be struck off, let it be compensated.
LXXXVII. If a man bind another's servant, let him make a recompence of six shillings.
LXXXVIII. Let the robbing of a servant be compensated with three shillings.
LXXXIX. If a servant steal any thing, let him restore the same double.

Ab A. D. 639 all the allegiance they had professed to his father. But Laurentius, successor to St. Augustin in the see of Canterbury, was bold enough to make very strong remonstrances

By the remonstrances of Laurentius, he is won over to Christianity.

to him upon his conduct. He had the good fortune, it seems, to take the king in a lucid interval, won him over to the profession of Christianity, and, as a mark of his sincerity, to divorce his incestuous spouse. The example of the king, ever prevalent among subjects, wrought strongly in favour of Christianity; but he never was able to recover the dependency of the Saxon princes upon his family. His large donatives to the church, his exemplary life and pious recantation, make up the remaining sum of all his history. We are told by William of Malmesbury, that though he was blameless in his conduct after his reformation, yet he never could rise to his father's greatness. But, notwithstanding the zeal both of this prince and his father, it appears to me, as if they had still tolerated in their kingdoms the Pagan idolatry. This prince died in the twenty-third year of his reign (which answers to the year 639 or 640) leaving behind him two sons, Eormered and Ercombert.

He dies.

He is succeeded by his youngest son Ercombert,

who proves a zealous Christian.

Simeon of Durham informs us, that, by the destination of Eadbald, the youngest succeeded. As to the reason of this we are at a loss, unless we suppose, that the elder was a son of the incestuous marriage, or that the father, having the power to set aside the right of primogeniture, appointed the youngest for his successor, because of his zeal for religion. Whatever is in this, Ercombert approved himself a zealous professor of Christianity, by demolishing the heathen temples, and enforcing the observation of Lent. His wife was Sexburga, daughter to Anare, the king of the East Angles: his issue, Egbert and Lothar; Ermenhild, who was afterwards married to the king of Mercia, and Erkengode, a nun in France. As to the elder brother of this prince, it appears, that both he and his issue were unfortunate; the father dying untimely, and the sons being murdered treacherously.

Egbert acts as guardian to his two young nephews.

Employs one Thuner to murder them.

For it appears, that the late king, either through remorse or policy, promised the succession to the children of his elder brother; but himself died in possession. The nonage of the two youths gave their uncle (Egbert) a plausible pretence of acting as the guardian of the kingdom. Jealous ambition could not bear the reflection, that those two royal stems might one day grow up to over-top his own glory. With detestable policy therefore (and the more detestable, in that it appears he previously thought of atoning for guilt by religion) he employed one Thuner, who was great enough to be above fear of punishment here, and wicked enough to be above it hereafter, to murder the royal innocents. Then he ordered their bodies to be thrown into a river. But this precaution was not able to stifle the cry of blood. Their bodies, thrown up, were decently interred, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring coast, in the abbey of

Ramsay. But the death of those young princes was not sufficient to quiet the jealousy of Egbert; their sister Dorneva was still alive, and married to the king of Mercia. The Saxon laws, in those days, did not preclude women from rule; she therefore must be satisfied. There is no doubt, that the detestation of his subjects would have rendered it very practicable for the lady to have given him great trouble; but she, not choosing to trust her claim to the chance of war, came to a treaty; in which, with an air of compunction, he offered to give her her own terms. The lady, as the story goes, was satisfied with asking as much ground in property as a hind, which she kept, could run over, in one day, in the isle of Thanet. The king, glad of so easy a composition, ordered every thing to be got ready for executing the grant next day. Accordingly, he himself, his niece, and his court, went over to the island, where the hind was let loose. The circuit of her course, if we may believe an accurate survey, amounted to no less than forty-eight plough of lands, or a third part of the island. At the same time it appears, from the account of Simeon of Durham, (though, after the manner of his age, it is interlarded with superstition) that the bloody nobleman who had murdered the royal infants, was here killed by order of the king; and his body, as was the British custom in mark of detestation, buried under a cairn, or heap of loose stones, in a place which is still called Thunerthleap, from the name of the traitor. The land, according to my authors, thus acquired, endowed a monastery built by the same lady, in which she herself presided as prioress. As to Egbert, we have nothing more of him recounted so bad as we have seen; but we are told in general, that he lived peaceably the rest of his days, and died, after reigning nine years. His death is fixed to the year 673; his issue, Edric and Withred.

Ab A. D. 673
Ad A. D. 686.

Their sister Dorneva comes to a treaty with Egbert. [Simeon of Durham, Camden.] Her demand.

Egbert orders Thuner to be killed.

His death.

But he was succeeded in his throne by Lothar, his brother, who, in imitation of Egbert, supplanted his nephews, through the pretence of their nonage. His reign, however, was short and boisterous. Ethelred, the prince of Mercia, either in right of Egbert's sons, or from some family claim, invaded his dominions; and one of the young princes, escaping out of his hands, fled to the South Saxons, who generously assisted him with an army to recover his right. A general battle ensued, in which the uncle was mortally wounded by a dart, and soon after died, in the year 685, after reigning eleven years and seven months. This prince, by his character, seems to have been abandoned to all manner of impiety; and we are told, that he generally derided the people who used to bewail his nephew, murdered by his brother's order, or at least connivance. He had associated with himself a son, whose name was Richard, who had not spirit enough, on his father's defeat, to make any struggle; but fled to Germany, where his adventures proved a copious theme to the monks.

who is killed in battle.

His character.

Edric

Ab A. D. 686

Ad A. D. 760.

Edric suc-
ceeds him.Ceadwalla in-
vades Kent;
[Speed's chro-
nicle.]
but is bravely
repulsed.

Thorn. chron.

Edric's death.

Withred suc-
ceeds.Associates
with himself
Swebheard,

and dies.

Edbert the
next king of
Kent,succeeded by
Edilbert,and he by Al-
ric.

Edric reigned but two years, and those full of tumult and commotion, occasioned, no doubt, by the party of the late king, and the various disputes about the succession. In short, Ceadwalla, the West Saxon, taking occasion of those intestine motions, entered Kent, and laid it waste with fire and sword. The inhabitants, however, getting together, made a brave opposition, defeated the West Saxons, and burned to death Mollo, brother to their king. We are told, by William of Malmesbury, that, despising his enemy, this prince went, with no more than twelve men in his company, to plunder a house, where, being surrounded by the Kentish men, they perished in the flames. But more probable it is, that he received a defeat in besieging Canterbury; and, being obliged to retire to a certain house, was surrounded, and perished in the flames.

The distractions of the kingdom of Kent, however, rather increasing than abating, upon his death, no prince of the Hengist family was hardy enough to assume the government; so that there was an interregnum of about six years. At last, in 693, Withred, the younger brother to the late king, took upon him the government; and purchased, first, the good opinion of his subjects by his wisdom, and next, their peace by his money. We are told, that he associated with himself in the kingdom one Swebheard, or Webheard; but who this person was does not appear; only we find, that he died in the year 695. Withred, being now sole king of Kent, behaved with great prudence and equanimity. He was particularly a great benefactor to the church; and died, after reigning thirty (or, as Bede says, three and thirty) years, leaving behind him three sons, Edbert, Edilbert, and Alric.

Edbert succeeded, in the year 726, both to his father's kingdom and virtues. Little is recounted of this prince, beside his peaceable government; but this we may easily account for, when we consider, that this kingdom was now reduced to so low a pass, as to excite neither the ambition nor jealousy of neighbouring princes.

He was succeeded, in the year 749 (but, by the Saxon chronicle, 748) by his brother Edilbert (1), who likewise imitating the pacific disposition of his immediate ancestors, died, after a reign of eleven years, without any issue; and was buried, according to some writers, at Canterbury, and, according to others, at Reculver.

The last Kentish prince of the Hengist family was Alric, the third son of Withred, and younger brother to the two preceding princes, who succeeded in the year 760. During his reign the affairs of his kingdom were greatly distressed; the neighbouring

princes taking all opportunities of attacking Alric, by degrees reduced his power to a narrow compass. However, he made one stand, and that was at Otford, against the king of Mercia. But the fortune of the latter prevailed; a great slaughter ensued of the Kentish-men; and the Mercian would certainly have put himself in possession of the crown, had it not been that the other Saxon princes were jealous, lest so great an accession of power should endanger the balance of the heptarchy. This Alric is said to have reigned thirty-four years, and to have associated with himself Alcmun, a prince of the Hengist family, who died before him.

This crown, says William of Malmesbury, upon the extinction of the Hengist race, became the prey of every impudent pretender, to whom art had given riches, or faction power. One Edilbert, surnamed Prin, being the most fortunate of those competitors, sat two years upon the throne. Cenulph, king of Mercia, the constant terror of Kent, could not let slip so fair an opportunity of renewing his ravages. Accordingly he invaded Kent with a powerful army, and laid it waste from one corner to the other. But Edilbert, getting together what troops he could, gave him battle, in which Cenulph took him prisoner. The Saxon chronicle tells us, that Cenulph, after putting Edilbert into fetters, carried him into Mercia, where he ordered his eyes to be put out, and his hands to be cut off. But other authors acquaint us, that, at the [Speed.] dedication of a church at Winchcomb, in presence of ten dukes and thirteen bishops, he released him at the high altar, without either entreaty or ransom of redemption. William of Malmesbury says, that soon after his captivity he was released, but his Kentish subjects would not receive him; and that the manner of his death is un-
certain.

The kingdom of Kent now became tributary to that of Mercia. Cenulph bestowed it upon one Cuthred, a creature of his own, who made shift to sit on the throne amidst all the civil commotions which shook it; and died in the year 805, after an inglorious reign of eight years.

Baldred was the son of Cuthred, and suffered to succeed his father in the kingdom of Kent. In his reign the Saxon heptarchy was dissolved. This prince, being defeated by Egbert, fled over the Thames, leaving his dominions to the mercy of the conqueror, without ever being heard of after. Thus this kingdom ended, after continuing under a separate, though not an independent, government, three hundred and seventy-two years, it becoming after that a province to the West Saxons.

Ab A. D. 760
Ad A. D. 823.Edilbert
usurps the
kingdom two
years;is taken pri-
soner by
Cenulph,

[Speed.]

and dies.

Cuthred's
reign.Baldred the
last king of
Kent.

(1) Mr. Rapin, without any authority I know of, has made those two brothers joint kings till the year 748. He has indeed quoted the Saxon chronicle, and Florentius Wiggornienfis, upon the margin; but I do not find in them a syllable that favours this assertion. Matthew of Westminster indeed tells us, that Ethelbert and Beorna divided between them the kingdom of the Eastern Saxons, upon the death of Ethelword; a circumstance which has been misrepresented by the annotations upon the Saxon chronicle.

The Kingdom of SUSSEX, or the SOUTH SAXONS.

Ab A. D. 491
Ad A. D. 685.

The extent of
the kingdom
of Suffex.
Ella its first
king.

He is suc-
ceeded by
Cissa.

who builds
Chichester and
Cisbury.

Ceaulin feizes
the kingdom
of the South
Saxons,

who, attempt-
ing the reco-
very of their
independency,

are worsted in
a general bat-
tle by Ceol-
wulf.
Adelwalch fet
upon the
throne.

He is taken
prisoner by
Wulpher,

who makes
him a Christi-
an, gives him
his liberty,
with the pos-
session of the
isle of Wight
and the terri-
tory of the
Meanvari.

IN the general account we have given of the Saxon settlements here, the reader will be informed of the foundation of this kingdom. It was small in territory, comprehending only the counties of Suffex and Surrey. Ella, its first monarch, as we have already seen, was the chief of the Saxon confederacy after the death of Hengist; but his family was so short-lived on this petty throne, that some English writers have not even given them a place among the Saxon monarchs.

Cissa, his son, succeeded him, in the year 514. This prince, contented with the quiet possession of a power, the foundations of which were laid in so much recent slaughter, chose to pay a quota, in money or troops, to Cerdic, king of Wesssex, who succeeded Ella as the head of the Saxons. By this means he kept the flames of war from catching his own country, while Cerdic was thereby enabled to repel and subdue the Britons. Not only his life, but his reign, was beyond the age commonly indulged to mankind. The only actions he is recorded for is, his building of Chichester and Cisbury; the one for the resort of his people, the other for indulgence of repose; and, as we are told, strongly fortified. His reign, if we are to believe authors, continued seventy-six years. The year of his death is fixed to 590.

Ceaulin, the king of Wesssex, then seized this kingdom. The progress of his wars we have already seen; so that it is sufficient for us to inform the reader here, that, after the defeat and exile of this prince, Ceolric, his nephew and successor, still retained possession of Suffex. It would appear, however, that some of the old family still remained, since we find the South Saxons making several efforts for recovering their independency. We are told by Henry of Huntingdon, that they fought a general battle against Ceolwulf, another prince of Wesssex; in which, after both armies had suffered inexpressible loss, the South Saxons were worsted. Notwithstanding this, the South Saxons took the advantage of the distractions of their neighbours, who held them in subjection, to place Adelwalch upon the throne. This prince was attacked by Wulpher, king of Mercia; and, after a battle, was taken prisoner. But this captivity proved a happy event to him, both in a spiritual and a temporal sense: for Wulpher, being a zealous Christian, laboured so earnestly with his royal prisoner, that he converted him to the Christian faith. This conversion was followed by a very profitable adoption: for Wulpher, considering him in a religious sense as his own son, gave him his liberty; and, with his liberty, the isle of Wight, and the province of the Meanvari in Hampshire, now comprehending the hun-

dreds of Meansbrough, Eastmean, Westmean, and Mansbridge. The venerable historian tells us, that, at this time, the South Saxons were Pagans; but that, by the labours of one Dicol, a Scotch monk, and the good bishop Wilfred, whose prayers relieved them from a grievous famine, they were converted to the faith. But the reader will observe here, that this Dicol, together with five or six of his brethren, lived at Bosenham in Suffex, where they professed Christianity. From this circumstance it appears, that this province was not entirely Pagan. We are told, that this same king Adelwalch was very grateful to Wilfred; he made him a present of the peninsula of Selsey, which contained eighty-seven families, where the bishop founded a monastery. But Adelwalch did not long enjoy his territory; for in the year (1) 685 it was invaded by Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons. Adelwalch, gathering together what forces he could, encountered the invader, but was killed in battle; and this unhappy kingdom then suffered all the miseries of devastation. Bede tells us, that this happened while Ceadwalla, who was a youth of the blood royal among the West Saxons, was in banishment. The Saxon chronicle fixes the devastation of Kent, under the two brothers, to the year 686; and tells us, that in that year this prince attacked the isle of Wight. Now, as the Saxon annals, and the general consent of our historians, have fixed the death of Kentwin (Ceadwalla's predecessor) to the year 685, and the succession of Ceadwalla to the same year, I should be apt to consider the latter as something more than a wandering fugitive, especially when it will otherwise be difficult to account for the manner in which this army was raised. But of this more hereafter.

Upon the death of Adelwalch, Ceadwalla seized upon his kingdom. Bertune and Autune, two men of great authority in that country, were, at that time, at the head of the South Saxon troops in Kent, and had gained the battle against Lothar. It was in their absence that Adelwalch, rashly encountering with Ceadwalla, was killed. But the two generals, returning triumphant from their expedition, prevented the ambitious views of Ceadwalla, and drove him out of their country, though not from his design of subduing it. Accordingly he renewed his incursions, and Bertune was slain in battle.

It is uncertain whether these two generals were of the South Saxon royal family, or not. I am apt to believe they were not; and that the exigences of state, and the public distractions, obliged them to take upon them the government: accordingly they are reckoned among the kings of this territory. We are told, that Autune pos-

Ab A. D. 685
Ad A. D. 725.

His kingdom
is invaded and
ravaged by
Ceadwalla,
and himself
killed in bat-
tle.

Ceadwalla
feizes the
kingdom, but

Bertune and
Autune drive
him out.
He renews his
incursions.

Bertune slain
in battle.

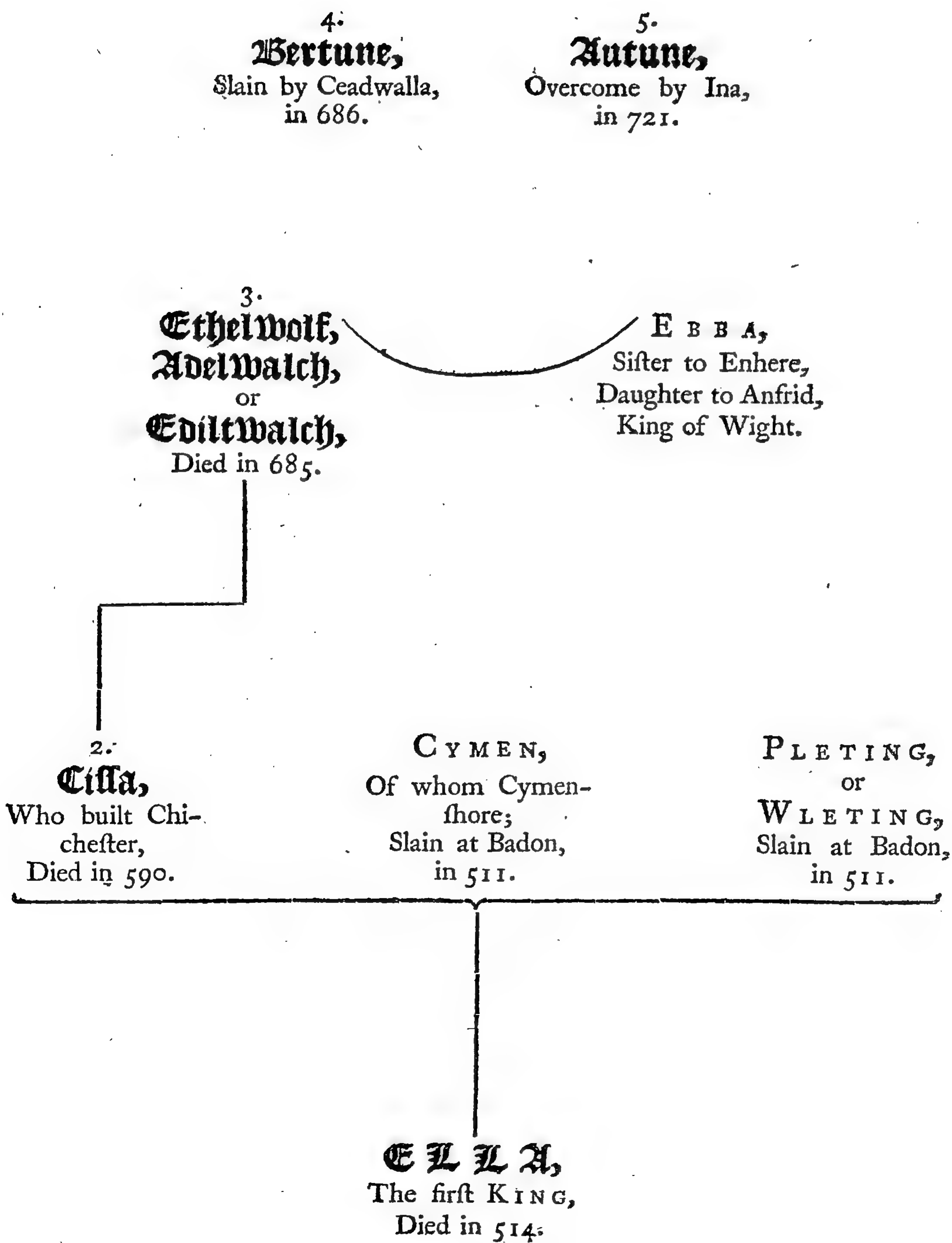
(1) Rapin tells us here, that it appears, by the Saxon annals, Adelwalch was upon the throne of Wesssex in the year 686; but I find no such thing in them.

A

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

KINGS of the SOUTH SAXONS.



1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

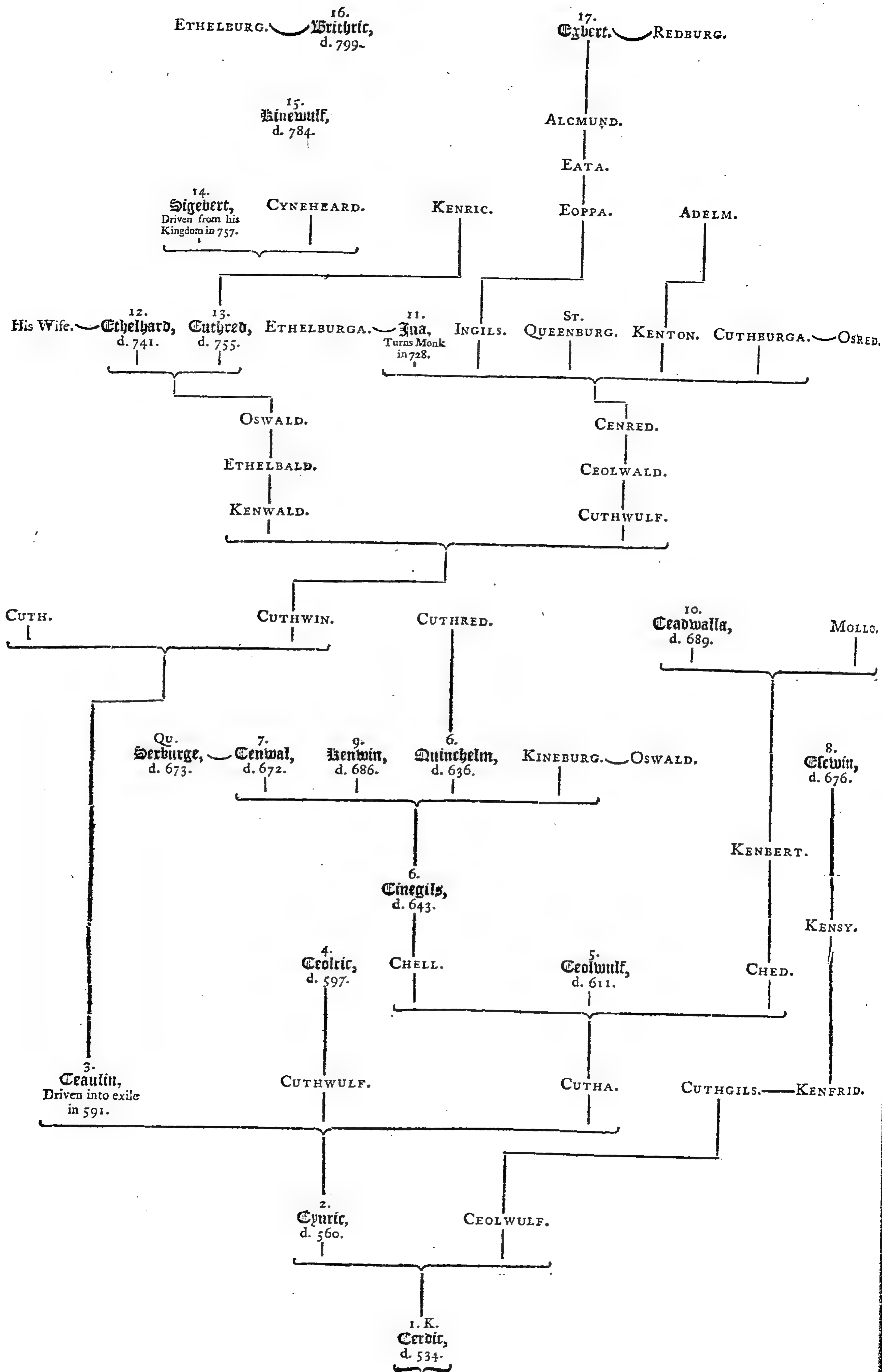
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
U.S.A.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE of the KINGS of WESSEX.



Ab A. D. 685 fessed the kingdom after the death of his colleague. But Ceadwalla's power was now so great, as the venerable historian remarks, that, after the death of Bertune, that kingdom was most miserably harrassed. There is some reason for believing, that Autune held it of Ceadwalla. Upon his death, the South Saxons came entirely under the West Saxon power, but not without some struggles to recover their independency: for we are told by the Saxon chronicles, that Ealbreth, or, as Matthew of Westminster calls him, Eadbert, being driven from Taunton in Somersetshire, took refuge among the South Saxons; upon which Ina, the powerful king of Wessex, marching an

Autune remains sole possessor of the kingdom, who probably held it of Ceadwalla.

Ealbreth takes refuge among the South Saxons,

who are defeated by Ina,

army into Suffex, encountered and subdued them, in the year 722. In the year 725, the same Ealbreth renewed the war against Ina; but the latter giving him battle, killed him, and united the West Saxon kingdom to his own.

Ab A. D. 725
Ad A. D. 780.

and Ealbreth killed.

In the year 754, the South Saxons, still impatient of the West Saxon yoke, chose one Osmond for their king; but the particulars of his success we know not; only we are told by Florence, that he reigned among them in the year 780. There is no pursuing their history further, because they seem, ever after this, to have been a province of the West Saxons. We now proceed to

Osmond chosen king of the South Saxons.

Their kingdom swallowed up in that of the West Saxons.

The KINGDOM of WESSEX.

Ab A. D. 495
Ad A. D. 598.

THIS kingdom is distinguished by the great men who held it, and, as I have already observed, by being the stem of the illustrious family that afterwards handed down the scepter, in a lineal succession, to the august race which now sways it, and from whom may it never depart. In the general view of the Saxon settlements, I have acquainted my reader with whatever is most material with regard to Cerdic, the first king of Wessex; therefore it is sufficient here to mention, that he arrived in the year 495; and, after wresting a considerable territory from the great Arthur, and his nephew Mordred, he died in 534.

Cerdic the first king of Wessex.

Cynric succeeds him.

Ceaulin his successor.

Cynric, his successor, is taken notice of for little beside the battle of Sarum, which he now from the Britons. His death happened in the year 560.

His son and successor, Ceaulin, after raising the jealousy of the most powerful princes of his own nation, by his unjust seizure of the kingdom of Suffex, and other acts of ambition, was defeated in the year 591, and died an obscure exile. But of all his transactions I have already given the reader a full account.

Ceolric.

His nephew Ceolric, whom, in his own life-time, he had appointed governor of Wessex, and designed for his heir, succeeded him. This prince, we find, was a party in the confederacy which had been formed against his uncle. His reign is distinguished by no particular act; and he died in the year 598, according to Florentius; but 597, according to the Saxon annals.

Ceolwulf.

He was succeeded by Ceolwulf, the son of Cutha, and (1) cousin-german to the late king. He was a brave-spirited prince,

his whole reign being one scene of action. Though, says William of Malmesbury, he was inferior to his immediate predecessors in age, yet he was before them in virtue; ever active in enlarging, ever vigilant in defending, his kingdom. His battle which he won against the South Saxons has been already taken notice of. Another author tells us, that, through all his life, he was fighting either against the Scots or the Picts. Redwald, who was, at this time, at the head of the confederacy, likewise gave him great uneasiness; but Ceolwulf bravely encountered and quelled all opposition. While he was engaged in the utter reduction of the South Saxons, he died in the year 611.

Ab A. D. 598
Ad A. D. 615.
His character.

Henry of Huntingdon.

Speed.

His successor was Cinegils, his brother's son. This prince, in the third year of his reign, associated with himself his son Quinchelm in his government. We are at a loss to know the grounds of the war between these two princes and the Britons; but we find that they came to a decisive battle with them at Beandune (2), or Banton, which the right reverend editor of the Saxon chronicle thinks lies in Devonshire, upon the borders of Somersetshire. His reason for assigning this situation is, because the Britons, by this time, had retired for safety to the western parts of England. Henry of Huntingdon tells us, that the armies were drawn up with great order on both sides, and the splendour of the massy Saxon axes, together with the length of their spears, and the terrible array of their battle, struck the Britons with a panic: the Saxons, improving this panic, had a cheap victory; and, according to the same author, two thousand and sixty-two of the Britons were left dead on the field. This overthrow,

Cinegils, his successor, associates Quinchelm.

They fight with the Britons, [Dr. Gibson, lord bishop of London]

and defeat them.

(1) I do not know upon what authority Mr. Rapin calls this prince the brother of Ceolric, since it is plain that Ceolric was son to Cuthwulf, second son to Cynric, and this Ceolwulf was son to Cutha, the third of Cynric's sons. Mr. Rapin, with his usual modesty, has quoted, on his margin, Florence, and the Saxon annals; but, if he had looked into any one of them, he could not have fallen into such a mistake.

(2) From hence it runs by Byndon, called, by the Saxons, Beandun (which likewise had its monastery) where Cinegils, in the year 614, (as is commonly said) with great difficulty overcame the Britons. "But it is observable, says the right reverend editor of Camden, that, in all the copies of the ancient Saxon annals, the place of that victory is called Beandune, and not Beandun. And I see no reason why this action may not very well be removed to Bampton, upon the borders between Somersetshire and Devonshire. The march of the Britons, and all other circumstances, do no less agree to this; and the old name does much better suit it, it being usual for after-ages to add the (p) after (m), to strengthen, as it were, the pronunciation; unless one should suppose that Beandune was the ancient name of Byndon, and that those works, upon a hill south of it (namely, a double-formed camp) were done by one of those two people." Camd. p. 57.

Ab A. D. 615 in all probability, disabled the Britons from giving the West Saxon princes any more trouble for some time. This battle is said to have happened in the year 615. The great qualities of these two princes procured them another enemy, in the person of Penda, king of Mercia. The latter attempted to take from them Cirencester, in the year 628, according to the Saxon chronicle; but, according to Matthew of Westminster, in 629. The grounds of the quarrel are as dark as is the progress of the war that ensued between them. We learn, however, that both armies were very numerous; that a battle was fought near Cirencester, with invincible resolution on each side, without either gaining ground; and that, at last, they were separated by night. Next morning presented to their eyes a dismal scene of slaughter, and cooler thoughts suggested, that, to renew the engagement, would be perdition to both; either side then relaxing in their terms, a peace was agreed on. But William of Malmesbury gives us a different account of this battle; for he tells us that Penda was beat.

Henry of Huntingdon.

They are converted to Christianity by Berinus.

The transactions, both civil and military, that happened between these two princes of the West Saxons and their contemporaries, shall be related, to avoid repetition, in the history of the other kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy. What remains to acquaint the reader, with regard to them, is, that they both died in the profession of Christianity. The instrument of their conversion was one Berinus, an Italian. But we find, from the venerable historian, that another powerful motive, besides the preaching of this foreigner, contributed to their conversion; for Oswald, the victorious king of Northumberland, and a Christian likewise, happened to be, at this time, at the West Saxon court, upon a treaty of marriage with Kiniburg, daughter to Cinegils. Whether so advantageous an alliance might not mix a few political considerations among his motives to this conversion, I shall not determine. His brother, or, according to others, his son, Quinchelm, did not immediately follow his example; but, happening soon after to be visited with a great sickness, which seems to have proved mortal, he too received baptism, together with a son, named Cuthred. Quinchelm died in the year 636, soon after he was baptized; and Cinegils remained the sole king of the West Saxons till the year 643.

Their character.

William of Malmesbury gives us a great character of these two princes. He says, that they were men of great courage; that they strove to out-do one another in acts of relative piety; that their mutual concord was the wonder of that age, and ought to be an example to all succeeding. The same author, however, does not refuse that Quinchelm's conduct towards Edwin, king of Northumberland, sullied the lustre of his other virtues; but he endeavours to mollify this censure, by suggesting the powerful pro-

vocation he had received, and the pagan maxim of over-reaching an enemy by fraud as well as force.

It is uncertain who was the next king of Wessex. The Saxon chronicles say, that, in the year 637, king Cuthred was baptized in Dorchester. And Stow, from this expression, supposes it to have been this Cuthred, the son of Quinchelm; but, though he stands single in this opinion, we are to consider, that great authorities in the English history make Quinchelm to have been the son of Cinegils. Admitting this, it is natural to suppose, that the son of a king, who was so dear to his father, should be preferred to the succession before the uncle. But, upon the whole, I think it clear that there was no prince intervening between Quinchelm and his own son; though whether this Cuthred might not have been associated in the government, in the same manner as his father had been, and that he was obliged to resign to his uncle, upon the death of his grandfather, I shall submit to my reader.

Cenwal succeeded his father Cinegils in the year 643. This prince, upon his accession to the royal dignity, gave strong indications of degeneracy from the virtues of his ancestors. We learn, however, from the Saxon chronicles, that, in the first year of his reign, he built St. Peter's church in Winchester. His wife was sister to Penda, king of Mercia; but Cenwal, either from political views, or natural inconstancy, without any reason, put her away. This wicked step seems to have drawn him into another; for he, at the same time abjured Christianity. Penda, resenting the injury offered to his sister, attacked the young Cenwal in all the security of licentious indulgence, conquered him, and drove him to seek refuge at the East Anglian court, in the year 645. Adversity recovered him to virtue; for Anna, king of East-Anglia, dealt with him so effectually, that he returned to the profession of Christianity. The following year he was baptized; and, after gathering together some forces, he returned to Wessex, where he was readmitted to his throne.

Though an historian ought to be cautious in indulging conjectures, yet I should be apt to think, that Penda, upon the expulsion of Cedwal, had raised, or, if the reader pleases, restored, Cuthred to the throne of Wessex. The Saxon chronicle, though very general as to facts, takes notice, that, in the year 648, Cenwal gave to Cuthred three thousand hides of land, lying near Escesdune, or Ashton in Northamptonshire. This circumstance, being so particularly mentioned, has a great air of a consideration paid to Cuthred for his pretensions. In the year 652, we find him fighting at Bradford, near the river Avon, in Wiltshire; but against (1) whom, appears not. It is true, Ethelwerd, a writer of great authority, tells us, that this was a civil war; though we

(1) I cannot understand what Mr. Tyrrel means here, by saying, that it is most likely that this war was against the Mercians, and gives us the authority of Ethelwerd for his conjecture; whereas Ethelwerd tells us plainly, that it was a civil war, and agrees with the Saxon chronicles as to the scene of its action.

Ab A. D. 652 are quite in the dark upon what account it was begun. There is some reason for thinking that Cenwal was not quite successful in this war, since we find, from Bede, that he received, in his time, many considerable blows from his enemies.

The Britons attack the West Saxons,

In the seventeenth year of this prince's reign, answering to the year 658, the Britons, who seem to have been quiet ever since the battle of Banton, encouraged by the losses which Cenwal had sustained from Penda, and the civil wars which had distracted his kingdom, raised a force, and with great vigour attacked the West Saxon dominions. Cenwal met them at a hill, called Pene, in Somersetshire, where, we learn from Henry of Huntingdon, the Britons, in the first charge, disordered the Saxons; but the latter, who dreaded dishonour more than death, bravely renewed the charge, and the strength of the Britons, says my author, dissolved like unto snow. In short, the rout was total, and the blow irrecoverable by the Britons. In the year 661 he fought another battle, at Pontesbury in Shropshire, against Wulpher, the king of Mercia; but, there is some reason for believing, with bad success; because we are told, immediately after, that Wulpher wasted the country as far as Aston. At the same time we are informed, by Ethelwerd, in his chronicle, that Wulpher was taken prisoner in this battle. This, however, can scarcely be true, since we find, from the Saxon chronicles, that in this very year he seized the isle of Wight, and bestowed it, as we have already seen, upon the king of Suffex. Henry of Huntingdon expressly tells us, that the West Saxon prince was beat: but it must be owned that there is great uncertainty in the history of those days, since William of Malmesbury is equally positive that Cenwal was victorious, and stripped Wulpher of part of his kingdom; but this is altogether unlikely. We are certain, however, that his death happened in the year 672, and that he was succeeded by his wife Sexburga.

See page 131.

Sexburga succeeds.

Her character.

She dies,

This lady had great qualities for government. Malmesbury says, that they were equal to all the political duties of a king; that she made preparations and levies to defend her territories, which kept her enemies in awe, while the wisdom of her conduct kept her subjects to their duty. Her efforts, however, seem to have got the better of her constitution; for she died, after reigning twelve months. Matthew of Westminster indeed, though I think without any manner of authority, says, that she was deposed from the kingdom by the nobles, indignant of female government. Nor must it be

concealed, that other historians say, she abandoned her throne for a cell, and retired to a house of devotion which she built in the isle of Shippey, and of which she died the abbess.

Ab A. D. 673 Ad A. D. 676.

Upon her death, we are told, that the kingdom became a prey to its (1) nobles, who divided it among themselves. The venerable historian says, that it continued in this state for ten years. But there seems here to be some mistake in point of chronology; for we find, that, in the very year of her death, or but a very few months after, Eswin, who was descended from Cerdic, entered upon the government of Wessex. Perhaps this prince, being raised to the throne by the favour of the nobles, was circumscribed in his prerogative; which might give the venerable historian the hint for saying, that the nobles seized the government. It is likewise not at all unlikely, that this proved a favourable opportunity for them to bring their government back to its first principles, and to abridge their king of some part of the power which might else have proved fatal to their liberties: I say, all this is the more likely, because the Saxon chronicle, the most unexceptionable authority in matters relating to the West Saxons, takes no notice of this decennial aristocracy; neither does the royal author of the West Saxon genealogy give the least countenance to this fact, though he appears to have been well instructed in those matters. I shall but mention the silence of all our other best historians on this point. But to return to our history.

Eswin, in the second year of his reign, was attacked by Wulpher, the king of Mercia. Both parties came to a battle at a place called, in the Saxon chronicle, Bedanheafde, supposed to be Bedwin in Wiltshire, the latter (2) termination favouring the opinion of a battle being fought there, and the situation of the place, on the confines of our kingdoms, making this opinion still the more probable. The battle was long and bloody, and a terrible slaughter was made on both sides. The historian tells us, that the small advantage that was gained fell to the Mercian, who, on this occasion, exerted all the military virtues of his family. And here, says the same historian, it may be worth while to observe, how vile in themselves are the efforts of ambition, the wars which princes account glorious, and the actions which they term noble; since those two princes, after bringing the most dismal calamities upon their people, by their swelling pride and vanity, died (Wulpher the same year, and Eswin the next year) after reigning two years.

Eswin is attacked by Wulpher. A bloody battle ensues.

Henry of Huntingdon;

Reflection.

Both princes die.

(1) It is amazing what Mr. Rapin can mean, by telling us, that the chief of those nobles was one Censu, a prince of the royal blood, descended from Cerdic; and that, in the year 674, he associated with himself his son Eswin. He quotes Florence, upon the margin, for the first of these facts, and Henry of Huntingdon for the latter. I have looked into both, and Florence indeed tells us, that, according to king Alfred, one Kensus succeeded for two years to this kingdom; but Florence neither gives us this for a fact, nor is it countenanced by any other historian. It is true, one can scarce expect that an author, so very ill informed as Mr. Rapin was, would look farther than the words of Florence; but if he had been at the trouble to have looked into the piece of king Alfred's, referred to in this quotation, he must have quickly found, that Florence himself was mistaken. King Alfred, indeed, is supposed to have wrote a genealogy of the West Saxon family; and this genealogy is inserted at the end of Alfred's life, printed at Oxford by John Spelman, son to the famous Sir Henry Huntingdon, I cannot find one syllable in his history to countenance Mr. Rapin's assertion.

(2) Winnan, in Saxon, signifies to fight.

Ab A. D. 676

Ad A. D. 685.

Kenwin suc-
ceeds.He drives the
Britons to the
western shore,and orders
Ceadwalla out
of his king-
dom,who applies to
bishop Wilfred
for assistance,which Wilfred
complies with.

His motives.

Ceadwalla
seizes the
throne of
Wessex, and
makes Wilfred
his first mini-
ster.

Escwin was succeeded, in the year 676, by Kenwin, the son of the late king Cinegils, who seems to have had a better right to the kingdom than his predecessor, with whom, according to some authors, he was joined in the government. Whatever may be in this, we are told, that Kenwin was a terrible scourge to the Britons, whom he drove back even to the western shore. The particulars of his wars are not left us; only he appears to have been a cruel conqueror, and a jealous king. About the end of his reign he took some grudge at Ceadwalla, his kinsman, and a prince of great hopes. Him he ordered to retire out of the kingdom, which Ceadwalla was forced to do; but, as some authors would have us believe, he carried along with him all the West Saxons who were fit for war, and quite evacuated that kingdom of its youth. An ancient author of the life of Wilfred, bishop of York, informs us, that the royal exile applied to that bishop, from the desarts of Chyltern and Oured, for assistance, promising to submit to his pastoral care. This application had such an effect, that Ceadwalla was soon enabled to dispute the succession with his kinsman. These circumstances, which we have from an author who lived in the year 720, give great light into the history of this prince, without our having recourse to the fiction of his depopulating the kingdom through the numbers which followed him into banishment. The power and interest of Wilfred was great; and his zeal would not suffer him to lose the opportunity of bringing over so considerable a person to the interests of the church. Both parties, however, seem to have acted very politically; for the West Saxon would not openly declare in favour of Christianity, and the bishop took care to secure himself in a valuable consideration for the assistance he gave him. The success of Ceadwalla, against the South Saxons, has already been mentioned. It appears, that it enabled him to seize the throne of Wessex, now vacant by the death of Kenwin, in the year 685; which he had no sooner done, than he had made his good friend bishop his first (1) minister of state. It were to be wished, for the honour of both, that Ceadwalla had behaved less like a tyrant, and the minister more like a bishop; or, that the one had made a better use of his power, and the other of his authority. But Ceadwalla, who all this time was a Pagan, found means, by his profusion to the church, to keep himself firm in his kingdom.

We have already taken notice of his sub-

duing the isle of Wight; which he had no sooner done, than he resolved upon a cruelty beyond barbarity itself: for he resolved to put to death all the inhabitants of the island, and then to plant it with his own subjects. This inhumanity could never have suggested itself in a state of rude, uninformed nature; but we find, that Ceadwalla was, at this time, in that situation of mind which leaves every Pagan virtue, without attaining to one Christian grace: for, notwithstanding all the grimace of his devotion, with all his gratitude to bishop Wilfred, he had not yet embraced Christianity; and seems to have thought it a religion which could, for a fee to itself, authorize the most crying barbarity. Accordingly the venerable historian tells us, that, at the time he formed this detestable resolution, he obliged himself, by a vow, to give the fourth of his conquests to God. The island contained about (2) twelve hundred families; and of those he assigned two hundred, with their possessions, to his trusty Wilfred, who committed them, for their conversion, to one Berwin, his nephew, a clergyman. As to the other inhabitants, there is but too good reason for believing, that they fell the sacrifices of the tyrant's bloody politics. Had they not, there is little reason for doubting, that the historians who inform us of his resolution, would not have taken care to inform us of his being diverted from carrying it into execution; especially when we consider the great merits he had with the church of Rome by his benefactions, and the labours he undertook to merit her favours.

The isle of Wight, at the time of this invasion, was governed by a prince, whose name was Arwald, and who had two sons. These youths, hearing of the tyrant's cruel resolution, fled, and endeavoured to conceal themselves; but, as nothing is more piercing than the eye of political jealousy, Ceadwalla soon discovered them, and ordered them to be put to death (3). They were, at this time, lurking at Stoneham in Hampshire. The abbot of Reodford (now Redbridge) hearing of their doom, interceded with the tyrant, not for their lives, but for their salvation. As it was indifferent to Ceadwalla's ambition, whether they died pagans or Christians, so they did but die, the good abbot prevailed. He converted the royal youths; they submitted to the stroke of martyrdom with a cheerfulness beyond what could be expected from their tender years; and our blinded historians write with such an air, as if Ceadwalla's religious complaisance, in suffering them to be converted, ought to atone

A. D. 685.

His design of
putting to
death all the
inhabitants of
the isle of
Wight,perhaps ex-
ecuted.Murder of the
two sons of
the king of
Wight.

(1) Jamque sancto et venerabili patre nostro veniente, rex Ceadwalla in omni regno suo excelsum consiliarium mox illum composuit.

(2) Our historians, by mistake, say two thousand.

(3) Mr. Rapin has grossly misrepresented this whole fact; he says, that the inhabitants were spared upon the remonstrance of Wilfred. I find no intimation of this in Bede. It is true, the words of that author are, Postquam ergo Ceadwalla regno potitus est Geuifforum, cepit et insulam Vectam, quæ eatenus erat tota idolatriæ dedita, tragica cæde omnes indigenas exterminare, ac suæ provinciæ homines pro his substituere contendit, voto se obligans, quamvis necdum regeneratus, ut ferunt, in Christo; quia si cepisset insulam, quartam partem ejus, simul et prædæ, Domino daret. Quod ita solvit, ut hanc Wilfrido episcopo, qui tunc forte de gente sua superveniens aderat, utendum pro Domino offerret. Eccl. Hist. l. iv. c. 25. These words do not absolutely imply, that this detestable resolution was executed; but I find nothing in the historian which proves that it was not; nay, the severity he practised towards the two young princes, is a presumption that it was. As to the conversion of the inhabitants by the labours of Wilfred's nephew, the words of the historian expressly restrict it to the inhabitants of that part which was given to Wulpher. Add to this, that William of Malmesbury's words are, that he had very near utterly exterminated the inhabitants of the isle of Wight, parum absuit quin deleret.

Ab A. D. 686 for his inhuman barbarity, in ordering them
Ad A. D. 693. to be murdered.

William of
Malmesbury's
reflection.

See p. 129.

Ceadwalla be-
comes Chri-
stian,

is baptized by
pope Sergius,

and dies.

His character.

Ina succeeds
him.

[William of
Malmesbury.]

Ceadwalla's profusion to the church still continued, and, without doubt, was very useful to his designs. An English historian, who writes with sentiment, has, upon this occasion, a remark, which, considering the times he lived in, and the religion (i) he professed, does honour to his memory. Speaking of Ceadwalla's giving the tithe of what he acquired by plunder to the church, "In this, says the historian, we approve the affection, but the example we condemn. Who offers a victim from the substance of the poor, sacrifices the son in the eyes of the father." This prince's inveteracy against Kent has already been taken notice of, together with the tragical end of his brother Mollo. The loss of this beloved brother, which happened in the second year after he had become sole king of Wessex, seems to have made a deep impression upon his spirits. He had recourse to religion, the strongest of all cordials for curing anguish of mind, and softening remorse of conscience. Accordingly, he set out for Rome, where he was baptized, by pope Sergius, by the name of Peter on Easter-day, 689. He did not long survive his baptism; for he died before he had even put off the robes of his regeneration, on the 20th day of April. (2) He was buried in St. Peter's church, with a pompous inscription, expressive of his great zeal and devotion; and which tells us, that he was not full thirty years of age when he died. The reader will be apt enough, without any comments of mine, to form a character of this prince; but I cannot take my leave of him without saying, that he appears to have possessed great abilities, but no virtues; much religion, and little piety.

Of a far different character was his successor Ina. He was of the blood royal of the (3) West Saxon family, and left by Ceadwalla, upon his setting out for Rome, the administrator of his kingdom. Upon the death of Ceadwalla, he succeeded, says the elegant historian I have so often quoted, rather through the merits of personal virtue, than upon the strength of royal descent.

This prince is particularly distinguished by being the first we know of, who regularly summoned a great council, in order to enact

laws for the better government of his kingdom. They having come entire to our hands, we may look upon them as the acts of a Saxon parliament; and indeed they are both so material and curious, as for the chief of them to demand a place in the body of this history. The introduction to them is as follows:

A. D. 693.

Ina, by the grace of God, king of the West Saxons, by the counsel and advice of Cenred my father, and Hedde and Erkenwald my bishops, with all my ealdermen, and sage ancients of my people, as also in an assembly of the servants of God, have religiously endeavoured, both for the health of our soul, and the common preservation of our kingdom, that right laws and true judgments be founded and established throughout our whole dominions; and that it shall not be lawful, for the time to come, for any ealderman, or other subject whatever, to transgress these our constitutions.

I. If a servant do any work on a Sunday by command of his master, he shall be free, and the master shall be amerced thirty shillings; but if he went about the work without his master's privity, he shall be beaten, or redeem the penalty. But a freeman, if he work on that day, without the command of his master, shall lose his freedom, or pay sixty shillings; if he be a priest, his penalty shall be double.

II. The portion or dues of the church shall be brought in by the feast of St. Martin: he that payeth them not by that time, shall be amerced forty shillings; and, besides, pay twelve times their value.

III. If any, guilty of a capital crime, shall take refuge in a church, he shall save his life, and yet make recompence according to justice and equity. If one, deserving stripes, run to a church, the stripes shall be forgiven him.

IV. If any one fight within the king's house, or palace, he shall forfeit all his goods; and it shall be at the pleasure of the king whether he shall have his life or not. He that fights in a church shall pay one hundred and twenty shillings; in the house of an ealderman, or other sage nobleman, sixty shillings. Whoever shall fight in a

(1) William of Malmesbury was monk and library-keeper of Malmesbury.

(2) "He was buried (says Speed, p. 227.) in St. Peter's church in Rome under a faire monument, with this inscription thereon engraven:—Here Ceadwalla, otherwise named Peter, king of the West Saxons, is buried, who dyed the 20th of Aprill, in the second indiction, and liued thirty yeeres, or thereabouts, when that noble and mighty prince Justinian was emperor of Rome, and had reigned foure yeeres in the empire; and Sergius, a true patterne of the apostles, had fate two yeeres in Peter's seat.—What hath been written of this Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons, by Bede the Saxon, and his followers, hath beene attributed to Cadwallader, king of the Britaines, by Geffery of Monmouth the Britaine; John Castor and More affirming him to be the same manne; and that, upon the admonition of an angel, hee went to Rome, tooke penance of pope Sergius, there dyed, in the twelfth kalends of May, and was there buried with the same epitaph, and after the same manner. But the writer of the history of Cambria, of Cadwallader's going to Rome, and the other appendances, seemeth to be doubtfull, and sayth, that it differed from the assertion of Bernardus Guidonius, the neernesse of the names being the very cause of the like relations; and confidently affirms, that it was Edwall, the sonne of Cadwallader, who, in such deuotion, went to Rome, and there made such a religious end, about the yeere of our Lord 720." But Dr. Powel and Mr. Vaughan, in their learned notes upon Caradoc's Welsh chronicle, suppose, with great probability, "that this Ceadwalla was Edwal, surnamed Ywrrch, prince of Wales, who, about this time, began to reign, being the son of Cadwallader; and may also very well agree with what Guidonius writeth of one Ethwal, prince of Wales, who, about this time, went to Rome, and there died; for, in proper names, it is an easy matter for a capital C to creep in, since it was commonly used, in old hands, at the beginning of a paragraph, and might, by an ignorant copier, be added to the name itself, and so of Edwal make Cadwal, and from thence Cadwallader."

(3) Ina was the son of Cenred, of Ceowald, of Cuthwulph, of Cuthwin, of Celm, of Cynric, of Creodda, of Cerdic.

Ab A. D. 693 villager's house, paying scot, shall be punished thirty shillings, and shall give the villager six shillings; and if any one fight in the open field, he shall pay one hundred and twenty shillings.

V. He that, on his own private account, shall revenge an injury done to him, before he hath demanded public justice, shall restore what he took away, and besides forfeit thirty shillings.

VI. If a robber be taken, he shall lose his life, or redeem it according to the estimation of his head. We call robbers to the number of seven or eight men; from that number to thirty-five, a band; all above, an army.

VII. If a country boor, having been often accused of theft, be at last taken, he shall have his hand or foot cut off.

VIII. If any one kill another's godfather, or godson, the satisfaction shall be according to his quality and circumstances; let the compensation due to the relations, and that due to the lord, for the loss of his man, be both alike; and let the one increase according to the circumstances of the person, just as the other doth: but if he be the king's godson, let him make satisfaction to the king, as well as the relations; but if his life was taken away by a relation, then let the money due to the godfather be diminished, as it useth to be when money is paid to the master for the death of his servant. If a bishop's son be killed, let the penalty be half so much.

IX. If any Englishman, who has lost his freedom, do afterwards steal, he shall be hanged on the gallows, and no recompence made to his lord: if any one kill such a man, he shall make no recompence, on that account, to his friends, unless they redeem him within a twelve-month.

His first expedition against Kent.

The first warlike achievement we read of, belonging to this prince, was against Kent, in the year 693; for the Saxons, however zealous in their profession of Christianity, seem, even the best of them, to have understood but little of its first principle, that of forgiveness. The death of Mollo, in the eyes of this prince, required a farther atonement; and Withred, the king of Kent, was obliged, says my author, to pay thirty thousand merks in gold, after trying, ineffectually, every other method of submission. This sum having bought the peace of Kent, Ina returned to his own dominions.

The Kentish men buy their peace.

He marches against Geruntus, a British prince, [Henry of Huntingdon.] and subdues him.

The next expedition we find him engaged in, was in the year 710, against a prince, named, by the Saxon annals, Geruntus, a king of the Britons. Our historians give the victory to Ina; and tell us, that, at the beginning of the fight, one of Ina's generals (by name Higeald) was killed. This British prince is not to be found in the catalogue of the Welsh, therefore there is some reason for believing that he reigned

over Cornwall, at that time independent and peopled with Britons. Whether Ina took possession of any part of Cornwall, upon this victory, appears not from history.

Ab A. D. 710
Ad A. D. 727.

His next martial achievement falls into the year 715, when he fought a severe battle at Wodenburg in Wiltshire, against Ceolred, the king of Mercia. Our historians leave us in doubt, as to the success of this battle; nor is it marked in the Saxon chronicle. In the year 718, he lost his brother Ingildus; and his sisters, Queenburga and Cuthburga, are particularly mentioned, on this occasion, by our historians, as founding a monastery at Winburn, and for the pious self-denial of the latter; for, after she was married to the king of Northumberland, they mutually agreed upon a holy divorce; thus, from a motive either of fastidious piety, or secret dislike, they frustrated the ends of marriage.

He fights against Ceolred.

In the year 721, we are told, that Ina slew Cynewulph Clito (1), who was a prince of the royal blood. The reason of his death is not mentioned in history; but I think it may be fairly presumed, that it happened through some jealousy of his birth-right. In the thirty-sixth year of his reign, he marched into Suffex, and, as we have already seen, greatly distressed that kingdom. About this time another prince of the blood royal, whose name was Eadbert, began to raise some disputes about the succession. Him Ina ordered into banishment; but, having a party in the kingdom, he found means to seize the castle of Taunton, where he gave great disturbance to the kingdom of Wessex, while Ina was employed in the war with the South Saxons. Ethelburg, the wife of Ina, a woman of great spirit and high descent, heading a force in her husband's absence, took the castle, levelled it with the ground, and forced the rebellious prince to fly into Suffex. Meeting here with support, he found himself soon at the head of an army, and thought himself able to give Ina battle. Being vanquished and slain, or rather put to death, through the unrelenting jealousy, which even the best princes of those days entertained of their competitors in empire, Ina pursued his revenge against the South Saxons, and soon compleated the conquest of their country. As a mark of gratitude to heaven for his success, he, the same year, new built the monastery of Glassenbury, which he endowed with all the profusion of blind zeal.

[Bromton's chronicle.]
He subdues Suffex.

See p. 131.

Eadbert seizes the castle of Taunton.

He is torced by Ethelburg to fly into Suffex,

and slain by Ina.

The author of the Polychronicon tells us, though without quoting his authority, that Ina is said to have been the first king who established St. Peter's penny through his dominions. This was a tax of a penny upon every family, payable to the holy see, for the maintenance, as we are told by some authors, of English (2) students at Rome. This is an important fact. That such a tax was once paid, is without dispute; but it is much more probable that

[Ralph Higden.]
Peter's penny established,

(1) This word denotes a person to be of the blood royal.

(2) Bale tells us, that this college at Rome, for English students, was built by Offa, king of the Mercians.

A. D. 727.
and how.

it was obtained by the arts of the clergy, working on the weakness of their princes; at first purely eleemosynary, till, from custom, they claimed a kind of right; the craft of the papacy ever improving alms into revenues. What makes this opinion the more probable, is the silence in the most authentic collections of councils, and of cotemporary and oldest authors. As churchmen had the penning of whatever was written in that and some succeeding ages, there is no doubt but they would have marked it very strongly, had this tax been granted by consent of the states of the kingdom; which it ought to have been; especially when we consider how many matters, of inferior moment, are so minutely handed down in those collections.

Ina crowned
monarch of
the Britons
and Saxons.

Our ignorance of those times prevents us from the knowledge of many particulars relating to Ina, which we accidentally have dark hints of throughout history; but it would be unpardonable, should I stifle some material transactions belonging to the life of this prince, which I meet with in the laws of Edward the confessor, compiled only about three hundred years after his death. There we are told, that (1) Ina was the first monarch of Britain after the conversion of the Saxons; and that he was crowned king of the Britons, as well as of the Saxons; that his second wife was one Guala, daughter to Cadwalader, a Welsh prince; and that, in her right, he possessed the throne of Wales and Cornwall. From this coalition of the royal families arose intermarriages of the different nations; the English married British women, and the Britons English ladies, to use the expression of my authority. If we are to believe the same record, this was done by the act of a solemn council of the kingdom, with the advice and consent of all the bishops, peers, the greatest and the bravest men of the whole nation. The example of Ina extended itself as far as Scotland, where the ancient inhabitants began now to intermarry with the Saxons of the southern countries; and the manners, fashions, and laws of the latter, from this time, sensibly prevailed among the old inhabitants of both kingdoms.

I am well aware that several learned English authors have been very severe in their criticisms on this record; but I own that I am of opinion (admitting it to be almost as old as Edward the confessor, which seems, on all hands, to be agreed upon) that it

will be difficult entirely to destroy its authority in the main. Sir Henry Spelman observes, that there is, among our historians, nothing to support what this author advances, with regard to this Guala being the second wife of Ina; but neither the inaccuracy of this circumstance, nor a pretended anachronism with regard to Cadwallader, ought to overthrow the credit of the record. As to the objection, that other princes then reigned in Wales, we are to consider, that it is very probable no prince, at that time, was in entire possession of it. Cadwallader was the chief of the Welsh princes, and if Ina married the heiress of his family and territories, there is no absurdity in supposing, that the old British spirit might be pleased with seeing the husband of the queen declared a monarch, with so pompous a title as that of king of the Britons and the English. But to proceed in our history.

Ina, in the year 728, being in the height of glory and reputation, began to feel symptoms of the disease so epidemical in that age. His infection originally proceeded from the suggestions of his wife Ethelburg, who strongly prompted him to abdicate his crown for religious retirement. The monkish writers of the times have imputed to devotion, what, perhaps, in Ina, was a wise and a seasonable measure. The thing was right in itself; the absurd manner in which it was executed was the fault of the age. Ina had, by this time, experienced a tumultuous active reign of thirty-seven years. He had a brave and a wise successor, now adult, to trust to; it was, therefore, high time for him to begin to live for himself. His wife had long exhorted him, in vain, to quit the toils of ambition; and at last, as we are told, she succeeded by a stratagem. But Ina was too much a bigot to make a natural and a wise use of this indulgence he allowed himself; for, instead of retiring to a tranquil corner of his own kingdom, he set out for Rome, where he withered to old age in a habit as mean as the conversation he took up with, forgotten by the world, and unseen by the public. His wife, we are told, followed his example.

A. D. 728.
Spelman's
concilia,
p. 220.

Ina, by the
instigation of
his wife, ab-
dicates his
crown.

Ina had resigned to his cousin Ethelhard in the year 728; but Oswald, a young prince of the blood royal, upon the abdication of Ina, as is most probable, disputed with him the succession. Ethelhard, however, being supported by the states of the kingdom, drove his rival into exile. But Bromton, in his chronicle, informs us, that this Oswald was

He is succeed-
ed by Ethel-
hard.

(1) Ita constituit optimus Ina rex Anglorum, qui electus fuit in regem per Angelum, et qui primo obtinuit monarchiam totius regni hujus post adventum Anglorum in Britanniam. Primus enim fuit rex coronatus Anglorum et Britonum simul manentium in Britannia post adventum Saxonum Germaniae, scilicet, post acceptam fidem a beato Gregorio per S. Augustinum. Cepit enim praedictus Ina in uxorem suam Gualam nomine, propter quam vocata est Wallia illa terra quae quondam vocabatur Cambria. Bigamus enim fuit. Cepit autem cum ultima uxore sua Cambriam, et Cornubiam, et Coronam benedictam Britanniae, quae fuerat ultimo Cadwaladro regi Britanniae. Et universi Angli qui tunc temporis extiterunt, uxores suas ceperunt de Britonum genere, et Britones uxores suas de illustri sanguine et genere Anglorum, hoc est, de genere Saxonum. Hoc enim factum fuit per commune consilium et assensum omnium episcoporum, et principum, procerum, comitum, et omnium sapientum seniorum et populorum totius regni, et per praeceptum regis Inae praedicti. Multi vero Angli ceperunt uxores suas de sanguine et genere Anglorum Germaniae, et quidam Angli ceperunt uxores suas de sanguine Scottorum, proceres vero Scottorum, et Scoti fere omnes ceperunt uxores suas de optimo genere et sanguine Anglorum Germaniae, et ita fuerunt tunc temporis per universum regnum Britanniae duo in carne una. Et taliter constituit rectum conjugium (et delevit fornicationem, et immunditiam a regno) et recta judicia pro stabilitate regni, et confirmatione populorum benigna sedulitate. Et tali modo effecti fuerunt gens una, et populus unus per universum regnum Britanniae miseratione divina. Deinde universi vocaverunt regnum Anglorum, quod antea vocatum fuit regnum Britanniae. Leges Edwardi edit. Wilkins, p. 206.

Ab A. D. 728 the son of Ethelbald, king of Mercia; and
Ad A. D. 755 that, after being defeated, in a bloody battle,
by Ethelhard, he fled to his father: but the
Saxon chronicle not countenancing this, it
is unlikely. The rest of Ethelhard's reign
was peaceful; and he died in the fourteenth
year of his reign, without leaving behind
him, so far as we know, either wife, or
issue.

Cuthred his
successor,

in conjunction
with Ethel-
wald,

defeats the
Britons.

Bromton's
chronicle.

Ethelbald in-
festing Wessex,
is opposed by
Ethelul,
Cuthred's ge-
neral,

who gives him
a total rout.

He was succeeded, in the year 741, by
his brother, or, as some say, only his kinf-
man, Cuthred. This prince's reign was, at
first, very tumultuous, he being attacked by
Ethelwald, king of Mercia. His success
was various, and several treaties of peace
between them were mutually made and
broken. At last, interest uniting their arms,
they turned them against the Britons, to whom
they gave a total defeat, in the year 743.
Soon after, Cuthred lost his son Kenric, a
young prince of great hopes and valour, in
an insurrection among his soldiers. This
insurrection, probably, was occasioned by
the ambition of one Ethelul, a West Saxon
lord, who, putting himself at the head only
of a handful of rebels, was, with great dif-
ficulty, overpowered by the king, greatly
superior in force. Cuthred, either from
policy or magnanimity, not only received
Ethelul again into favour, but made him ge-
neral of his forces. This captain proved him-
self worthy of his great trust, and did honour
to his master's judgment; for Wessex, soon
after, viz. in 792, being insulted by Ethel-
bald, king of Mercia, Ethelul was sent to
oppose him, and both armies met at Bur-
ford. The king of Mercia was himself a
brave and an experienced general, and at
the head of the Saxon confederacy. His
army was composed of Kentishmen, East-
Angles and Saxons, besides his own natural
subjects the Mercians; and the military vir-
tue of Ethelul alone was the great support of
the West Saxons. Accordingly he marched
up, displaying his master's standard, which
bore a golden dragon, and gave a happy
omen of victory to his own side, by killing
the standard-bearer of the enemy. The
victory, however, was long doubtful; the
Mercians, says my author, being prompted
by the pride of conquest, the West Saxons
fired by their abhorrence to slavery. At
last, the king and the general encountered
in single combat; but the former, unable to
resist the efforts of Ethelul, sought safety
in flight, which was followed by a total rout
of his army.

In the year 753, we are informed, by the
Saxon chronicle, that Cuthred fought a battle
with the Britons; but as to its event they
are silent. Our English historians, who speak
very confusedly, and inconsistently with the
Saxon chronicles, give Cuthred another com-
plete victory at Secandune, or Seckington,
in Yorkshire; but this I am apt to think is
the same with that afterwards fought in that
place, wherein Ethelbald, king of the Mer-
cians, was killed. The death of Cuthred,
the West Saxon, happened, according to
the Saxon chronicle, in 755.

Sigebert suc-
ceeds.

He was succeeded by his nephew Sige-

bert. This prince, too impotent of mind
to be satisfied with legal sway, grasped at
arbitrary power; but had neither the cun-
ning nor the courage required to succeed.
His ambition was too violent, and hurried
him in excesses, which, ill digested by a
people who had lived free, dragged him
from his throne. In this the leading men
were headed by Kinewulf, a prince of the
blood royal; but their resentment did not
drive them to any violence to the person of
their sovereign. He was allowed a large do-
main (all Hampshire) for his subsistence;
there he might have ended his days, if not
honourably, at least quietly: but having
tasted the intoxicating cup of power, he
thirsted for it again. Unable to confine his
passions, he gave a loose to them, even
within this epitome of his former greatness;
for he there killed a nobleman, one Cumbran,
the only one who had continued faithfully
attached to his fortunes. This execrable
cruelty rendered him odious to mankind.
Kinewulf, who had succeeded him in the
Throne of Wessex, thought he owed so
much to his people as to drive so detestable
a monster from all future means of gratify-
ing his frenzy. Accordingly, dispossessing
him of his remaining possession, the tyrant
was forced into the great wood of Andred;
there he met, from so ignoble an instrument
of divine vengeance as a swine-herd, the
fate which his people, from their reverence
to anointed royalty, had not presumed to
inflict. I have given the history of this prince
from the best and surest guide of those times,
the Saxon chronicle, consistent, in the main,
with our other histories, and establishing the
great reverence which English subjects then
had for the persons of their sovereigns; but,
at the same time, an evidence of their fixed
resolution that their kings should reign by
law. In short, this instance confirms with
how much consistency with our old consti-
tution our great lawyers have defined the
power of their kings to be political, and not
seigniorial. How well this distinction was
understood, at the time of granting the
great charters of the English liberties, shall
be explained upon the face of those charters
hereafter.

It must be owned, that the lineal suc-
cession, in those days, was often, from
political views, or prevailing force, set aside;
but still the scepter descended in the blood
of Cerdic. Kinewulf was conscious there
was a flaw in his title, since Sigebert's bro-
ther Cyneheard was still alive, untainted by
fraternal crimes. Having, however, with
great success, turned his arms against the
Britons, the people, in the lustre of his
actions, began to forget the defects of his ti-
tle. But jealousy never would suffer him to
enjoy the undisturbed tranquility of a throne;
if any such there is. The Saxons, however,
for temporary considerations, they set aside the
direct order of succession, still appear to have
retained a warm side to the next in blood,
especially when free from vice. Kinewulf
seems to have been so sensible of this, that
he resolved to remove the cause of his
disquietude;

Ab A. D. 753
Ad A. D. 784
His ambition.

He is driven
from his
throne by
Kinewulf,

who allows
him the pos-
session of
Hampshire;

but, for his
cruelty, in
killing Cum-
bran,

dispossesses
him of that,
and drives
him to the
wood of An-
dred,
where he
is killed by
a swine-herd.

Reflection.

Kinewulf,
conscious of a
flaw in his
own title, and
jealous of
Cyneheard,

resolves to
dispatch him.

A. D. 784. ^{but is himself assassinated by the latter.} disquietude; suspecting, says Matthew of Westminster, either that he would aspire to the kingdom, or take severe revenge for the death of his brother. The young prince, either by submission or interest, escaping the royal snares, resolved, if he could, to prevent his own fate by precipitating that of the king. Kinewulf had an intrigue with a lady at Merton in Surrey, and used to visit her with a thin retinue. Cyneheard chose this unguarded hour for carrying his design into execution: he followed the lover to the house of his mistress, and, with a handful of chosen friends, surrounded it. Kinewulf proved himself worthy of a better fate, by the gallant defence he made; neglecting the more ignoble crowd of his assailants, he pointed his efforts at Cyneheard, whom he wounded; and must have cut his way through the traitors with his sword in his hand, had he received the least assistance from his attendants: but the conspirators directing all their strength against him, he was at last murdered. The few attendants he had, who were noblemen, being apprized, but too late, of the assassination, broke into the room, and, to their immortal honour, despising all proffers, every man of them fell, excepting one British nobleman, endeavouring to revenge the death of their prince. Next morning the king's friends, headed by Osric the eolderman, and Wiveth his thane, advanced in a body against the murderers. Cyneheard, shutting the gates of the town where he was against them, endeavoured to bring them over to his cause, by laying before them the right of his blood, the greatness of his provocation, the strength of his party, his willingness to confirm their liberties, and his readiness to increase their honours. He told them, at the same time, that even some of their own relations were ready to sacrifice their lives for the justice of his cause. The noblemen answered, with a true English spirit, that the ties of blood were but feeble, compared to those of duty; that their master was basely slain, and they were come to take vengeance of his blood. They then offered an act of grace to the conspirators, who were of their kindred; which, on their part, being refused, the gates were broken down, the conspirators surrounded, and Cyneheard, with a courage answerable to his high claim, fell with his sword in his hand. Thus Kinewulf's death was severely revenged. One of the conspirators, and he, too, desperately wounded, escaped through the affection of the eoldermen. The body of Kinewulf, who was murdered in the thirty-first year of his reign, was buried at Winchester, and that of his rival at Axminster: both of them examples how dangerous it is, in a king, to indulge private animosity against a powerful subject; and, in a subject, to gratify the thoughts of revenge, however strong the provocation, against a beloved king.

Brithric, who was of the blood of Cerdic, began his reign over the West Saxons the same year his predecessor was killed, being 784. This prince, addicted to the arts of

peace, was assiduous in conciliating domestic animosities by his prudence, and averting foreign wars by his address; gentle to his domestics, but not to the enervating his people's manners. About this time the famous Egbert, of the blood-royal of the West Saxons, began to be taken notice of in the world, for those great qualities which soon after raised him to the sovereignty of the heptarchy.

Political as well as natural bodies have diseases incident to their several constitutions. That peculiar to the kings of Wessex, seems to have been a jealousy of their kindred princes, arising from disputed succession. Brithric was of such a character as not, of himself, to be either cruel or suspicious; but both, through artful suggestion. Egbert's great qualities soon procured him enemies; and as princes seldom do things by halves, when there is a competition for empire, his death was resolved on. The young Egbert, aware of his intended destruction, fled to the Mercian court. Offa, then king of the Mercians, would perhaps have given him protection; but a treaty of marriage was, by this time, begun between his daughter (the detestable Edburga) and Brithric. A negotiation of this nature, which was soon concluded, left no room for Egbert to hope for longer protection at the court of Offa. His queen had in her all that pragmatic spirit which, void of true principles of government, produces in a state low intrigues, without any generous purpose; and unpopular measures, without any public emolument. It was no wonder if a woman, of this turn, should render so promising a youth as Egbert was, still more suspected to the king. Her arts had that effect, as to force the young prince to take refuge at the court of France, the politest, at this time, of any in Europe. Here we shall leave this father of the English monarchy, polishing his manners for empire, and acquiring, under the greatest of masters, all those arts of government which raised him to greater power than any king in Britain, before his days, ever had possessed.

The Danes, at this time, were making much such another figure in the world, as the Saxons had done about five hundred years before; they were become now the terror of all the northern coast; their invasions were sudden, their ravages cruel, and their retreats quick. In the year 787, a body of them, brought in three ships, landed at Portland. So inconsiderable a number was far from creating any apprehensions in the government. The magistrate of the division came down, with a small force, to treat them rather as prisoners than enemies; but the invaders soon convinced him of his mistake: for, as he was endeavouring to force them to Dorchester, and there to secure them, he was slain. The death of this officer soon alarmed the neighbouring country; numbers poured in from all hands; and the Danes were quickly obliged to retreat to their ships, without their booty. This was the first of all the fatal descents the Danes made upon England.

Ab A. D. 784
Ad A. D. 787.
His character.

Egbert begins to grow famous.

He is rendered suspicious to the king,

and takes refuge at the court of France.

The first descent of the Danes upon England.

A. D. 799.
Brithric poi-
soned.

Brithric all this time was gaining great reputation in his government; and both that and his life were ended by the dark practices of his queen: for, conceiving a hatred against a young lord of the court because of his great interest with the king, she prepared poison to dispatch him, which the king, unwittingly by her, as is said, took, so that he died, in 799, being the sixteenth of his reign.

He was succeeded by the famous Egbert, with whose history, from the time of his accession to this crown, we shall begin that of the monarchs. The wife of Brithric, after her husband's death, went over to the continent, where she was entertained, by Charles the Great, till, by the levity of her conduct, forfeiting all right to reverence and protection, she ended her days a beggar'd exile. We now proceed to

A. D. 799.
He is suc-
ceeded by Eg-
bert.

The Kingdom of the EAST SAXONS, or ESSEX.

Ab A. D. 527
Ad A. D. 623.

The extent of
this kingdom.

Erkenwin its
first king.

He is succeed-
ed by Sledda;

he by Sebert.

Ethelbert
builds St. Paul's
church in Lon-
don.
Bede.

Sebert builds
St. Peter's at
Westminster,

and in it he is
buried.

Essex govern-
ed by Sexred,
Seward, and
Sigebert, who
renounce
Christianity,

and are slain
in battle by
Cinegils.

THE capital of this kingdom was London; and it appears to have been erected into a separate government by Erkenwin, who, notwithstanding, held it as feodary to the kings of Kent. It was bounded on the east by the German ocean, on the south by the Thames, on the west by Mercia, and on the north by the river Stour; in length seventy-five miles, and in breadth twenty-eight. Erkenwin descended from Woodin, began to reign about the year 527. Little or nothing memorable is told of him during his reign, which lasted for sixty years.

He was succeeded, about the year 587, by his son Sledda. This prince, having married the daughter of the Kentish king, reaped, as the benefit of so powerful an alliance, peace and tranquility in his time.

He was succeeded, about the year 596, by his son Sebert, or Sigebert. Ethelbert, his uncle, was then king of Kent, and chief monarch of the Saxons; with a claim, at the same time, of a more direct superiority over Essex. From this claim we find him exercising a kind of a privilege within Sebert's dominions, by building a church in London, in those days a town of great commerce and riches, which stood upon the foundations of an old temple of Diana. This church, now the cathedral of London, was dedicated to St. Paul, and Melitus was made its first bishop. Sebert himself was, soon after, so effectually wrought upon, that he was converted to Christianity, and built another church, where a temple of Apollo had once stood, in the isle of Thorney, now St. Peter's at Westminster. Sebert, after a reign of about seventeen years, was buried in the church himself had erected; where, Walsingham says, his body, with that of his queen, was found, and re-interred in the reign of Richard II.

Essex was next under the joint government of Sebert's three sons, Sexred, Seward, and Sigebert, who apostatized from Christianity. Their want of piety led them so far as to presume to abuse the holy mysteries of our religion; for which, being rebuked by the good Melitus, he was driven from his see, and obliged to fly to France. The three princes, soon after, entering into a war against Cinegils, and his son Quinchelm,

joint kings of Wessex, were, by them, overcome and slain in battle, about the year 623; but of this I think there is little certainty.

Sigebert, surnamed the Little, son of Sebert, succeeded. Of him little or nothing is recounted, but that, though he had both a son and a brother, he was succeeded by neither; but by Sigebert, his cousin-german, the son of Sigeald, the brother of Sebert, the son of king Sledda and Rricula his queen.

This prince restored the Christian religion in Essex, through the assiduous application of Oswy, king of Northumberland, himself receiving baptism from Finnan, at a place

near the Roman wall there. In his pious labours to restore the practice as well as the profession of Christianity, he was assisted by one Ced, a Northumbrian, consecrated bishop of the East Saxons. A nobleman of this court, living in illicit cohabitation, was rebuked, and, upon his contumacy, excommunicated, by this bishop. The excommunication being followed with an inhibition of all commerce with the excommunicated person, the king, who perhaps did not approve of such an exercise of power within his own dominions, resolved to despise the inhibition. Accordingly he went to a banquet at the nobleman's house; upon his return, he was met by the prelate, who instantly devoted him to death, or, in the language of credulous history, predicted his doom. It was in vain for the king, who was sensible of the bishop's great power, to make any apology or excuse for his conduct; and the excommunicated nobleman, entering into a conspiracy with his brother, encouraged, perhaps, by the implacability of the prelate, dispatched him in the very manner which the latter had predicted, or rather directed. We are told, by the venerable historian, that the two conspirators were kinsmen to the king.

The excellent Sigebert, thus murdered in the bosom of peace, and possessed of his subjects affections, was succeeded by Swithelm, his brother. We know nothing of this prince, other than that he was baptized by the above-mentioned prelate, and had for his godfather, at the font, Edelwald, king of the East Angles. He succeeded to the throne of Essex about the year (1) 661, according to the calculation of the learned

Ab A. D. 623
Ad A. D. 661.

Their succe-
ssor Sigebert
the Little;

is succeeded
by Sigebert
the Great.

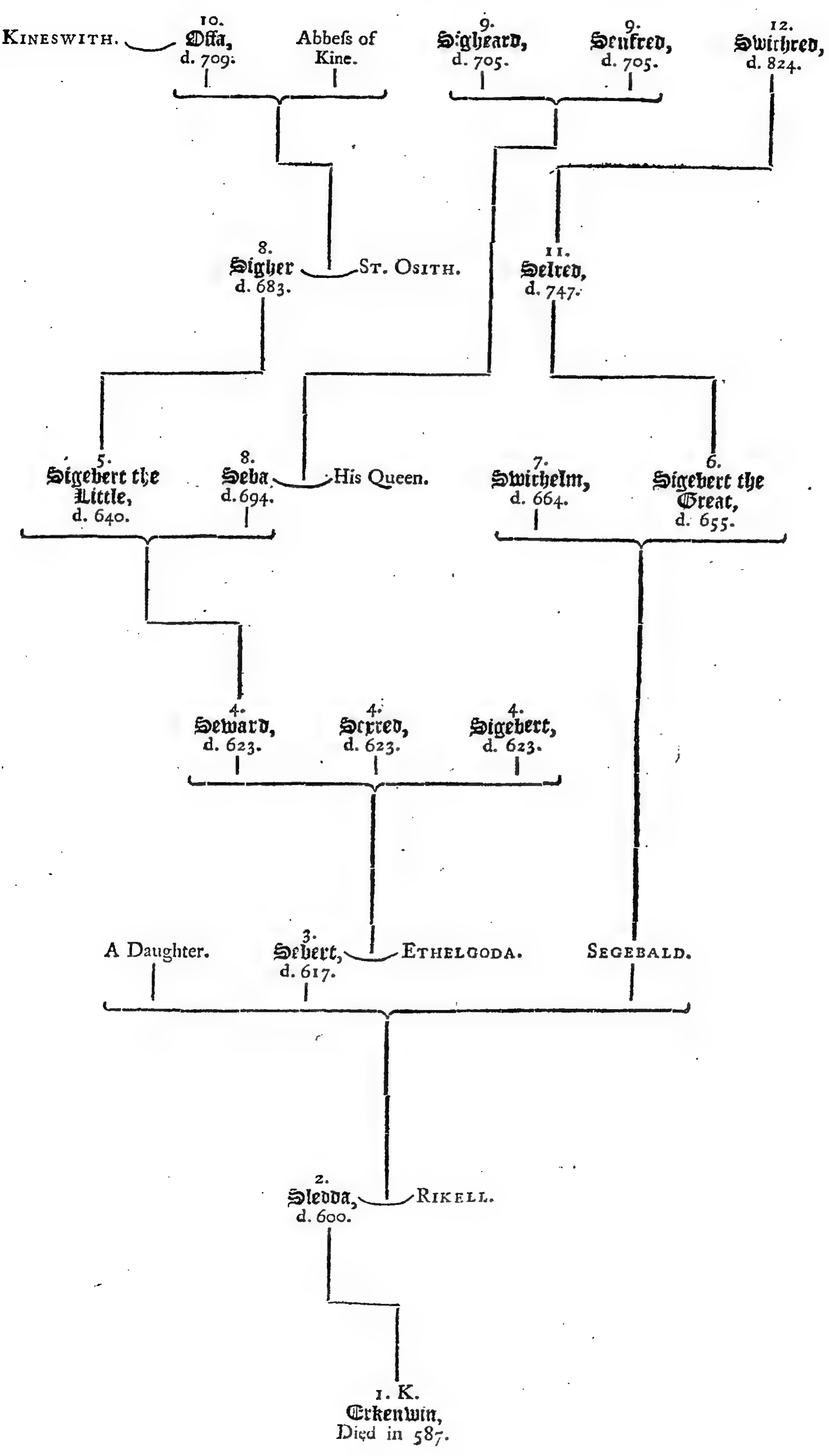
He is bap-
tized.

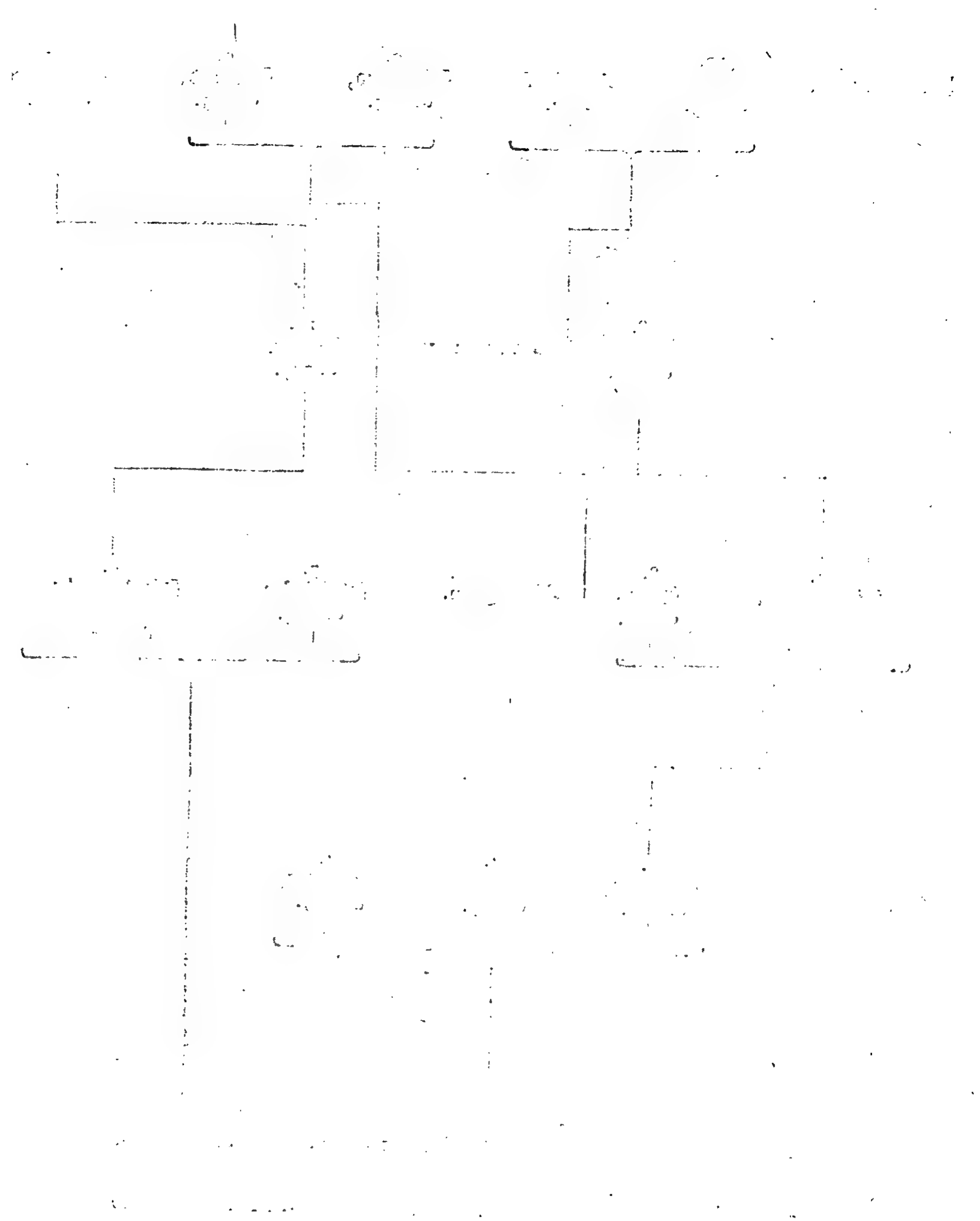
[Bede.]

He is killed
by a conspi-
racy.

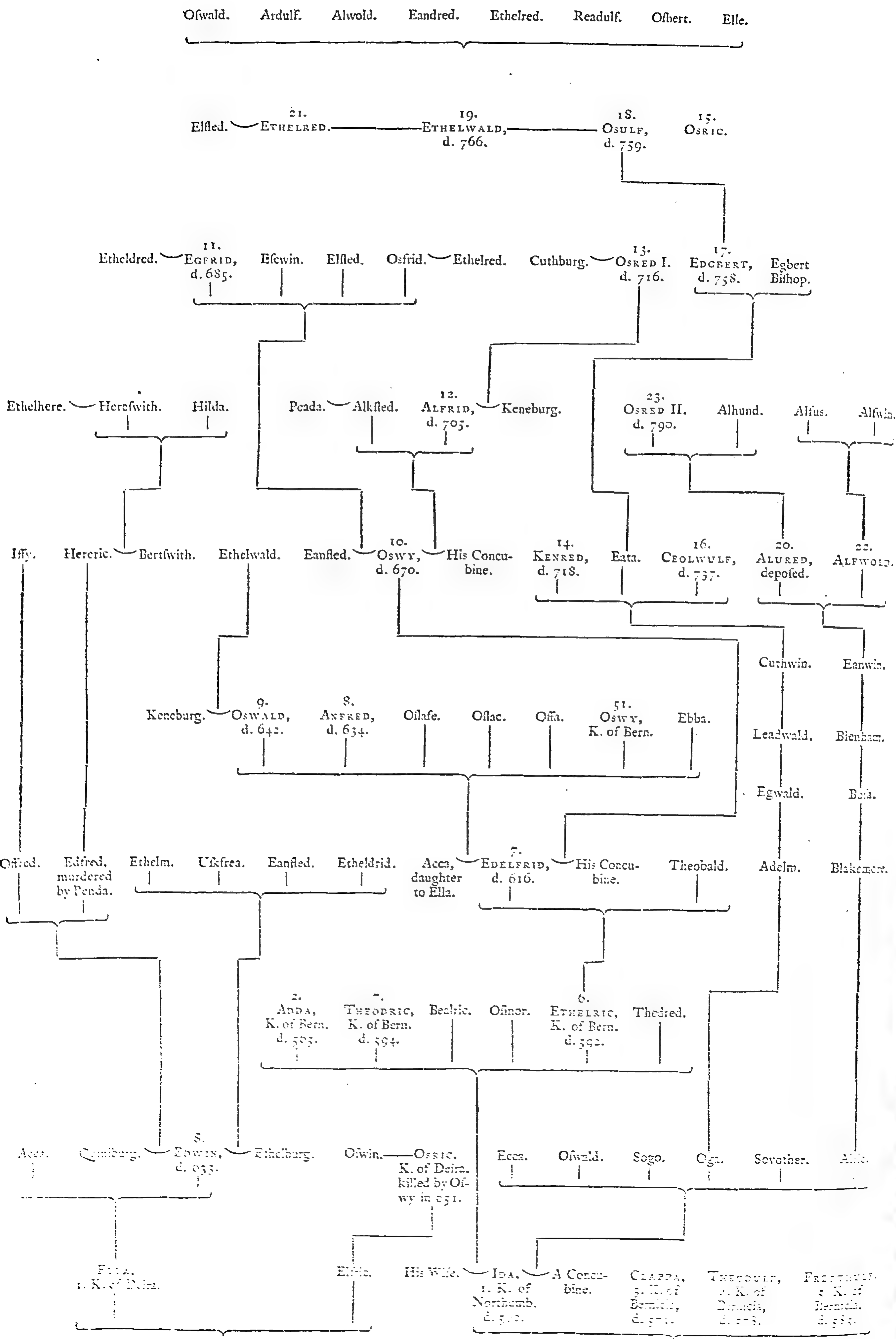
(1) Mr. Rapin, with his usual accuracy, on the margin marks this prince's succession in the year 655, for which he quotes William of Malmesbury and Florence; though the first is quite silent upon the subject, and the latter, though erroneously, places it in 653, according to the Dionysian account.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE of the KINGS of ESSEX.





A GENEALOGICAL TABLE of the KINGS of NORTHUMBERLAND.



Ab A. D. 664 S'r Henry Savill, and died about the year
Ad A. D. 694. 664.

He is suc-
ceeded by
Sigheer and
Seba.

He was succeeded by Sigheer, the son of Sigebert the Little, who reigned jointly with Seba, his nephew. The first of those princes, with a part of his people, apostatized from Christianity, upon a mortality breaking out in his kingdom, and restored the heathen rites; but Seba continued steadfast in the faith. The kingdom of Wesssex, at this time, was feudatory to Wulphur, king of Mercia, who made use of his authority to restore Christianity. For this purpose he sent a bishop, whose labours were so indefatigable, that the Christian churches were again opened, and the heathen temples demolished. It is probable that the apostate prince himself was reclaimed by Edelfrith, daughter to Oswy, king of Northumberland, who, according to some historians, was a woman of a most holy life, and abbess of Berking, near London, even in her husband's time. Sigheer dying, Seba remained sole king of Essex, and governed with great justice and equanimity. Before his death he turned monk, in St. Paul's at London, where his coffin remained so late as the reign of James I. The whole of his reign was thirty years; and he was succeeded, in 694, by his two sons Sigheard and Senfred.

[Cyrillic.]

They by Sig-
heard and
Senfred.

These two princes did nothing memorable

enough for history to transmit. The former had retired to the monastery with his father; but, upon his death, resumed a temporal life. Ab A. D. 694
Ad A. D. 750.
[Bede.]

Offa, the son of Sigheard, who succeeded to the throne of Essex in the year 704, is noted for the comeliness of his person. He married Kineswith, daughter to Penda, the king of Mercia, at her father's court. Soon after his marriage, smitten with the disease of the times, and, as some historians say, overpersuaded by his wife, who followed his example, he went to Rome, in company with Kenred, king of Mercia, and Edwin, bishop of Winchester. At Rome he professed himself a monk, and died in the habit. They by
Offa,
who dies a
monk.

He was succeeded, in the year 709, by Selred, son to Sigebert the Good. All that we know of this prince is, that he reigned thirty-eight years, and died, without issue, about the year 747. It would appear, by William of Malmesbury, and the Saxon chronicle, that he died a violent death; but the manner is not related.

He was succeeded by Swithred; but who he was is uncertain. Under him Egbert, as shall be related in its proper place, reduced this kingdom under his own power. And thus the lame and imperfect history of Essex, as a kingdom, ends. Swithred the
last king of
Essex.

The KINGDOM of NORTHUMBERLAND.

Ab A. D. 560
Ad A. D. 588.

The division
and extent of
this kingdom.

WE now proceed to the history of a people eminent in war, and fortunate enough not to have their actions buried in that impenetrable cloud which hangs over the history of the other English Saxons. We have already given the reader an account of the foundations of this kingdom, and the most probable manner in which it came to be divided into the two provinces of Deira and Bernicia, the former containing the southern part of Northumberland, as far as the Humber; the other situated on the north of Severus's wall; its northern boundary undeterminable; perhaps, in the progress of this history, we may have occasion to carry it a good way into Scotland, in the lower countries of which, the Saxon language and manners early prevailed.

Ida, as we have already seen, dying in the year 560, Ella succeeded to the kingdom of Deira, while Edda, the eldest son of Ida, was king of Bernicia. Of the latter kingdom, and his successors, nothing is known besides their names and the length of their reigns. Florence tells us, that Adda reigned five years, Clappa (1) seven, Theodulph one, Freothulph seven, Theodric seven, and Ethelric two (2). Thus Ella, king of Deira, who came to that kingdom in the year 559, out-lived four of his cotemporary princes, and died in the year 588.

Edelric, says our elegant historian, came

to the crown in old age, after spending his youth in poverty. His memory, continues he, might have died in obscurity, had it not been ennobled and preserved by the merits of his ancestors. Ab A. D. 588
Ad A. D. 600.

Upon his death, Edelfrid, son to Ederic, and his coadjutor in the government, married Acca, daughter to Ella, and thereby got possession of that kingdom, in prejudice of Edwin, the infant son of Ella. Edelfrid was a brave man, and the terror both of Scots and Picts. The historian of Scotland acquaints us, that, in his time, the Scottish king, Aydan, renewed his league with the Britons, and both together resolved, if they could, to check the aspiring fortunes of Edelfrid. Accordingly, Aydan, now grown grey in the arts of government, clandestinely invaded the kingdom of Northumberland; but he soon spread terror and devastation on all hands. Edelfrid did not immediately march against him; he knew what advantage lust of plunder affords; and when the Scots, intent upon that, had their strength dissipated, he fell upon the body which their king commanded. The battle was long, bloody, and doubtful. Theobald, brother to Edelfrid, was cut off, with all the power he commanded. The fortunes of the Saxons, however, prevailing, the Scots were drove out of the field, leaving the greatest part of their army dead upon the spot. This

(1) Clappa five, according to one edition of Florence.

(2) I do not know whence Mr. Rapin took his catalogue of these kings; but, as usual, scarce a date he gives is right, though, it must be owned, there are variations about them in authors.

Ab A. D. 600 battle was fought at Degfastan. There is
Ad A. D. 607. reason for believing that Aydan was disap-
Buchanan. pointed by the Britons, who had promised
to join him; but, be that as it will, the
Scots were so broken by the late overthrow,
that the Saxons, for a long time, had no-
thing to fear from their quarter.

Edelfrid
marches to
besiege
Chester.
Is opposed by
an army of
praying
monks,

Edelfrid had now leisure to turn his
arms upon the Britons; accordingly he ad-
vanced to besiege Chester. The piety of
the Britons opposed him by an army of
praying monks, amounting to the number
of twelve hundred and fifty, most of them
from the monastery of Bangor. This spi-
ritual force, which, had they been armed
with swords, instead of prayers, might have
saved their country from destruction, draw-

ing up near the place where Edelfrid's army
lay, fell to their holy exercise. Edelfrid
being informed of their fanatical resolution,
with barbarous policy ordered them all to
be put to the sword, and was obeyed ac-
cordingly (1). A British officer, whose name
was Brocmail, had been sent by the Britons
to guard them; but, upon the first attack
of the Saxons, cowardly deserted them and
escaped. This unhappy omen was followed
by a general rout of the British army.

This defeat, but above all the slaughter
of the monks, has occasioned some very
gross reflections upon the memory of the
famous (2) St. Augustin. The reader may
consult the notes.

Edelfrid, after this victory, demolished

A. D. 607.
whom he
orders to be
put to death.

(1) William of Malmesbury relates this matter somewhat otherwise, though he says expressly, that this fight was at Chester, then in the hands of the Britons; which when king Edelfrid went about to besiege, the townsmen, resolving to suffer any thing rather than a siege, trusting in their numbers, sallied out to fight; whom, when by an ambush laid near the city, he had easily overcome: he then falling upon the monks, who were come in great numbers to pray for the success of the British army; of which, says this author, there must certainly have been an incredible number, since, even in his time, there were left such vast remains of churches and cloisters, and so great a heap of ruins, as you can scarce, says he, find any where else. The place is called Bangor, which was then an abbey of monks, but is now turned into a bishopric: yet here our author was mistaken; for this Bangor, where the monastery was, is in Flintshire, not far from the river Dee; whereas that which is the seat of the bishopric, is in Caernarvonshire, not far from the river or strait of Menai, which parts that country from the isle of Anglesey. But of all these great ruins mentioned by Malmesbury, there is now nothing left, save those of the two principal gates of this old city; the one of which is on that side towards England, and the other towards Wales, being about a mile asunder, the river Dee running between them. Tyrrel's Hist. Engl. p. 164.

(2) It must be owned, that there are some very ugly circumstances attending the whole of this story, with regard to Augustin. It is very certain, that he had threatened the Britons, in a very haughty barbarous manner, for not agreeing with him in some ecclesiastical points; and this overthrow is looked upon as the effect of his prediction, or rather menace; for so Bede himself terms it. But, that the reader may the better judge of the whole, I shall give him Bede's own account of the matter, as I find it in our ecclesiastical histories. "Augustin, being disappointed in this synod, is said to have menaced the Britons at his going away: he told them, that if they would not accept of peace from their brethren, they should be forced upon a war by the enemy; and if they declined to afford the English the word of life, they should receive their death from them by way of revenge." This unfriendly prediction, as Bede observes, was afterwards made good. This historian, who seems somewhat prepossessed in favour of Augustin, reports it as a judgment: he tells us, that Edelfrid, king of the Northumbrians above-mentioned, marched a great army to Caer-leon, and made a terrible slaughter among the Britons. This prince, having his forces drawn up in battalia, and ready to give the onset, perceived a body of men, but without any military appearance, planted in a place of security by themselves. These men making a figure something unsuitable to the occasion, he enquired who they were, and what their business might be? Now, by the way, these were all priests, who came into the field to pray for the success of their party. Most of them were religious, of the monastery of Bangor, where above two thousand monks lived, under seven directors, and maintained themselves by their labour. Most of this convent came into the field, with the rest of the clergy, having fasted three days, to recommend their prayers more effectually. When king Edelfrid was informed of the reason of their being there, he told his officers; "These men, says he, endeavour to engage their god against us; and though they don't carry arms, and draw their swords, yet they fight against us with their prayers, which is as much an act of hostility as the other." Upon this he orders his men to charge them in the first place. The falling upon these unarmed Britons, looked more like an execution than a battle; for one Brocmail, who had the command of a detachment to cover them, retired at the first charge, and left them naked to the enemy. Of these monks and clergy, who were about twelve hundred, not above fifty made their escape. The British army was likewise cut in pieces; though king Edelfrid purchased the victory with the loss of a great many of his troops.—Bede tells us, towards the end of this relation, that Augustin at this time was dead; but it has been strongly insisted by some of our most eminent historians, that this is no better than an interpolation upon Bede, because it is not found in king Alfred's old Saxon translation of that author. Our English divines, in general, are inclined to think, that Augustin was dead before this time; and as to the objection from the silence of Alfred's translation, I shall here translate the note of Dr. Smith, the editor of Bede, upon this passage of his author. "This clause, says he, is not found in the Saxon paraphrase; whence some collect, that it is an interpolation after the time of king Alfred, to take off the stain of the slaughter of the monks of Bangor, which might have been imputed to Augustin, had he been alive. For the other arguments, see those that have written on both sides of this question; but as to the reading, I think myself obliged to declare, that, in all the Latin copies I have consulted, I never found one without this clause, and that too without the least suspicion of mistake or fraud. Wheelock (in his epistle to Sir Simon Dewes, dated the 26th of January, 1639, which is in my lord Oxford's library) testifies the same of the three manuscripts which he had: besides, having in that epistle marked the threats of Augustin by no means to his advantage, he answers to the question of the slaughter of the monks, that no argument can be drawn from the omission of the Saxon translation, because it is usual with that paraphrast, in almost every line, to omit and interpolate." Thus far says Dr. Smith.—Bede does not mark the year in which Augustin died. Thence have arisen various opinions, all of which we need not recount, since Bede has reduced them into a narrow compass: for, in the year 604, Augustin ordained Melitus and Justus bishops; and, in the year 610, Melitus brought letters from pope Boniface at Rome, to archbishop Laurentius; within this period, therefore, Augustin must have lived and died. Mabillonius, from the Tab. Cantuar. Mon. Ang. I. p. 24, reckons it in the year 607; adding the legend of Eli, in which that church is said to have been founded by Augustin, in the year 607; but this appears so fabulous, that it is even injurious to the Kentish tradition. But the chronology of the monastery of St. Augustin, which is added to the ten writers in Thorn's chronicle, and, as appears by the collation, wrote by Helmham, mentions Gregory and Augustin as dying in the same year, namely 605. Wharton brings two reasons for its happening in 604; the one, viz. that about Gregory, is directly contrary to Bede, who places Gregory's death in 605; the other is from an error in the calculation in Thorn's chronicle, N. Script. p. 1765, where Augustin's death is placed in the feria tertia, though the above-mentioned chronology, whence Thorn had his calculation, clearly says, it happened in the feria quarta, as well in the edition of the ten writers, p. 229, as in the manuscripts. I conclude therefore, that Augustin died in the year 605, on the 7th of the calends of June, in the feria quarta. But, after all these philological disquisitions, it will be very hard fairly to clear Augustin of being any way accessory to this infamous massacre; nay, he is condemned upon the very face of Bede's own relation, and that of all our other historians, who make this massacre the completion of his prophecy. His dying a year later than this massacre, though it could be clearly proved, is nothing to the purpose; because the charge against him is, that his hatred to the Britons, for their not stooping to his pontifical pride, had led him to excite Eadbert, King of Kent, to encourage the Northumbrian to this invasion. Now, if this was the case, as his haughty denunciation against the Britons makes it more than probable that it was, it is nothing to the purpose whether he was alive or dead at the time when the massacre happened. The principles of the war seem plainly to have been laid down by him, and consequently the massacre was owing to him. Trivet, an ancient author quoted by Sir Henry Spelman, is expressly of this opinion.

A.D. 616.

Martinus into
Wales, as he
opposed and
defeated by
three British
generals.

His jealousy
of Edwin.

Edwin takes
refuge at the
court of Red-
wald.

Edwin takes
refuge at the
court of Red-
wald.

Edwin takes
refuge at the
court of Red-
wald.

(1) Though nothing can be more natural or more agreeable to the custom of courts, or the practice of a clergy, zealous
for proselytes and the advancement of religion, than the whole of this story appears, as Bede himself and our other hi-
storians relate it; yet it is ridiculously told, by Bede, as a miracle; and the stranger who came up to Edwin is converted
into an angel by our modern as well as ancient writers. "Tis pity that custom has made it indispensable in an historian
to give those ridiculous passages which are of no manner of importance, but as they have obtained a place with his pre-
decessors of Bede and former writers.—Edwin, being left alone without the palace gate, full of sad and perplexed thoughts,
Edmund, about the dead of night, a man approaching towards him, neither by countenance nor habit to him known,
who, after a short salutation, asked him, "Why, at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone sat so sadly waking,
"on a cold stone?" Edwin, wondering not a little who he might be, asked him again, "What his sitting within
"doors or without concerned him?" To whom he again replied, "Think not that who thou art, or why sitting here,
"or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: but what would you promise to that man who would free you out
"of all these troubles, and persuade Redwald not to molest you, nor give you up to your enemies?" "All that I am
"able," answered Edwin to the unknown. Then he proceeds thus: "What if the same person should promise to
"make you greater than any English king hath been before you?" "I should not doubt, replied Edwin, to be an-
"swerably grateful." "But what if, to all this, he would inform you, said the other, of a way to happiness beyond
"what any of your ancestors had known? would you hearken to his counsel?" Edwin, without any hesitation, pro-
"mised he would. Then the other, laying his right hand on his head, said, "When this sign shall next befall you, re-
"member this night and this discourse, nor defer to perform what thou hast now promised." And with these words dis-
"appeared, he was convinced that it was not a man, but a spirit, that had thus talked to him.
(2) Redwald, though in the main a Pagan, yet was a piece of a Christian, and tolerated Christianity. Some think
before this he had been baptized, but had relapsed to Paganism.

A.D. 616.

friend, despairing of safety elsewhere, and thinking generous confidence might avert intended destruction, meditated to give himself up to Redwald's award. Whilst he was in this plunge of thought, one (1), probably a secret Christian, and powerful with Redwald (2), came up and entered into conversation with him. It was now dark, therefore no wonder if this person was unknown to Edwin. But the purport of their discourse was an offer, on the part of the stranger, to divert Redwald from his resolution of giving up his royal guest, provided the latter would thereafter, upon a sign then agreed upon between them, follow his counsel. Edwin readily agreeing to this, the other, perhaps afraid of suspicion, suddenly departed. But it soon appeared, that the unknown did not promise without grounds; for, either knowing that Redwald had altered his resolution, or fixing him yet wavering between virtue and timidity, Edwin soon after received, from his noble friend, the joyful news that Redwald, through his queen's persuasion, had determined to protect him, though at the hazard of his own crown.

But Redwald, by his queen's persuasion, determines to protect him.

This resolution was, perhaps, wise in Redwald. Edelfrid was now become too formidable for the balance of the Saxon constitution in Britain; besides, his ferocity of manners, which gave him the surname of the Fierce, was both alarming and provoking to the neighbouring states. Redwald was neither without ambition nor virtues; he knew that Edelfrid was already too powerful, and unsuspecting of Edwin's abilities, losing no time, he wisely resolved to direct, upon his enemy's dominions, the storm of war which else must soon burst upon his own. But Edelfrid had denounced war immediately upon the refusal to deliver up Edwin; and was already advancing, with what forces he had hastily got together, against Redwald. The latter, however, was so well prepared, that both armies met near the river Idel, upon the Mercian border, now in Nottinghamshire.

His motive.

Edelfrid's denunciation of war between Redwald and Edelfrid.

Both armies meet.

Redwald, in the disposition of his army, shewed himself a great captain; and Edelfrid, in the attack he made, proved himself to be a brave man: for the East Anglian army being divided into three bodies (one of them commanded by Reiner, brother to

Henry of Huntingdon.

(1) Though nothing can be more natural or more agreeable to the custom of courts, or the practice of a clergy, zealous for proselytes and the advancement of religion, than the whole of this story appears, as Bede himself and our other historians relate it; yet it is ridiculously told, by Bede, as a miracle; and the stranger who came up to Edwin is converted into an angel by our modern as well as ancient writers. "Tis pity that custom has made it indispensable in an historian to give those ridiculous passages which are of no manner of importance, but as they have obtained a place with his predecessors of Bede and former writers.—Edwin, being left alone without the palace gate, full of sad and perplexed thoughts, Edmund, about the dead of night, a man approaching towards him, neither by countenance nor habit to him known, who, after a short salutation, asked him, "Why, at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone sat so sadly waking, "on a cold stone?" Edwin, wondering not a little who he might be, asked him again, "What his sitting within "doors or without concerned him?" To whom he again replied, "Think not that who thou art, or why sitting here, "or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: but what would you promise to that man who would free you out "of all these troubles, and persuade Redwald not to molest you, nor give you up to your enemies?" "All that I am "able," answered Edwin to the unknown. Then he proceeds thus: "What if the same person should promise to "make you greater than any English king hath been before you?" "I should not doubt, replied Edwin, to be an- "swerably grateful." "But what if, to all this, he would inform you, said the other, of a way to happiness beyond "what any of your ancestors had known? would you hearken to his counsel?" Edwin, without any hesitation, pro- "mised he would. Then the other, laying his right hand on his head, said, "When this sign shall next befall you, re- "member this night and this discourse, nor defer to perform what thou hast now promised." And with these words dis- "appeared, he was convinced that it was not a man, but a spirit, that had thus talked to him.

(2) Redwald, though in the main a Pagan, yet was a piece of a Christian, and tolerated Christianity. Some think before this he had been baptized, but had relapsed to Paganism.

NUM. XIII.

P P

Redwald)

A. D. 617. Redwald) Edelfrid, trusting to experienced fortune, with fierce though unguarded impetuosity, broke through that line, where, with his own hand, he slew Reiner. The death of his brother exasperated, and the disorder of the enemy encouraged, Redwald. He led his two unbroken lines against the enemy, now exulting with recent conquest; and Edelfrid, still relying on his own sword, cut his way into the thickest of the enemy's squadrons. But single and unsupported valour little avails against an armed host; Edelfrid fell, his army was routed, and his (1) two sons fled. This battle was fought in 617.

Edelfrid is killed, and his army routed.

Reflection.

Edwin takes possession of the crown of Northumberland.

Redwald dies.

Edwin reforms his kingdom.

It would appear, that Edelfrid and his family had been very unpopular in Northumberland; whether this was owing to their own unamiable manners, or to compassion for Edwin's blood and virtues, imports not. But Oswald and Oswy, Edelfrid's two sons, instead of retreating to their own country, and renewing the dispute for so bright a prize as a crown, fled to Scotland; while Edwin, victorious in Redwald's right, found no farther resistance in taking possession of Northumberland, and of all the conquests that had been made by Edelfrid. But this greatness, and the abilities he afterwards discovered, might have been fatal to his repose, had it not been for the death of Redwald, which happened in 624. Gratitude to his benefactor, joined perhaps to a dread of his power, had hitherto prevented Edwin from aspiring to the sovereignty of the Saxons; nay, after Redwald's death, when he might have seized the crown of Anglia, he put it upon the head of his son Eorpwald, who held it, however, as tributary to Northumberland. But these few intermediate years, between his accession to the crown of Northumberland and the death of Redwald, were spent in acts more useful to a people than the lustre of conquest or pursuits of ambition. When Edwin received his crown, it was to reign over a people warlike indeed, brave, and tenacious of liberty, but void of civil manners. The late prince was so far from polishing them, that he set them the example of rapine and injustice in his own person. Edwin had the courage to attempt, and the happiness to perfect, their reformation. The gross ignorance which then prevailed among the heathen and, indeed, the Christian Saxons, give little grounds to believe, that he copied his plan of civil polity from any former institution. It appears, that the excellent regulations he introduced, were struck out by his own good sense. The vicinity of Northumberland to the Scots and the northern kingdoms, had introduced the practice of mutual rapine; this practice brought on habit; all good faith was lost; and Northumberland was, at this time, a scene of theft and pillage. But no reformation is too difficult for a king who has merit and popularity on his side; and Edwin, without the help of written laws, found the means of introducing

so strict a course of justice, that, to express it in the words of the venerable historian, a woman with a young infant might have walked over all his dominions without receiving the smallest violence. The accommodation for travellers, in those days, appears to have been very bad. Edwin cheered even the desert itself, by making wells, at proper distances, upon the high roads, for the refreshment of travellers: near those wells were erected posts, at which were fixed brazen dishes, such as we still see upon some hospitable roads. Such was both the dread and love which his subjects entertained for him, that there was no instance, in his kingdom, of any of those vessels, however massy, being stolen.

Erects wells for the refreshment of travellers.

Edwin had been married to a sister of the king of Mercia; but she dying, he now thought of another match. Casting his eyes upon Ethelberg, sister to Eadbald, king of Kent, by this time restored to the bosom of the church, Edwin sent to demand her in marriage. Eadbald was too faithful a convert, and too much under the influence of Laurentius, his spiritual father and archbishop of Canterbury, to give away his sister to a Pagan, however splendid the match, however powerful the alliance. Stipulating therefore free exercise for his sister in her religion, and hoping her influence might bring over her husband, the marriage was concluded upon, and the lady sent to Edwin, attended by bishop Paulin as her spiritual guide (a man of great address and wisdom) together with other priests and servants, who were to attend her person, and enjoy the exercise of their religion.

See p. 128.

He marries Ethelberg, sister to the king of Kent.

The vernal showers that call forth the grain, call forth the weeds also; so is it with the heart of man. Prosperity displayed at once the virtues and the vices of Edwin. The death of Redwald gave his ambition leisure to look round; a wide career of glory was opened to his view; the neighbouring states, distracted by foreign wars, intestine commotions, or disputed successions, were unable to make head against his aspiring attempts. Cinegils and Quinchelm, joint kings of Wessex, were the only princes who could dispute his superiority. But Edwin, strengthened by his alliance with the king of Mercia, managed so well, that the West Saxon princes were glad to sue for peace. Edwin consented; but his power was now too great, and his ambition too manifest, for Quinchelm to hope to be more than a precarious monarch while Edwin was alive. The young prince, therefore, stooped to a meanness which blasted his other good qualities; for, in the year 626, he sent a ruffian (one Eamer) to dispatch him. The assassin for this purpose made use of an envenomed dagger, and came upon Easter-day to Edwin, who was then at one of his seats upon the river Derwent. Pretending to be charged with a message from his prince, he had easy admittance to Edwin's person. Watching his opportunity,

Cinegils and Quinchelm make head against him, but are obliged to sue for peace.

Quinchelm endeavours his assassination;

(1) Malmsbury says, that those two princes were very young, and saved by the care of their nurses; but this is unlikely, if they were in the battle.

A. D. 626.

but the ruffian employed is prevented from the execution.

he drew his dagger; but, through the confusion of guilt, not so quickly as to be unperceived by Lilla, one of Edwin's ministers, who in his faithful breast received the stroke aimed at that of his master. The assassin, however, had driven it so home, that the point of the weapon even reached the body of Edwin, though not with mortal consequences. The guards interposing, the desperate ruffian, resolving to do all the mischief he could, slew another of the king's servants before he could be dispatched.

The very night of this intended assassination, Edwin's queen brought forth a daughter, for whose birth the king's piety led him to give thanks to his gods in the presence of Paulin. Coifi was then the chief of his idol priests; he appears to have been a man of sense and moderation, and very possibly had a secret understanding with Paulin. This artful prelate, therefore, took occasion, from all those favourable concurrent circumstances, to attempt what he had been long meditating, I mean, the conversion of Edwin to Christianity. The late infamous attempt of a Pagan prince to murder him, gave him, no doubt, a spacious field for declaiming against the perfidy of a religion that could direct and authorize assassination. This seasonable delivery of his Christian queen, which he attributed to the efficacy of his own prayers, gave him matter of exhortation; and the moderation of Coifi, assurance of victory. Thus, taking the king in all the overflowings of his gratitude, and openness of heart, for his late deliverance and mercy; and promising him what he had no power to grant, victory over his enemies, Edwin consented to renounce his idols, and to have a veneration for Christ. At the same time, as an earnest of his future progress, he gave his consent that his new-born daughter should be baptized, together with eleven (1) of his domestics.

Edwin, by the persuasion of Paulin, becomes inclined to Christianity.

He conquers Quinchelm,

and depopulates Wesssex.

Edwin was no sooner recovered of his wound, than he advanced at the head of an army, to chastise the treachery of the West Saxon prince. As he was naturally haughty, he considered it not as treachery only, but treason, being now at the head of the Saxons; and the two kings of Wesssex were too feeble to oppose his power. A battle ensued, in which Edwin being victorious, he acted, in every respect, with the same severity as if he had been the natural lord of Wesssex, putting to death those he suspected, and receiving others to favour. This success encreasing his power and reputation, he returned to his own dominions, where he prosecuted his civil schemes in regulating the manners of his people; but appeared to be under great disquietudes with regard to religion. His mind was in that undesirable state which hankers after the old, without heartily embracing the

the new. But the artful Paulin, hearing of his adventure with the stranger, and learning the agreed upon sign, which was the imposition of the hand upon the king's head, took advantage of Edwin's fluctuations, and, giving him the sign, awakened in his mind the promise he had made to the stranger, and the most tender sentiments of gratitude for the service he had done him. Other means than this had not been wanting to effect his conversion; for the pope, some months before, had wrote both to him and his queen in the most moving terms, and such as perhaps contributed not a little to determine him. But a total subversion of religion, in a free state, is not to be attempted merely upon a prince's personal credit; he therefore determined to take the advice of his states, that he might see how far he might depend upon support from them.

A. D. 627. Paulin continuing his exhortations to him to become a Christian.

He advises with his states.

Their determination.

Coifi was his first minister, as well as his chief priest, and, in that capacity, presided in the meeting. Being called upon to give his opinion, he did it with a noble candour and disinterestedness, and concluded for a fair examination of the new doctrine, which, if found more excellent than the old, in his judgment, ought immediately to be embraced. Several other noblemen declaring their sentiments to the same purpose, Paulin was ordered to preach before the assembly; which done, Coifi feeling, or pretending to feel, conviction, declared for an immediate demolition of the heathen idols; and, as a mark that he threw off his former character of priest, putting on armour, and taking a lance in his hand, he boldly advanced, and was the first who struck down one of the idols. This forwardness in the chief of their religion had a great effect upon the people; and Coifi, encouraged by their approbation, ordered the temple of their idols to be burnt to the ground.

Coifi strikes down one of the idols.

and burns the temple.

Edwin soon after, with all his court, was baptized, in the year 627, being the eleventh of his reign, at York, of which he made Paulin the bishop. His conversion to Christianity seems to have strengthened his power; and, if we are to believe his historians, even the Welsh themselves paid him tribute. The isles of (2) Anglesey and Man, till this time, seem to have lived under their own princes; but now submitted to Edwin. The Britons alone, according to our historians, had the courage to assert their ancient freedom, and made an attempt to shake off Edwin's yoke; but without success, their king, Ceadwalla, being driven to seek refuge in Ireland. This swell of prosperity still soothing the natural pride of Edwin, he now assumed all the badges of absolute sovereignty over Britain; and, amongst the other ensigns carried before him, was the (3) thuuf, a distinction he seems to have borrowed

Wales, and the isles of Anglesey and Man, submit to Edwin.

[Geoffrey of Monmouth.]

His pride.

(1) Matthew of Westminster says, thirty.

(2) The text of Bede says, quin et Mavianas insulas imperio subjugavit Anglorum; but Camden very rightly conjectures, that it ought to be read Menavias insulas, which undoubtedly signify the islands of Anglesey and Man.

(3) Various are the opinions with regard to this ensign. Some think it was the same with the globe and cross, now used in our coronations. For my part, I am apt to believe that Edwin had it from the Britons, that he wore it in mark of peculiarity.

Ab A. D. 627 borrowed from the Romans, to express his
 Ad A. D. 633. sovereignty over this island.

He raises the
 jealousy of
 Ceadwalla and
 Penda,

who encoun-
 tering with
 Edwin at
 Hatfield,

kill him, and
 put his army
 to the rout.

Such were the outward distinctions he affected, while he carried his claim of prerogative higher than had been known; but this, in the end, proved fatal to himself. It raised the jealousy of the other Saxon princes, especially of Ceadwalla, king of the Britons, and Penda, king of Mercia, two princes of great spirit and courage. We are informed, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, that the former having been driven by Edwin into Ireland, there raised a strong body, with which returning, he forced the king of Mercia to join his forces with him against Edwin. This is far from being improbable, since we have the authority of Bede himself for saying that the combined army of those two princes advanced as far as Hatfield, in the west-riding of Yorkshire, where they were met by Edwin. My authorities are silent as to the numbers on each side, and the particulars of the battle; but that, in general, it was bloody. The confederate princes obtaining a complete victory, and leaving Edwin, with his son Offred, dead upon the spot, the latter, as we are informed, being killed before his father's face, the devastations that then followed in Northumberland are unspeakable. Penda was a Pagan; but Ceadwalla, says my author, worse than a Pagan, though professing Christianity. The latter, therefore, giving a loose to all the innate inveteracy of his nation against the Saxons, spared neither sex nor age. The head of Edwin was brought to York, where it was decently interred in a church of his own building. Bishop Paulin, seeing the devastation, fled, with the queen dowager, back to their native country of Kent, together with the wrecks of her family, the jewels of the crown, and the church plate, which seem to have been very considerable.

Edfred flies to
 Penda,

who orders
 him to be
 murdered.

Edfred, the surviving son of Edwin, by his first marriage with the Mercian princess, despairing to escape, resolved rather to trust to the mercy of an enraged Pagan, than the zeal of a misguided Christian. Dreading, therefore, above death itself, falling into the hands of Ceadwalla, he fled to Penda, who afterwards, either to gratify Ceadwalla, or through motives of personal revenge, ordered him to be murdered.

Ofric seizes
 the kingdom
 of Deira, and
 Anfred that of
 Bernicia.

Whilst the conquering princes, with a more than barbarous fury, were raging in Northumberland, Ofric, a relation of Edwin, and Anfred, son to Edelfrid, who had been generously protected by the Scottish king, found means to seize the succession of Edwin. Ofric was made king of Deira, and Anfred of Bernicia; but by what means Bede is silent, and to follow Geoffrey is dangerous. Most probable it is, that the divi-

tion of the succession was owing to the jealousies between the two countries not suffering them to have a king in common.

Ceadwalla, who behaved rather like a fury than a man, was, at this time, in the city of (1) York. Here Ofric endeavoured to shut him up; but the Briton sallying out, the other, by his life, paid the forfeit of his rashness. Ceadwalla then returned to his ravages; and Anfred, hoping by submission to mollify his rage, unadvisedly put himself into his hands, with so thin a retinue as twelve persons; him Ceadwalla likewise treacherously put to death. Thus fell those two momentary kings, who, after being baptized in Scotland, where, in their youth, they had been kindly received and entertained, had, during the short time of their power, returned to Paganism. This apostasy has given rise to some ungenerous expressions from our old historians.

Oswald, the brother of Anfred, and with him exile in Scotland, resolved, amidst these

afflicting calamities of his country, either to save her, or bury himself in her ruins. Ceadwalla, like a ravenous beast, the more he tasted of blood, the more he thirsted after it, now thought himself secure in his conquests. Security begot ruin. Oswald, cautious and crafty, got together a handful of men, small indeed, but stout, and inspired with that noble enthusiasm arising from the love of their desolated country, which never fails to produce glorious effects, they solemnly devoted themselves to his service. With these he resolved to make head against Ceadwalla, that scourge of the Saxons, though, at this time, at the head of an army which he termed irresistible. They met at Cockley, upon the rivulet Erringburn, near the Pictish wall. Ceadwalla, flushed with success, considered Oswald and his small army as doomed to slaughter, and advanced against them rather as a prey than an enemy. Oswald took care to possess himself of a place so advantageous, as to resist the first brunt of hostile fury; and, to confirm his little band in their noble resolution, he erected a cross by way of standard. Devotion, on such an occasion as this, is far from partaking of that droning unactive quality recommended by monks and designing priests; it inspires resolution in the patriot, and gives an edge to the hero's sword. Oswald, therefore, in fight of his whole army, laboured at erecting the cross; and, just before the charge was sounded, kneeling down, he implored the divine assistance against the pride of his enemies, and attested heaven for the justice of his cause. Thus animated, and thus resolved, his army stood the charge of Ceadwalla, who attempted to force their intrenchments; but as he was, in person, en-

A. D. 633.

Ofric, endeavouring to shut up Ceadwalla in York, is killed.

Anfred surrenders himself to Ceadwalla, and is put to death.

Oswald's resolution.

He gets together a handful of men,

and advances against Ceadwalla.

His devotion.

culiar superiority over them, and that they had it from the Romans. Vegetius speaks of it as one of the Roman ensigns. Muta (says he) signa sunt, aquilæ, dracones, vexilla, flamulæ, tufæ, pinnæ. Veget. lib. iii. cap. 5. It is described as being composed of a collection of rounded feathers. It is not at all improbable that the ancient royal banner, with the dragon upon it, was no other than the imitation of the Roman eagle, which the Britons had retained of their conquerors, and that this thuf was a standard of the same kind. If I may be indulged a conjecture of my own, I should be inclined, from the similarity of the words, to believe, that the word tuf, to express a collection of feathers, hair, lawn, or the like, in one bundle, is borrowed from this tufa.

(1) Bede calls this oppidum municipium, by which he means no more than his capital.

couraging

Ab. A. D. 633 couraging his men, and leading up the at-
Ad. A. D. 642. tack, he was killed by an arrow. The

Ceadwalla
killed,

and his Bri-
tons routed.

Northumbrians, upon this, took care to improve that disorder which must necessarily attend the death of a great general, slain in the heat of battle; for, keeping themselves fresh and entire, they rushed out all of a sudden, and falling upon the enemy, obtained a complete victory. Thus the pious resolution of one young man, brought up in the school of adversity, and trained up to the liberal arts, in those days uncommon, saved his country from unavoidable perdition; and the deliverance seemed so wonderful in their eyes, that the place where the celebrated cross was erected was called Heoffenselt, or the field of heaven.

Oswald takes
possession of
the kingdom
of Northum-
berland.

Oswald then took quiet possession of the united kingdoms of Northumberland, to which he had a double title, as will appear by the genealogical table I shall affix to this history. His first care was to re-establish civil polity, and restore the purity of worship. His education rendered him the most learned and understanding prince of the age; and his great virtues not only united the affections of the two kingdoms over which he reigned, but gained such credit with his cotemporary Saxons, that he was chosen the head of their confederacy. In short, with humbler virtues and a better heart, he succeeded to Edwin's power and credit. Among his many personal virtues, his charity to the poor is recounted in an instance of his sending them untouched dishes from his own table, and ordering the silver plate, in which they were served up, to be broken and divided among them. But his power, the tranquility of his government, and the excellency of his character, soon excited the ambition of Penda, the famous Mercian king; who, impatient of a superior, raised a great army, with which he invaded Oswald's dominions. The latter, not to be wanting to himself and his subjects, and considering his kingdom as still smarting with the effects of former devastations, advanced to meet him with what forces he could hastily raise. Both armies came to action at a place called, by Bede, Maserfelth, generally thought to be in Shropshire. The battle went against Oswald, and he was killed, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and in the year 642, after a reign, for the most part peaceable, of nine years. Both the church and state of England are greatly indebted to the pious labours of this prince and his predecessor Edwin. The excellent regulations they introduced, began to soften the fierceness of the Saxons; and had not their piety taken that slavish unactive turn which exhausted the public exchequer by lavish grants to the

His charity
to the poor.

Penda invades
Northumber-
land,

and kills Os-
wald.

Reflection on
this prince
and his prede-
cessor

clergy, fills our histories with ridiculous figments of miracles, and debauched great part of the inhabitants from the active service in fields to droning indolence in cells; had it not, I say, been for this detrimental turn, the virtues of those two Saxon princes, and some of their successors, might, in that dark age, have raised England to that pitch of greatness she has since known.

The sword of the victorious Penda, soon destroyed what the two Northumbrian princes had, for some years, been effecting with so great zeal and abilities. Having wasted all the country of Northumberland, he laid siege to Banbury, which, as we have already seen, was built by king Ida. I have already hinted, that military architecture was then uncommon, and the art of carrying walled towns by sieges consequently imperfect. Penda therefore, impatient of resistance, and unable to carry the place, demolishing the little villages round the town, brought together all the wood of which they were built, and piling it under the walls of Banbury, attempted to reduce it to ashes. So great a quantity of materials and combustibles raised the pile, in some places, almost as high as the walls of the town; but no sooner had the flames caught it, than the wind veering, drove them full upon the faces of the besiegers, who thereby suffered greatly; and Penda, thus baffled, raising the siege, quitted Northumberland.

Penda besieges
Banbury.

[See p. 104.]

Attempts to
burn it;

but is baffled,
and raises the
siege.

In the year 642, Oswy, brother to Oswald, succeeded to the kingdom of Bernicia; and two years after, Oswin, the son of Ofric, and cousin to Edwin the Great, was placed upon the throne of Deira. The affections of the Deirans, attached to Oswin, made it dangerous for Oswy to oppose this partition, while so formidable an enemy as Penda was in condition to take advantage of their divisions. But the mildness and inactivity of Oswin soon encouraged him, upon Penda's being employed in other wars, to attempt the re-union of Deira to his own crown. Oswin, with a head more fitted for a cowl than a crown, made but a poor resistance: he indeed raised some forces; but he had not the spirit to act offensively, occasioned, as Malmesbury says, by the (1) poverty of his army. Giving orders, therefore, that they should be disbanded at a place called Wilfersdun, he himself retired, attended only by one domestic, to the house of a nobleman, one Hunwald, who he trusted would be faithful to him in his misfortune; but his treacherous host betrayed him to his rival, who ordered him and his faithful servant to be put (2) to death, at a place called Ingethlingum, in the year 651.

Oswy king of
Bernicia, and
Oswin of
Deira.

Oswy attempts
the reunion of
Deira to his
own crown.

Oswin is be-
trayed and
killed.

The character of this prince is a favourite His character.

(1) Rapin says, that this was occasioned by a scruple of religion: "Oswin, says he, was a mild and peaceable prince, more devout than brave, and though drawn into the war purely by necessity, yet for all that he could not conquer his scruples: he verily believed, the shedding his subjects blood in his quarrel was the greatest of sins." For all this stuff he quotes William of Malmesbury, who has not a syllable of the matter, and gives us no such character of Oswin. His words, speaking of Oswin, are, Namque pro penuria exercitus bello abstinendum ratus suburbanum rus clanculo con-cesserat; statimque a suis proditus ab Oswio interemptus est, vir egregie factus ad emendandam gratiam civium largitione pecuniæ, animæ quoque suæ ut ferunt non negligens mentis devotione.

(2) Bromton, in his chronicle, says, that Oswin was put to death by the domestic who attended him; but Bede, who certainly was better informed, has related the story as I give it.

Ab A.D. 651 one with Bede. He was remarkably handsome and beautiful in person; so bountiful in his disposition, and so obliging in his manners, that his court was the politest of any then in Britain, and generally resorted to by strangers. But his good-nature degenerated into meanness, as appears from (1) an instance given us by Bede, by way of encomium upon his piety; though, impartially considered, a satire upon his understanding. We are told, by the same venerable historian, that the favourite prelate of his court predicted his doom; and, as I am always apt to interpret these predictions as the effect of information, there is too good reason for suspecting that his rival had a secret intelligence with his court, and had found means to debauch some of his most considerable subjects. This conjecture is confirmed by his army being so ill provided, that it durst not hazard a battle, and his being betrayed by the nobleman he most trusted.

The Deirans
repent his
death.

The death of a prince so beloved as Oswin was, effected by cruelty and treachery, was suitably repented by the irreconcilable aversion his subjects immediately discovered for his rival: for they recognized Adelwald, the son of the excellent king Oswald; though there is some reason, upon the face of the history, for doubting whether he ever actually possessed that throne. This spirit of the Deirans gave Oswy great disquietude, especially as the right of succession was so unsettled, by reason of the various channels through which it had run; he therefore sought to strengthen himself by an alliance with that family from which he had most to dread; I mean that of Penda, king of Mercia, the old and the sworn enemy to the race of Ella. Accordingly, Alfrid, his son, married Chineburga, daughter to Penda; and this alliance opening an intercourse and intimacy between the two families, the young Alfrid, soon after, brought about a match between his own sister and Penda, son to Penda, who through his father's indulgence, was, at this time, in possession of a separate government, being eolderman of Leicester. When Penda came to claim the young lady, difficulties being started with regard to his religion, he being a Pagan, though a prince of great hopes, he quickly removed them, by promising to turn Christian; which he accordingly did. But those ties of blood and alliance were but weak to Penda, who had no passion but for war, and tasted no pleasure like that of harrassing the Northumbrians.

Intermarriages between the Northumbrian and Merican princes;

but Penda continues his devastations.

His irruptions, at last, proving intolerable, and the greatness of his power being irresistible, Oswy sought to gain his friendship, or at least some respite, by presents and submissions. These rejected by the haughty Mercian, Oswy resolved to hazard all by one decisive blow, rather than that his kingdom should continue longer the object of unrelenting fury. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of the few forces he could bring together, in the year 655 he took the field, together with his son Alfrid. Penda, a little before this, had assaulted and burnt to the ground Banbury-castle; and Oswy, almost despairing of success, made a solemn vow, in the bitterness of his heart, to devote his daughter to a monastic life, and endow twelve monasteries. Penda, in the mean time, had strengthened himself by an alliance with Adelwald, to whose right Oswy still preserved his claim; and the king of East Anglia was likewise a party in the same alliance. Penda, thus raising an army greatly superior to that of Oswy, thought of nothing but cheap conquest; but Adelwald, now acquainted more intimately with the sentiments of Penda, and, therefore, considering himself as but the last victim to his fury, bethought how he might build his own fortunes upon the ruins of both parties. Accordingly, dissembling his intentions, he still kept fair with the Mercians, who came up with Oswy's small, but determined, army at Leeds in Yorkshire. Here Penda, who depended on Adelwald's assistance, boldly attacked the Northumbrians; but, in the heat of the battle, found himself, all at once, deserted by Adelwald and his division. Such a defection, at so critical a juncture, sunk the Mercians and East Angles with the most terrible apprehensions; they imagined they were betrayed, and every man began to suspect his fellow. The two confederate kings did all they could to undeceive them, and to renew the battle; but Oswy and his army resuming fresh forces, broke in upon their disorder, and Penda and Ethelbert, the king of the East Angles, were killed upon the spot. A total rout now ensued; while the Mercians and East Angles, in the streams of the river Wenved, which ran hard by, and was then swollen above its banks, met the fate which they wanted to avoid from the swords of the Northumbrians.

A. D. 655.
Oswy, getting together what forces he could,

Oswy, thus victorious, religiously performed his vows; and, to conciliate the minds of his subjects for his cruelty in killing his kinsman Oswin, he erected a monastery at

Oswy makes reprisals upon the Northumbrians.

(1) King Oswin had bestowed an excellent horse upon Aidan, that charitable bishop of Lindisfarne; but the bishop, when a poor man asked an alms, gave him the horse, with all the rich furniture upon him. The king hearing of this, as they were going to dinner, said to him, "My lord bishop, why would you give that noble horse, that I bestowed upon you for your own saddle, to a poor man? Have we not many worse horses, and other things, which would better serve the poor, instead of this horse which I made choice of for your own riding?" The bishop instantly replied, "Sir, what do you say? Is that son of a mare more dear to you than the son of God?" With that they went to dinner; the bishop took his seat; but the king, being newly come in from hunting, sat down by the fire with his attendants; but remembering what the bishop had said, he rose suddenly up, and giving his sword to his servant, ran hastily to the bishop, and falling down at his feet, besought him not to be angry, affirming, he would never after speak, or concern himself, whatever he gave to the children of God. The bishop being wonderfully amazed, and rising hastily from his seat, raised him up, telling him, he was very well pleased, if he would but sit down to dinner and be cheerful. The king then, at his request, began to be merry; but the bishop to be sad, insomuch that he shed tears; of which his priest taking notice, and in their own language (being the Scottish, which neither Oswin nor his servants understood) demanded the reason: "I know, saith he, that the king will not live long; for, till now, I never beheld an humble king; whence I apprehend, that he will speedily be taken away from us; for this nation is not worthy of such a governor." Not long after, this presage of the bishop was fulfilled in the murder of Oswin.

the

Ab A. D. 655 the place he was murdered. Thus impi-
 Ad A. D. 684. ously bargaining with heaven for guilt, he
 then marched into Mercia, and, without
 regarding his alliance with young Peada,
 seized its crown, leaving Peada only what he
 was possessed of in his father's life-time,
 and which, on his being poisoned by his
 wife, Oswy seized likewise. Thus power-
 ful and feared, he was chosen chief of the
 Saxon confederacy, and exercised his supe-
 riority with great haughtiness and pride.
 This compelled the Mercians to take up
 arms; so that Oswy, after possessing their
 country for three years, was driven out of
 it by a prince of the Mercian blood royal.
 But Adelwalt, king of Deira, soon after dy-
 ing without issue, Oswy took possession of
 the undivided kingdom of Northumberland;
 though, in a little time, he gave Deira to his
 natural son Alfrid. At last he died, in the
 year 670, and was buried at Whitby mo-
 nastery in Yorkshire.

He is chosen
 chief of the
 Saxon confe-
 deracy.

He is suc-
 ceeded by
 Egfrid,

He was succeeded in the kingdom of Ber-
 nicia by Egfrid. This prince, looking with
 an evil eye upon the dismembering of his
 paternal dominions, found means to dis-
 possess his brother Alfrid of Deira. The
 latter, upon this, retired to Ireland, where
 he applied himself to study, in which he
 made great progress.

who deprives
 bishop Wil-
 fred of his see.

He appeals to
 Rome; the
 pope decrees
 his restora-
 tion.

In the mean time, Egfrid found himself
 engaged in a war against Ethelred, king of
 Mercia; and in another, and not less dan-
 gerous war, with bishop Wilfred. The
 pomp and riches of this prelate had stirred
 some jealousy in Ermenburg, wife to Egfrid,
 and she prevailed with her husband to drive
 him from his see. Egfrid, who seems not
 to have been such a devotee to the church
 as his predecessors had been, resolved to
 follow his resentment by a formal depriva-
 tion of Wilfred, which he prevailed upon
 Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and
 three other bishops, to put into execution.
 It was in vain for Wilfred to remonstrate
 upon the injustice of this, so he was obliged
 to appeal to Rome, where the pope, in a
 full synod, decreed him to be restored to
 his bishopric; but Egfrid, disregarding of
 papal authority, never would suffer his de-
 cree to take place. In his wars with the
 Mercians he was equally successful; for
 though they attacked his dominions, yet
 were they glad to retreat, in order to de-
 fend their own. He likewise chastised the
 Picts, who invaded Northumberland; but,
 in the year 679, coming to a battle with
 Ethelred, king of the Mercians, near the
 river Trent, he lost his brother Eswin. A
 peace, however, being concluded between
 the two princes, by the mediation of arch-
 bishop Theodore, and a sum being paid in
 consideration of Eswin's death, Egfrid was
 chosen head of the Saxon confederacy.

Egfrid sends
 over Bertus to
 reduce Ire-
 land.

With this accession of power and credit,
 in the year 684, he sent over an army, un-
 der the command of one Bertus, to reduce
 Ireland. The Irish, an inoffensive people,
 and ever very friendly to the English, en-
 deavoured, by prayers and submissions, to

avert from their country the calamities of
 war; but the Northumbrian, raging with
 unparalleled fury, sparing neither age nor
 sex, however tender, nor place, however
 sacred, the inhabitants, at last, made use
 of the means which nature had put into
 their hands for their own defence. In this
 they were so successful that they drove the
 Northumbrians, in a short time, out of their
 country. Egfrid resolved to revenge this
 miscarriage upon their countrymen the Scots;
 for this purpose, in direct opposition to the
 opinion of his council, he broke the league
 which he had made with Eugenius, the
 king of Scotland; and, joining with the
 Picts, he entered Galloway, in Scotland,
 with fire and sword: but the crafty Scot,
 suspecting the worst, was in readiness with
 a strong army to receive him; and dealt so
 effectually with his Pictish allies, that they
 withdrew their forces from the field. Eg-
 frid was not a match of himself for the
 Scots, who cut off most of his army, and
 he himself was obliged, wounded, to retire
 hastily to his own dominions.

Ab A. D. 684.
 Ad A. D. 705.
 The Irish
 drive him out
 of their coun-
 try.

[Buchanan.]

He makes in-
 cursions into
 Scotland;

but is beat
 home by Eu-
 genius their
 king.

Next year, in opposition again to his
 council, he attacked the Picts, in revenge
 for their deserting him the year before. The
 latter, feigning a panic, retired to their
 mountains, and thus brought Egfrid into an
 ambush, where he lost his life and his army.
 This defeat was attended with very bad con-
 sequences to the crown of Northumberland;
 for not only the Picts recovered that part of
 their country which had been seized by the
 kings of Northumberland, but the Scots and
 Britons seized each those portions of territory
 which had been dismembered from their do-
 minions.

Attacking the
 Picts, he and
 his army are
 by them slain.

Though Egfrid had been twice married,
 yet he died without issue, in the year 686;
 so that the Northumbrians recalled Alfrid,
 at this time an exile in Ireland, to take pos-
 session of their throne. This prince, greatly
 improved during the time of his exile, did
 all he could to retrieve the splendor of the
 Northumbrian crown; but the several people
 I have already mentioned had settled them-
 selves so firmly in their recovered lands,
 that he was forced to be contented with a
 more contracted territory than his ancestors
 had enjoyed. What he possessed, however,
 he held firmly, without stooping even to the
 authority of the pope, interceding for Wil-
 fred the exiled prelate. He seems to have
 been greatly assisted in this by the disposi-
 tions of king Eugenius, who, like himself,
 was a man of learning, and cultivated a
 friendship with the Northumbrians. But it
 appears that he was still at war with the
 Picts, since the Saxon chronicle informs us,
 that Bertus, probably the same general who
 had been sent against the Irish, was killed by
 the Picts. Matthew of Westminster says,
 that, in revenge of his master Egfrid's death,
 he had invaded the Pictish territories, where
 he met with the merited fate for the cruel-
 ties he had inflicted upon the harmless Irish.
 We know little or nothing more of the civil
 history of this prince, only that he died in
 the

He is suc-
 ceeded by Al-
 frid.

Ab A. D. 705 the year 705, leaving his son Ofred, an infant of eight years of age, under the guardianship of Brithric, one of his noblemen.

Eadwulf
usurps the
throne.

One Eadwulf, a nobleman of the country, taking advantage of this minority, formed a party, which drove the young prince and his guardian from the government, himself for some time usurping the throne. This Eadwulf, however, appears to have been a man of spirit: for Wilfred, hitherto unable to effect his restoration to his see, imagining that a fair opportunity now offered, sent a messenger, offering the usurper his service and friendship; for so the words of my author imply. It would appear, from the same author, that Wilfred had the charge of this Eadwulf's son at this time, which might be another inducement to his application. But Eadwulf, fearing the aspiring spirit and the great power of Wilfred, resolutely answered, that, "by the salvation of his soul, unless the prelate left his kingdom in six days time, he would cut off every man of his company who should fall into his hands." This menace, probably, was fatal to the tyrant; for Wilfred, giving all his interest to the young Ofred, a conspiracy was formed, by which, two months after, he was driven from the kingdom; and Ofred's tutors wisely put him under the guardianship of Wilfred, who adopted him for his son. Thus much from the author above-quoted, who living at the time, his authority is the less to be suspected.

Heddi.
Bishop Wilfred
applies to
him for his
restoration to
his see.

Eadwulf's answer.

Ofred succeeds.

Ofred degenerated from the virtues of his ancestors, by giving himself up to all manner of sensuality; and grew so unpopular, that a conspiracy was formed to deprive him of his crown, in the year 716. The heads of the conspiracy were Kenred and Ofric, two of his own kinsmen, who, in a pitched battle, deprived him at once of his crown and life, in the nineteenth year of his age, and the eleventh of his reign.

Kenred.

Kenred, who, by an illegitimate branch, was descended from Ida, succeeded Ofred, and reigned two years. Of his reign we have no particulars.

Ofric.

He was succeeded by Ofric, in the year 718, who reigned eleven years. Of this prince, likewise, we have no particulars, other than that he lived, reigned, and died, after adopting into his kingdom Ceolwulf, brother to his predecessor Kenred.

This prince, imitating the pacific virtues of his great ancestors, did all he could to live in a state of quiet, and restore the golden age of the monks. We learn, however, from Bede, who dedicated his history to this prince, that the first part of his reign was very distracted, but that the Picts and Scots inviolably preserved their friendship and alliances. Ceolwulf was deeply tinctured

with monastic prejudices; for, after he had reduced his kingdom to a state of tranquility, his example created a general passion in all the Northumbrian nation, nobles as well as private persons, for a monastic life. At last, he himself assumed the habit, after surrendering his kingdom to his nephew Edgbert, about the year 738. He then retired to the monastery of Lindisfarn; but was far from practising the severities of a monastic life; for he had taken care to endow the monastery so richly, that all the parsimony of living was banished from it, and Ceolwulf introduced a way of living very comfortable, and not quite void of luxury. He survived his abdication but a year.

The territories of Edgbert were invaded by Ethelbald, the haughty king of Mercia, who, not finding sufficient resistance, carried off a great deal of plunder. Some authors tell us, that, at the time of this invasion, the Northumbrians were engaged in opposing another from the Picts. In the

Ethelbald invades the Northumbrians while they are engaged with the Picts.

year 740, we find Edgbert leading Kinewulf, the bishop of Lindisfarn, a prisoner to Banbury. The charge against the prelate must have been of a very heinous nature, since it obliged the temporal power to employ its sword. From what has dropt from (1) Simeon of Durham, it appears to have been

Edgbert leads Kinewulf prisoner to Banbury.

no less than the murder of a prince of the blood royal, who, flying to the prelate's church for protection, was there put to death; and, as will appear from Edgbert's resentment, by order, or at least connivance, of Kinewulf. The same author gives a hint as if the bishop had taken up arms; for he tells us, that the king besieged the church of Lindisfarn. The same year Edgbert carried the war into the country of the Picts, as far as the county of Kyle, which, together with other territories, he took and joined to his own dominions. In the year 756, having made a peace with (2) Onnust, king of the Picts, they led their forces into the kingdom of Ayclute, and besieged Dunbritton, the capital city of that kingdom, then possessed by the Britons, which they took by capitulation. But, soon after, upon leading his army against Newbury, it was almost entirely destroyed, according to Simeon of Durham; but upon what occasion appears not. Notwithstanding this reverse of fortune, his fame was so great, that Pipin, king of France, not only entered into an alliance with him, but sent him several valuable presents. He was likewise so beloved, that the neighbouring princes did all they could, even by offering him part of their own dominions to divert him from his purpose, when he had declared his intention of laying down his crown. Upon the whole, he seems to have been a valuable

Kinewulf's crime.

[Page 124. inter scriptores decem.]

Edgbert takes Kyle from the Picts.

[Vide p. 60.] In conjunction with the Picts, he takes Dunbritton.

[Simeon of Durham, Bede.]

(1) This author is very inconsistent in his account of this transaction. In one place (p. 10. Script. X.) he tells us, that, "after Offa had fled to the body of St. Cuthbert, he was drawn from it by force, and cruelly murdered." Offa persequentibus inimicis ad corpus sancti Cuthberti confugerat, indeque post vi abstractus nefanda est nece peremptus. In another place (p. 104. ibid.) he says, that "the innocent Offa had been forced to fly to the relics of St. Cuthbert, where he was almost famished to death, and taken out of the church without any violence." Offa ad reliquias sancti Cuthberti innocens coactive accurrebat, pene defunctus fame de ecclesia sine armis abstractus est. So that, upon the whole, there is reason for believing there was somewhat bad on the bishop's part.

(2) The death of Onnust, son of Hurgus, or Fergus, king of the Picts, is fixed to the year 761, by a short chronicle at the end of some editions of Bede, by Roger Hoveden, and by Simeon of Durham. Now this agrees entirely with the supputation of the Pictish chronicle, according to which, the death of this Onnust, or Onengus, happened just that year 761.

Ab A. D. 756 prince, and a man of spirit. Nor is it to be
Ad A. D. 780. forgot, that his brother Egbert, whom he pro-
cured to be made archbishop of York, was one
of the first clergymen who introduced some
taste of public learning into that kingdom,
having founded a noble library there, which
he spared neither cost nor pains to collect.

No consideration could divert Edgbert
from the resolution he had taken to turn
monk, which he put in execution in the
(1) year 757, after resigning his crown to
his son Osulph.

Osulph reigned not a full year, being
murdered by his own family, at a place
called, by Simeon of Durham, Mechil-
wangton, the twenty-second of August.

He was succeeded by Ethelwald, or Mollo,
in the year 759. A rebellion seems to have
been formed against this prince, probably
because he was not of the blood royal. All
we know of him is, that a bloody battle
was fought between him and the rebels
near Melrofs, at a place called Edwin's cliff;
where Oswin, a Northumbrian grandee, and
one of the chief of the rebels, was killed.
The rest of this prince's history is obscure;
only we are certain, that in the year 765
Alured succeeded to the crown of Northum-
berland.

In the year 774, this prince was forced
to shut himself up in Banbury, and then to
seek refuge at the court of Kinoth, king of
the Picts.

In the year 774, Ethelred, or Ethelbert,
the son of the deceased Mollo, was raised
to the throne of Northumberland by con-
sent of the people who had opposed king
Alured. The succession of this kingdom
being now broke, great civil wars ensued;
and this prince, for reasons of state, had
put to death Aldwulf, Kinwulf, and Eega,
in the year 778; the first at Kings-cliff, and
the other two at Helathyrn. The instru-
ments of this cruelty were Æthelbald and
Heabert, two of his noblemen. This pro-
duced a rebellion; and the king, after two
defeats given him by his subjects, was driven
from his kingdom, and wandered a despi-
cable exile among other nations.

Alfwold, the son of king Alured, suc-
ceeded Ethelred, in the year 778; and
reigned, in great tranquility and reputation,
for ten years. All we know of him is, that
in the year 780, three of his officers burnt
one Beornus, who was lord chief justice of
the kingdom at Seletune, for his severity,

and perhaps cruelty, in judgments. This
prince met with the common fate of the
times, that of being murdered by his sub-
jects, headed by one Sigar, a rebellious lord,
in the year 788 or 89.

He was succeeded by Ofred, the son of Ofred.
Alured, whose contemptible talents for go-
vernment made his subjects depose him from
royalty. According to some authors, he
was driven from his kingdom; and accord-
ing to others, he was shut up, against his
will, in a monastery, from whence he
escaped into the isle of Man; which is the
most probable account. The party who had
driven out Ofred, recalled Ethelbert.

This prince, mindful of the injuries done
him, by fair promises betrayed Oelf and
Oelfwin, the sons of his predecessor Alfwold,
from the church of York, where it seems
they had taken refuge, and put them to
death at Winanderemere, a village in Lan-
cashire. It appears likewise, by the same
author, that one Eardulf, for some political
reason being ordered to be put to death by
the same king, was privately (2) saved by
those who had the charge of the execution,
and lived afterwards to succeed to the king-
dom. But the person who gave him the
greatest uneasiness, was his predecessor Of-
red; him he first decoyed into his power,
and then put to death, at a place called En-
burg, and his body was buried in the abbey
of Tinmouth. In the same year, viz. 792,
Ethelred strengthened himself with a power-
ful alliance, by marrying Alfred, daughter to
Offa, the king of Mercia, putting away, with-
out any reason, his former lawful wife.

In the year 793, the Northumbrians
were terrified by several unusual phenomena
in the air, the terrors of which were height-
ened by a descent which the Danes made
upon Northumberland, where they burned
the monastery of Lindisfarn, and did several
other barbarous actions, in putting to death
the clergy by various tortures. Next year
they landed again, and plundered the abbey
of Tinmouth. The English however, after
killing one of their generals, drove them
back to their ships; and soon after, a violent
tempest arising, most of them perished at
sea; and those who were cast ashore upon
the coast of Britain, were murdered by the
revengeful natives. The death of king E-
thelred is, by the Saxon annals, placed in
the year 794; other authors bring it down
so late (3) as the year 796. He was
killed

(1) There is here a wrong calculation in the Saxon chronicle, and indeed in all other historians, which suppose Edgbert to have reigned twenty-one years; since it is plain, from the said chronicle, that he began his reign in the year 738, and finished it in the year 757, which is but nineteen years.

(2) The manner in which Simeon of Durham tells this story, is as follows: "In his second year, lord Eardulf was taken and brought to Ripun, and there ordered to be slain without the gate of the monastery by the foresaid king. His body, the brethren with the Gregorians, brought singing to the church, and having placed it in a pavilion without, he was found after midnight alive in the church."

(3) Mr. Rapin, who is always lucky enough to take the worst side in every case where there is the least difficulty, places the death of Ethelred in the year 796; but this is not only against the authority of the Saxon chronicle, but the express testimony of William of Malmesbury, who tells us, that Ethelred, after his restoration, which was in the year 790, reigned four years; so that, if we believe those two great authorities, Mr. Rapin must be mistaken. It is true, there is some inaccuracy in the Saxon chronicle with regard to the death of pope Adrian, which happened in the year 796; but an inaccuracy of this kind, in foreign affairs, is not sufficient to overthrow so great an authority in domestic ones. We have a letter of Alcuin's, in William of Malmesbury, to Offa, king of Mercia, mentioning the death of Ethelred, and the repentment of his master, Charles the Great, on that account: so that it is plain, that Offa must have survived Ethelred; though it is very probable, that the death of the king of Mercia is mis-placed by the printed edition of the Saxon chronicle, though right in the Lodean manuscript, which fixes it to the year 796. An old chronicle, of the abbey of Burgh, has fixed the death of pope Adrian and Offa to the year 795. Mr. Rapin, as usual, not finding authority for filling up the two years

Ab A. D. 794 killed (1) in a rebellion of his subjects, at
Ad A. D. 806. Cobre; and succeeded by one Osbald, a nobleman, who, in the twenty-seventh day of his reign, was driven into exile to Lindisfarn, from whence he fled to the Pictish court.

Eardulf made king.

Eardulf, who, by his sufferings and merit, had retained a strong party, was made king. This prince's reign, like those of his predecessors, was full of intestine commotions. He was dethroned by the party who had killed Ethelred, and which was headed by one Wada. A battle between them and Eardulf was fought in the year 798, at Whaley in Lancashire, which was very bloody; but the victory, at last, fell to the royal party. In this battle, Abric, son to Eadbert, formerly king of Northumberland, was slain. In the year 802, a difference happening between the king of Mercia and Eardulf, upon the former's protecting some of the rebellious Northumbrians, both armies took the field; but Egbert, the king of Wessex, and then chief monarch of the Saxons, interposing his authority as lord paramount of both armies, a perpetual peace was made up and sworn to. But notwithstanding the Northumbrians had, by this time, in a great measure, lost their independency, yet they were as turbulent as ever; and, in the year 806, Eardulf was driven from his kingdom into exile.

He is driven into exile.

Though the history of Northumberland, after this period, is extremely dark and confused; yet I should be unpardonable, if, with some other writers, I should here be contented to drop its history as a separate kingdom. William of Malmesbury indeed says, that, after the death of Ethelred, no king was hardy enough to mount the throne of Northumberland; and that there was an interregnum for three and thirty years; during which time this kingdom became a prey to neighbouring nations. But, with all the deference due to this great authority, we are as certain of the succession of other kings (though their dependency, in some

measure, deprived them of that title) as we are of any other facts in history. Archbishop Usher, with great reason, thinks that it was about this time the Scots, taking advantage of the distractions of Northumberland, recovered from the English all the counties which had been wrested from them by the Saxons; but of the particulars of their wars, we have no light, either from the English or the Scottish histories.

In the year 808, according to some foreign histories of great credit, Charles the Great, by the interposition of the pope's and the emperor's legates, sent into England for that purpose, restored Eardulf to his throne. It is certain that Charles had great connections with Northumberland, and had formerly interested himself in resenting their treatment of their kings; therefore it is very probable that he might have procured some kind of terms for this prince, though our English historians are quite silent as to the whole of this transaction.

Eardulf restored to his throne by Charles the Great.

We have now no more certain guides for the history of this kingdom than Simeon of Durham and the chronicles of Melros, and those too, in many respects, differ. What we know for certain is, that Eardulf being expelled, was succeeded by Erfwold, who dying two years after, was succeeded by Eandred; but I am apt to believe by Eardulf himself, whose son this Eandred is reported to have been. The reign of this Eandred is said to have continued for thirty-two years, which is utterly inconsistent with the turbulence of those times.

He is succeeded by Erfwold, and he by Eandred.

As I now fall in with the period in which I proposed to finish the history of the Saxon heptarchy, I shall reserve what I have to say farther of this kingdom till I come to the history of the English monarchs. It was the only territory that, long after the union of the heptarchy, held a separate kind of government, though not with primitive lustre. Its transactions, therefore, can be easily wrought in with those of the English monarchy, and therefore I proceed to

The KINGDOM of the EAST-ANGLES.

A. D. 572.
The kingdom of East-Anglia by whom founded. Its extent.

THIS kingdom was founded by the Angles, who landed, in promiscuous independent bodies, on the eastern coasts of England. It was limited by the Humber and the German ocean on the north, and by the latter on the east; on the west it had Mercia, with a large vallum, or ditch; and on the south the kingdom of Essex. In length it was eighty, and in breadth about fifty-six miles, containing the north of Suffolk, and part of Cambridgeshire.

The survivor of all the twelve leaders

who brought over the first bodies who planted this kingdom was Uffa, who, in the year 572, was made, or made himself, king of the East Angles.

Ab A. D. 572
Ad A. D. 599.

This prince dying in the year 578, was succeeded by Titiſt; and he dying, like his ther, without any thing remarkable in his reign, in the year 599, was succeeded by Redwald.

is succeeded by Titiſt, he by Redwald.

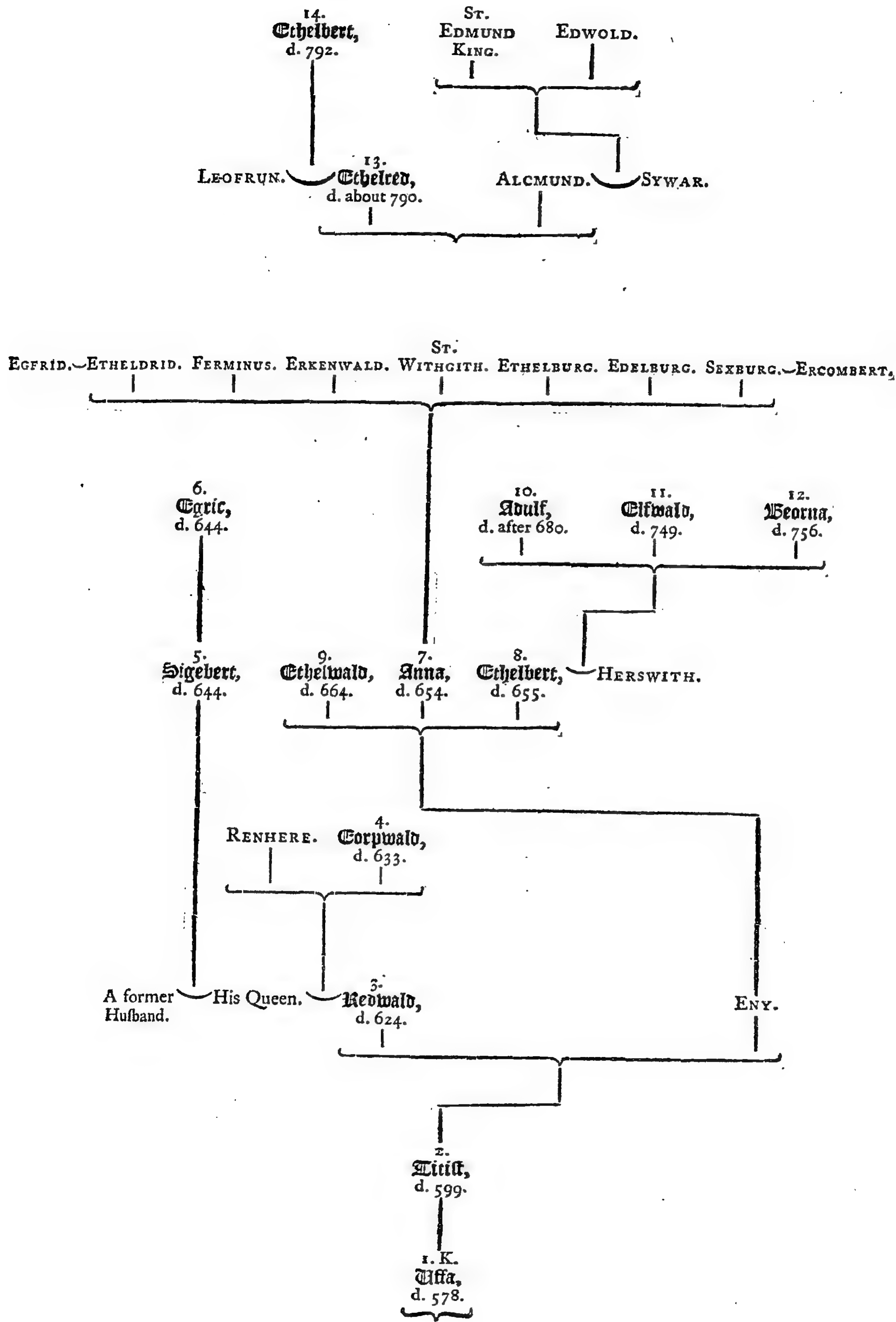
This prince, in abilities and power, equalled any of the Saxon race. He had been bred up to the arts of government un-

[Bromton's chronicle.] his character.

he has added to this prince's life, has created a civil war, which lasts for two years; and makes the king to have occasioned a rebellion, by his attempting to send Eardulf into exile. This Eardulf is the same who, according to all our historians and chronicles, had that very narrow escape, through favour of the churchmen, in the year 790, immediately upon the restoration of Ethelred, and had lived in exile ever since. Mr. Rapin indeed quotes Simeon of Durham, and Roger Hoveden, for these facts; but the former is expressly against him; for he tells us, that Eardulf was not recalled from banishment till after Osvald was driven from the throne; and Hoveden says the same, in Simeon's own words.

(1) Mr. Rapin has assassinated this king Ethelred, contrary to the testimony of all the authors I know, who say no more than that he was (interfectus a propria gente) killed by his own subjects.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE of the KINGS of EAST-ANGLIA.



• • •

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971).

— — — — —

.

!

.

•

•

•

1

•

— — — — —

Ab A. D. 599 der Ethelbert, the king of Kent, to whom he served as a kind of deputy. The virtues of the prince who employed him, and the worthlessness of the son who succeeded Ethelbert, gave a great relief to Redwald's character. His wars have been before, in a great measure, related; and, as we have already taken notice, he was baptized, but never thoroughly a Christian. He is reckoned, in the Saxon chronicles, to have been the (1) fourth king who ruled over all Britain; but this we are not to understand in a literal sense, it importing no more than that he was the fourth prince who had been at the head of the Saxon confederacy. That he had great abilities and great power, appears from the general history of his action, which coming to us through monkish strainers, are only known as they are connected with their own favourites. We must not, however, forget the extraordinary merits of his wife, whose name is unknown. All we learn of her is, that she was of the blood royal, and the widow of a nobleman. She possessed the virtues, though not the graces, of Christianity, being herself not only averse to its religion, but persuading her husband to apostatize after baptism; but the generous protection she afforded to Edwin, and the noble sentiments with which she inspired her husband, together with the great veneration the nation had for her family, give us the highest idea of her spirit and good sense. Redwald, having lost his son in the battle with Edelfrid, grew extremely jealous of Sigebert, this lady's son by her former husband. Upon which, the mother wisely consented to her son's leaving that court, and retiring to France, which quieted the suspicions of Rewald, who died in the year 624, after reigning, as the monarch of the Saxons, eight years, and thirty-one, as king of East-Anglia.

He was succeeded by Eorpwald, his second son by a former marriage, who, at the persuasion of Edwin, king of Northumberland, professed Christianity. He seems to have been but a weak prince, which may well account for his father's jealousies of Sigebert. While he reigned he was no better than the substitute of Edwin, to whom the East Angles, in contempt of Eorpwald's abilities, offered the kingdom. I am apt to think, that his turning Christian was very disagreeable to the body of his people, since

we find him murdered by a Pagan, one Richbert; and the nation of the East Angles, for three years after, relapsing into Paganism. It is probable that the traitor who assassinated Eorpwald found means to succeed him during those three years; but there is great (2) discrepancy among authors, in point of chronology, at this period.

The exiled Sigebert was now recalled, to receive the reward of his virtues and sufferings. He mounted the throne, according to our best authorities, in the year 636; though Bede, as I have taken notice in the notes, seems to have fixed his accession five years more early. Being a zealous Christian, he immediately set about restoring the purity of religion in his dominions; in which he was assisted by a Burgundian, one Felix, and a Scotch or Irish monk, one Furceus. Sigebert, succeeding in this attempt, proceeded to other reformatations in his kingdom, and erected schools for the education of youth. Where those schools were fixed is doubtful; some contend for Cambridge, others for Dunswick, where the archbishop held his residence. But Sigebert, at last, giving way to the gloomy impressions he had received of religion, retired into a monastery, after resigning his crown to his kinsman Egric. Here we shall leave him till his unhappy fate drags him from his retirement.

The reputation of Egric, who succeeded, according to the best authorities, in the year 638, was but low among his subjects. We have no account of the more early part of his reign, only that it was harassed with wars with Penda, the king of Mercia. The opinion of Sigebert continuing still high among his subjects, he was, by them, urged to leave his retirement, to put himself at their head, and to repel the Mercian ravages. The good man, deeply smitten with monastic indolence and visionary devotion, forgetting what he owed to his country, long refused to gratify their request. At last, unable to resist their importunity, he marched forth; but refused to arm himself with aught but a wand. The rest of his conduct appears to have been equally unmilitary, from a foolish persuasion that piety, though unactive, could supply every warlike accomplishment; for the East Anglians were cut in pieces, and both their kings left dead on the spot, about the year 652.

(1) The moon was eclipsed on Christmas-day at night; and the same year Egbryht subdued the kingdom of Mercia, and all the country that lay south of the Humber. He was the eighth king who ruled over all Britain. But the first who had so great a command, was Ella, king of the South Saxons; the second was Ceaulin, king of the West Saxons; the third was Ethelbryht, king of Kent; the fourth was Redwald, king of the East-Angles; the fifth was Edwin, king of Northumberland; the sixth was Oswald, who succeeded him; the seventh was Oswy, the brother of Oswald; and the eighth was Egbert, king of the West Saxons, who not long after led an army against the Northumbrians as far as Dore, which place is supposed to have been in Yorkshire, beyond the river Humber; but the Northumbrians offering him peace and due subjection, they parted friends. Vide Chronic. Saxon. 2d An. 827.

(2) Flor. Wiggorn. Matthew of Westminster, and the Saxon chronicle, place the conversion of Eorpwald in the year 632, and the beginning of Sigebert's reign in the year 636; but different from this is the calculation of Bede. For Eorpwald being killed immediately after his conversion, and Sigebert succeeding to the kingdom after the three years of Richbert's usurpation, bishop Felix was sent to him by Honorius. Seventeen years after, Thomas was made successor to Felix by Honorius; and five years after this, Boniface was made successor to Thomas by the same Honorius; and so we are brought to the year 655, in which Honorius died. Now, putting together these twenty-two years, viz. the seventeen of Felix, and the five of Thomas, the beginning of Sigebert's reign falls into the year 632; and the conversion and murder of Eorpwald, with Richbert's usurpation, into the year 627. The reader will take notice, that Sir Henry Saville, in his edition to East-Anglia, assigns no more than twelve years to this Felix as bishop of East-Anglia; so that, if we suppose his consecration to have begun five years before the accession of Sigebert, the two accounts may be pretty well reconciled. There is nothing in Bede's words which necessarily fixes the commencement of Honorius's labours among the East-Angles, to the reign of Sigebert; and as he succeeded to the archbishopric of Canterbury about the year 628, there is no absurdity in supposing, that Felix began his labours in his time.

Ab A. D. 652
Ad A. D. 664.

Anna suc-
ceeds.

Kenewale.

Penda invades
East Anglia,

and kills Anna,

who is suc-
ceeded by
Ethelbert.
Ethelbert
joins forces
with Penda,
and invades
Northumber-
land,

where they
are both kill-
ed.
Ethelbert suc-
ceeded by
Ethelwald,

Anna, who was of the East Anglian blood royal, succeeded Egric in that kingdom. His being able to gain so much re- spite from the fury of Penda's arms as to settle himself on that throne, is a proof of his abilities; and his after-conduct shewed him worthy of a better fate than that he met with. We have already taken notice, that he gave refuge at his court to the young Kenewale, king of Wesssex, whom Penda had driven from his throne, and persuaded him to return to the profession of the true religion. Either this conduct, or other dif- ferences, exasperated Penda to the highest degree, and he again invaded East Anglia. Anna opposed him indeed with the whole strength of his kingdom; but was unequal to his adversary, either in experience or strength. The battle went against him, and both he and his eldest son were left dead upon the field.

Ethelbert, the brother of Anna, succeeded to the throne of East Anglia, in the year 654. The fate of his two predecessors so greatly terrified him, that, without regard either to the ties of consanguinity or duty, he took part with Penda, the sworn enemy of the Christians; and, in order to divert his arms from East Anglia, was a main instrument in persuading him to harass Northumberland. For this purpose he joined his forces with the Mercian, and invaded the dominions of Oswy; but both the invaders fell in a general battle, in the year 654.

Ethelwald, his brother, succeeded to the throne of East Anglia; lived and died, without any mention of his actions having come to our hands.

He was succeeded, in the year 664, by ^{Ab A. D. 664} ^{Ad A. D. 792.} Adulf, his nephew, and son to Ethelbert the former king. Of him we know no- ^{he by Adulf,} thing, other than that he seems, some time or other, to have got a victory, by a medal which hath come to our hands. After reigning nineteen years, he left his crown ^{he by Elfwald,} to his brother Elfwald, who succeeded in the year 683.

We know nothing of this prince, but that he reigned seven years; and an English historian makes him successor, upon the authority of the chronicle of Melros, to one Switheard, of whom we know only the name.

Beorna, the youngest son of Ethelwald, <sup>Beorna suc-
ceeds him.</sup> succeeded about the year 690, and reigned so late as 714; being succeeded by his <sup>Ethelred suc-
ceeds Beorna,</sup> cousin Ethelred, whose reign is said to have lasted fifty-two years; but, according to the learned Sir Henry Saville's tables, only thirty-seven. Matthew of Westminster gives this Beorna a coadjutor in the kingdom, one Ethelred; but other authors, I think with more consistency, take no notice of Ethelred till the year 714. According to the <sup>Ethelbert suc-
ceeds.</sup> same tables, he was succeeded, in the year 749, by Ethelbert his son. This prince has a great character for learning and charity; <sup>He is murder-
ed by Offa.</sup> but being inveigled by Offa, the king of Mercia, to court his daughter Elfred, that ambitious prince, by the instigation of his queen, murdered the unsuspecting Ethelbert, about the year 792. All the varnish thrown over this fact by monkish pens, can never wash out the stain of blood from the memory of Offa, who seized upon the kingdom of East Anglia (1).

The KINGDOM of MERCIA.

A. D. 594.
The bounds
and extent of
the kingdom
of Mercia.

THIS kingdom had the Humber on the north, the Severn on the west, the Thames on the south, and the kingdoms of Essex and East Anglia on the east; its principal cities being Bristol, Chester, Coventry, Derby, Gloucester, Leicester, Litchfield, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Stafford, and Worcester; and contained the counties of Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottingham, Stafford and Shropshire, Northampton, Leicester, Lincoln, Huntingdon and Rutlandshires, Warwick, Worcester, Oxford and Gloucestershires, Buckingham, Bedford, and part of Hertfordshire; which, taken together, rendered it the most powerful kingdom of all the Saxon heptarchy.

Crida its first
king.

Crida, who was descended from the blood of Woden, was the founder of this kingdom. By what means he came to acquire so large a territory is unknown; nor have historians transmitted any more with regard to him, than that, after founding this kingdom, he died, in the year 594.

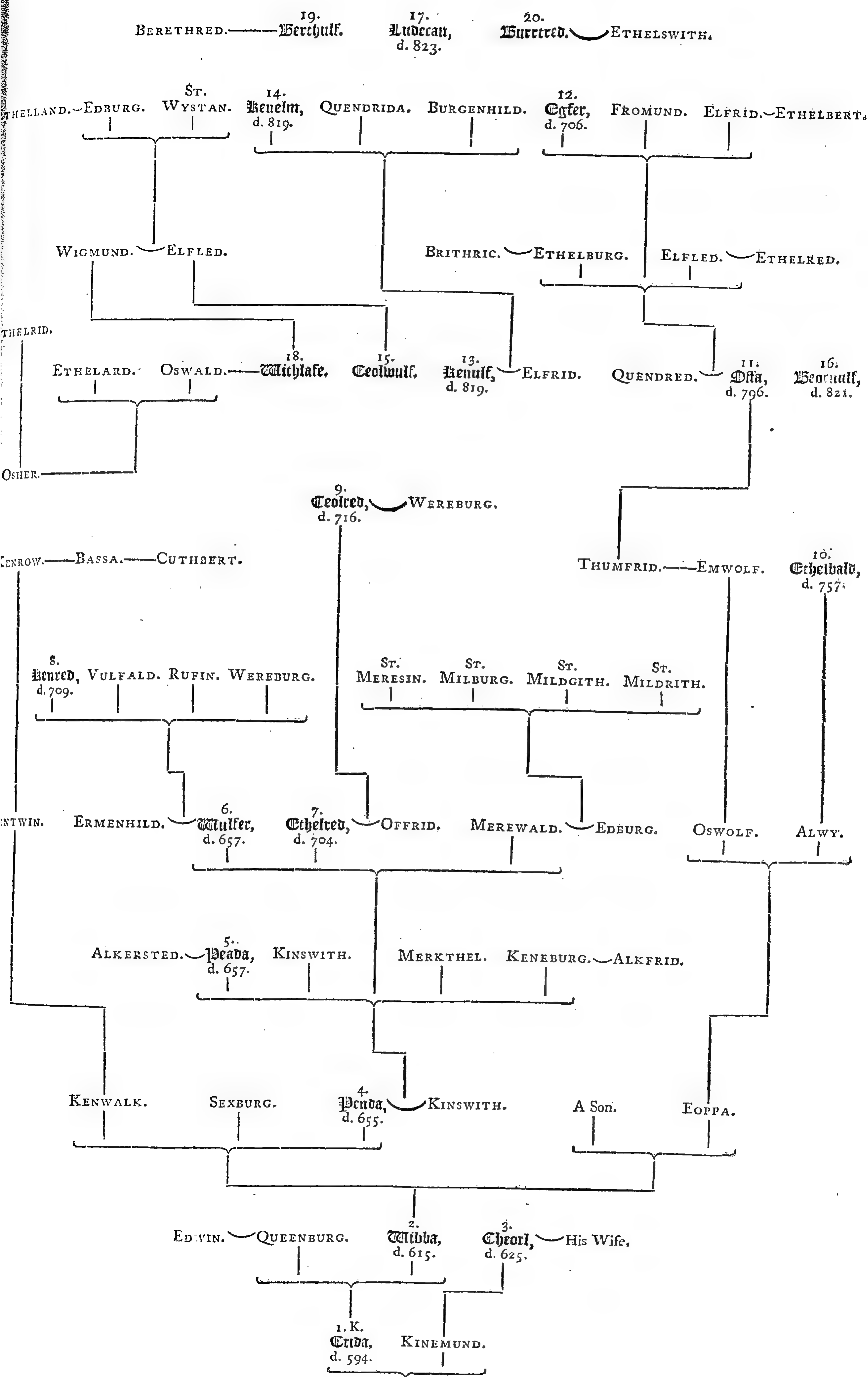
Crida was succeeded by his son Wibba, ^{Ab A. D. 594} ^{Ad A. D. 626.} whose history is as obscure as is that of his father. Upon Crida's death, the kingdom ^[See p. 127.] of Mercia was seized by Ethelbert, king of Kent, who, after possessing it for some years, either through dread of the neighbouring princes, who might be alarmed at his greatness and injustice, or through a motive of generosity, seldom found among ambitious princes, he restored it to Wibba; reserving, however, a claim of superiority, as being the lineal successor of Hengist. We are told that Wibba somewhat enlarged his paternal dominions by repelling the Britons, and died about the year 614.

Ethelbert, king of Kent, in exercise of his pretended right of superiority, after keeping the throne of Mercia for some time vacant, set aside Wibba's son, in favour of his cousin-german Cheorl, of whom we know <sup>and he by
Cheorl.</sup> nothing, but that he reigned ten years.

Penda, the son of Wibba, began his reign in the year 625, or 626. He was a prince

(1) I have given the reader the lame account I have been able to pick out, with regard to this kingdom, from the best authorities; but am not able to discover from whence Mr. Rapin took his.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE of the KINGS of MERCIA.



Ab A. D. 626
Ad A. D. 660.

of great spirit, but an implacable enemy to the Christians. His wars and ravages have been already taken notice of, in the history of the several kingdoms with which he was at variance. It is sufficient here to remark, that he killed in battle five Christian kings; but, according to some authors, was himself defeated by Ceadwalla, king of the Britons. In his own life-time he erected a little kind of territory in South Mercia, which he conferred upon his son Peada. But however Peada may be represented by our bigotted writers, it appears, from the general stream of his conduct, that he was far from being so great a barbarian as they would have us believe; for he not only permitted his son Peada to change his religion without any forfeiture of his favour, but gave him free liberty to introduce his priests into his kingdom, and to labour in the conversion of his subjects. The same author, it is true, tells us, that he had a strong contempt for those Christians, who, in their practice, fell short of their professions; saying, that they were despicable wretches indeed who failed to obey the God in whom they believed. The manner of his death, which happened in 654, has been already related. The death of this stirring king created a general joy among his enemies, of whom he had been long the terror and the scourge.

Character of
Peada.

Bede.

He is suc-
ceeded by
Peada.

He was succeeded, in the year 655, by Peada; but not to the whole of his kingdom: for Oswy, after the death and conquest of Peada, seized upon the kingdom of Mercia, leaving to Peada no more of it than that part which lay to the south of the Trent, containing, according to Bede, only five thousand families, and those too tributary to the kingdom of Northumberland. Peada was poisoned by his (1) wife about the year 657, and then Oswy seized the whole of the Mercian kingdom.

Oswy seizes
the kingdom
of Mercia;

Oswy, according to Bede, held the kingdom of Mercia for three years after the death of Peada; but the Mercians uniting under the conduct of three noblemen, Inumin, Eaba and Eadbert, recovered their liberties and independency, by driving Oswy out of their kingdom, and putting upon their throne Wulfer, the son of Peada, who hitherto had been concealed by the care of his subjects, and who, upon this occasion, recovered all his hereditary dominions, fav-

but loses it to
Wulfer.

ing Lindsey, which still remained with the Northumbrians.

Ab A. D. 668
Ad A. D. 679.

His character.

This prince proved both wife and fortunate, though not without the blemishes of the times, jealousy and ambition. He was a remarkable friend to the church, after his baptism. His conquest of the isle of Wight, and his generously bestowing it on Adelwalch, king of the South Saxons, whom he had taken prisoner, has been already mentioned, with several other particulars which we shall not here repeat. (2) He is stained, by some authors, with a very foul crime, though with little appearance of truth; the reader may consult the notes. He sat upon the throne of Mercia seventeen years, and was monarch of the Saxons four years. His death happened in the same year in which he fought a bloody battle, at Bedwin in Wiltshire, against Eadwin, king of Wessex; so that he died in the year 675. He is noted, by William of Malmesbury, for simony, and selling the bishopric of London to one Wyna, which is a presumption that he was lord paramount of Essex.

See p. 135.

Wulfer was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, in prejudice of his son Kenred, who, affecting private life, gave Ethelred no uneasiness in the possession of his crown. Ethelred seems to have been a prince of great courage, and without much ambition. When he was raised to the throne, he erected Herefordshire into a separate government, in favour of his brother Merewald; but he and his younger brother both dying, it was soon re-annexed to the kingdom of Mercia. The first warlike expedition which we read of his undertaking, was in the year (3) 676, when we find him marching against Lothair, the king of Kent. This degenerate prince, fearing the courage so hereditary to the Mercian family, durst not face Ethelred, or oppose his progress. The Mercians over-run the kingdom of Kent, destroyed the city of Rochester, and returned to their own country with great spoil. In the year 679, we find Ethelred engaged in a general battle with Egfrid, king of Northumberland; in which Egfrid lost his brother Eadwin, and was obliged to give up Lindsey, which had been taken by his predecessor from Wulfer. At last, a peace was concluded between them, through the mediation of Theodore, archbishop of

Succeeded by
Ethelred.

His wars.

(1) But Robert de Swapham (says Speed, p. 251) an author of good antiquity, who saw the stones of that foundation to be so huge, as that eight yoke of oxen could hardly draw one of them, saith, that Peada was brought to his end by the practice of his mother, and not of his wife, as in these his words is manifest: "Peada, saith he, laid the foundation of a monastery at Medeshamsted, in the Giruians or Fen-country, which he could not finish; for that, by the wicked practice of his mother, he was made away." Whereby this blot is taken from this Christian lady, and brands the face of her that most deserveth it. This king, reigning as substitute to king Oswy of Northumberland aforesaid, by some is not accounted for a Mercian king, his regiment resting under the command of another.

(2) This year also, viz. 675, (says Mr. Tyrrel, p. 195) according to Florence, king Wulfer was first baptized; but the Saxon annals mention no such thing, and therefore I wonder from whence he had it; for it is quite contrary to what Bede relates concerning his being baptized long before, or else, how could he be godfather to Edelwalch, king of the West Saxons, who was baptized near twenty years before? But I suppose Florence had it from an old monkish legend, if not from the Roman martyrology itself, in which is related that incredible story of king Wulfer's murdering his two sons, Ulfwald and Rufin, with his own hands, because they had been instructed in the Christian faith by Ceadda, bishop of Litchfield. And Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, having found the same story in an old ledger-book of that church, hath thought fit to insert it into his history, placing the year of their suffering in An. 668, when all our historians do at that time relate him to have been a Christian. But this book adds further, that the queen, mother to these princes, caused them to be buried under a great heap of stones, and thereby gave name to the town of Stone in Staffordshire. I thought good to take notice of this romance, because a greater author, viz. Mr. Camden himself, hath also thought fit to put it into his Britannia, from the authority of a manuscript book once belonging to the abbey of Peterborough.

(3) Mr. Rapin, contrary to the Saxon chronicle, and, if I mistake not, all our authorities, places this expedition in the year 679.

Ab A. D. 679
Ad A. D. 716.

Division of
Mercia.

Canterbury; and Ethelred, in consideration of the death of Eſcwin, paid a pecuniary mulct to the king of Northumberland.

About this time the province of the Mercians was, by the ſtates of Mercia, and the conſent of their king, divided into five different dioceſes, Worceſter, Litchfield, Lei-ceſter, Lindſey or Cedna-ceſter, and Hereford. In the year 697, Oſtraith, queen to Ethelred, was murdered by the northern Mercians, out of deteſtation, as is ſaid, of the murder of Peada by his wife. But I am apt to believe there might be other reaſons for this murder, perhaps the hatred conceived againſt her nation, ſhe being ſiſter to the king of Northumberland. No mention is made of any puniſhment inflicted upon the aſſaſſins. In the year 704, we find Ethelred become monk; though it is certain, that two years before, he had reſigned, at leaſt, part of his kingdom to his nephew Kenred. This appears from the Saxon chronicle, which tells us, that, in the year 702, Kenred took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of the Southymbrians.

Character of
Kenred.

Kenred ſucceeded by favour of his uncle, who ſeems to have had ſome remorse at having ſet aſide his right. During his uncle's reign, he had lived a private life, and ſeemed devoted to retirement and contemplation. His reign, which laſted but four, or at moſt five, years, is diſtinguiſhed for nothing but its tranquillity, till giving way to his natural diſpoſition, he reſigned the weight of government to his kinfman Ceolred, and went to Rome, in company with king Offa, the Eaſt Saxon, in the year 709, where he died, in the habit and profeſſion of a monk.

[See p. 138.]
War between
Ceolred and
Ina.

Henry of
Huntingdon.

The reign of Ceolred was more active than that of his predeceſſor had been; and we find him engaged in a great war with Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons, with whom he fought a bloody battle at Wodenſburg in Wilſhire, in the year 715. The motives of this war are known on neither ſide; but probably it proceeded from mutual jealousy of power: and the hiſtorian ſays, that it is hard to ſay which of them ſuffered the moſt. This prince's memory has fared hardly, be-
cauſe, deſpiſing monkish impoſtures, he had the ſpirit to die a king; for, in the year 716, he was ſuddenly cut off by death, in the height of his reputation and grandeur.

He was ſucceeded by Ethelbald, the grand-

ſon of Eoppa, brother to Penda. This prince, in the time of his predeceſſor, had become very popular, through the gracefulness of his mein, the ſtrength of his body, and the warlike caſt of his mind; but diſcovering an unbounded ambition and turbulent diſpoſition, he raiſed the jealousy of Ceolred to ſuch a degree, that he drove him out of the kingdom. Ethelbald's impatience at being removed from a near proſpect of a crown, made him enter into practices, during his exile, againſt the peace of Mercia. This obliged Ceolred to carry his revenge farther, and uſe all methods to get the exiled prince into his power. Ethelbald, in his diſtreſs, wiſely had recourſe to the clergy; addreſſing himſelf, therefore, to Guthlac, at Croyland, he opened his caſe, and craved his aſſiſtance. Guthlac, who, no doubt, knew how ungrateful Ceolred was to the clergy, immediately gave him aſſurances that he ſhould mount the throne of Mercia, and ſet his foot upon the neck of his enemies, provided he would acknowledge God, reverence the church, deplore the crimes of his kindred, always have it in his eye to lead a good life, and, above all, make a handſome preſent to the church; for ſo the words of my original imply (1). Ethelbald, glad of promiſed royalty, in preſence of Guthlac and other witneſſes, immediately ſwore, that, if ever he ſhould mount the throne of Mercia, he would found a religious monastery in the place where they then were, in memory of his good father Guthlac. This vow he afterwards performed with a (2) magnificence unknown to that age. Whether Ethelbald found his account in Guthlac's friendſhip I ſhall not determine; but it is certain, that Ceolred dying in the extraordinary manner I have already hinted, he was ſucceeded, in the year 716, by Ethelbald. I am apt to think, that he had been reſtored to Ceolred's favour for ſome time before. Soon after he was made king, from what cauſe it is not known, he invaded Northumberland, in breach of all the ties of honour and right. Meeting here with no reſiſtance, he laid part of the country waſte, and returned home with a large booty. It was probably during his abſence in Northumberland that Ethelhard, the king of Weſſex, attacked his dominions, and was opposed by young Oſwald, Ethelbald's ſon. This ſeems to be more likely than that Oſ-

Ab A. D. 716
Ad A. D. 720.
Character and
qualities of
Ethelbald.

Ingulphi Hiſt.

He applies to
Guthlac a
hermit,

and ſucceeds
to the crown
of Mercia,

Henry of
Huntingdon.

(1) Quem ut ſanctus Dei audivit, blande conſolatus eſt, et velut divini oraculi interpres, quæ ventura eſſent ſibi, ex ordine propalavit, promittendo ei generis fui dominationem, inimicorum conculcationem, et populorum principatum. Nec quod iſta evenirent cum pugna, plaga, vel ſanguinis effuſione, ſed hæc omnia cum divina potentia, et virtute ſe habiturum conſideret. Et admonendo eum, dixit; Agnoſce Dominum Deum tuum, et ſuper omnia time; ſanctam eccleſiam ſtudeas etiam venerari; mala ſcelorum tuorum frequenter deplora, propoſitumquæ bonæ vitæ conſtanter obſerva; et ſecurum Domini ſpera ſubſidium, ſi ante ipſum boni operis obtuleris meritum. In quibus verbis et doctrina tunc refocillatus eſt in animo præſatus Ethelbaldus, ut abſque mora in præſentia patris ſui Guthlaci, et aliorum tunc circumſtantium, quod corde concepit, ore promiſit, cum ſe ad regni gubernacula pacifica venire contingeret, religioſorum ibidem monaſterium fundare inchoaret ad laudem Dei, et in memoriam præſati patris ſui Guthlaci. Ingulph. Hiſtor.

(2) I cannot help giving my reader ſome pretty verſes on this ſubject from one Felix, an old monk, as I find them quoted and tranſlated in the laſt edition of Camden's Britannia.

Nunc exercet ibi ſi munificentia regis,
Et magnum templum magno molimine condit.
At cum tam mollis, tam lubrica, tam male conſtans
Fundamenta palus non ferret ſaxea, palos
Præcipit inſigi quercino robore cæſos,
Leucarumque novem ſpatio rate fertur arena;
Inque ſolum mutatur humus, ſuffultaque tali
Cella baſi, multo ſtat conſummata labore.

“ Now here the prince's bount'ous mind was ſhewn,
“ And, with vaſt charge, a ſtately pile begun.
“ But when the trembling fenna, the faithleſs moor,
“ Sinking, betray'd the ſtony maſs they bore;
“ At his command, huge poſts of laſting oak
“ Down the ſoft earth were, for a baſis, ſtruck.
“ Nine leagues the lab'ring barges brought the ſand.
“ Thus rotten turf was turn'd to ſolid land,
“ And thus the noble frame does ſtill unſhaken ſtand.”

wald

Ab A. D. 720 wald disputed the succession to the throne of Wessex with Ethelhard. Perhaps the return of Ethelbald from his Northumbrian expedition prevented Ethelhard's pursuing his advantage over Oswald, whom he beat. Soon after Ethelbald besieged and took Somerton in Somersetshire. (1) He afterwards had various wars with the rest of the Saxon princes, most of which have been taken notice of in the course of this history; and, having made peace with Cuthred, the king of Wessex, they gave a total defeat to the Britons, in the year 743. Ethelbald afterwards received a total rout from the same prince. Four years after, he was killed in a rebellion at (2) Seckinton in Warwickshire, at the head of which was one Beornred. Ethelbald, by what appears, had great political and military virtues, and was one of the most powerful Saxon princes that had ever reigned in England. His reputation was very high abroad, as well as at home; and his very enemies allow him to have been naturally a lover of peace, justice and charity: but he is noted for his lasciviousness, and severely checked for this crime, particularly for his intrigues with nuns themselves, by (3) Boniface, an Englishman, who was archbishop of Mentz. Beornred, after the murder of his prince, seized, or rather attempted to seize, the crown of Mercia; but was expelled that same year, viz. 755.

Offa's father was Thincerth, who was the son of Eanwulf, of the blood of Wo-

den. His high descent and proximity of blood to the royal family, together with the tyrannical conduct of the regicide Beornred, attracted the eyes of all the Mercians upon him as their deliverer. His virtues were far from deceiving their hopes; (4) for after (like another Brutus) he had, in his youth, counterfeited stupidity, probably to deceive the vigilant jealousy of Ethelbald, he shewed himself at once the deliverer and king of his country. The first essay of his valour, after being seated on the throne, was against the Kentish, whose king, Alric, he met, conquered, and killed with his own hand, at Otford. His next military labour is not marked by our historians; only we are told, that, in the year (5) 771, he subdued the Hastings: but who those people were is greatly disputed among our antiquaries, some thinking they were Normans, and others Danes, who had opportunities of making a settlement upon the coast of England. In the year 773 we find him engaged in a war against Alcmun, one of the kings of Kent, whom he so completely subdued, that, thinking the (6) ecclesiastical ought to follow the temporal jurisdiction, he attempted to transport into Mercia the archiepiscopal see. The rapid progress of his arms, about the year 775, alarmed Kinewulf, king of the West Saxons, who, in the year 775, fought with him near (7) Bensington, now Benson, at that time in possession of the kings of Wessex;

deprived by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz.

Ab A. D. 755
Ad A. D. 775.

His wars with Kent,

and other people.

(1) As the reader, no doubt, is tired out with the lameness and dryness of this period of our history, we cannot make a better apology for it than in the words of the great Mr. Milton. "Out of Bede hath been chiefly gathered, since the Saxons arrival, such as hath been delivered, a scattered story, picked out here and there, with some trouble and tedious work, from among his many legends of visions and miracles; toward the latter-end so bare of civil matters, as what may be thence collected may seem a kalendar rather than a history, taken up, for the most part, with succession of kings and computation of years, yet those hard to be reconciled with the Saxon annals. Their actions, we read of, were most commonly wars; but for what cause waged, or by what counsels carried on, no care has been had to let us know; whereby their strength and violence, we understand, of their wisdom, reason, or justice, little or nothing, the rest superstition and monastical affectation; kings, one after another, leaving their kingly charge, to run their heads fondly into a monk's cowl; which leaves us uncertain, whether Bede was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the Danish invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of Bede; left only to obscure and blockish chronicles; whom Malmesbury and Huntingdon (for neither they, than we, had better authors of those times) ambitious to adorn the history, make no scruple oft-times, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and fumes of their own. Them, rather than imitate, I shall chuse to represent the truth, naked, though as lean as a plain journal. Yet William of Malmesbury must be acknowledged, both for stile and judgment, to be by far the best writer of them all. But what labour is to be endured, turning over volumes of rubbish, in the rest, Florence of Worcester, Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, Matthew of Westminster, and many others of obscurer note, with all their monachisms, is a penance to think." Yet these are our only registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough for the things they register. This travel, rather than not know at once what may be known of our ancient story, sifted from fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo, and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasant labour; except those who take pleasure to be, all their life-time, raking in the foundations of old abbeys and cathedrals.

(2) From this engagement, probably, Seckinton had its name; *secc*, in Saxon, signifying battle; and *ton* (which afterwards was changed into *ton*) a hill. Scarce a furlong north of the church, is a notable fort; and near it an artificial hill, forty-three foot in height.

(3) The sinnes of these times, both in prince and people, were many and great, as by the epistles of Boniface, an Englishman, and archbishop of Mentz, is most manifest; wherein he reprooved his adulterous life, who, refraining to marry, wallowed in filthy lecheries; by whose example the noblemen of Mercia did the like; and their women, as well nunnas as others, made away their children borne out of wedlocke; whereby the graues were filled with dead bodies, as hell itselfe with damned soules. And in another epistle sent unto Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, he complaineth of the English nunnas, who wandring in pilgrimage vnder shew of deuotion, liued in pleasure and wanton fornications, through all the cities of France and of Lombardy. Speed.

(4) Vit. Offæ ad Calc. M. Par.

(5) We must not omit here, that the author of the life of Offa, printed at the end of Matthew Paris, tells us, he subdued the East-Anglian king: but Dr. Watts, the editor of Matthew Paris, very justly suspects, that East-Angli is a wrong reading for the Hestingi mentioned by Hoveden, and conjectures them to have been the inhabitants of Hastings, they having retained that name even to the time of the conquest, and Hoveden thinks them to have been a remnant of the Britons. Dr. Watts says, *De victoria Offana in regem (quem nominare non paterat) Est-Anglorumque grandem, fateor, suspicionem mihi suboriris. Licet enim Uvendoverus cum sequaci suo Parisiensi tradiderit, Offam Est-Anglorum gentem armis subjugesse: Uvestmonasteriensis tamen Parisiensis nostri deflorator, et aliquoties corrector, Anglorum, non Est-Anglorum tantum meminit s. Sed clarius ueriusque Houedenos: qui non Est-Anglorum gentem, sed Hastingsorum habet et tribum, si forte, aut populum potentioram aliquam inter reliquias Britannorum intelligit, a Mercies nondum debellatum u. Gentem illam Hastingsorum conjicio, accolam incolamque uelutæ urbiculæ illius de Hastings quinque portuum capitalis; quos Hastingsos in eisdem partibus usque ad Normannorum tempora substituisse, crudelissimus Camdenus me docuit; et quod ab Hastingsis iis, illustribus Hastingsorum familia qui Huntingdon tempore sunt comites, hoc titulo de Hastings letatur.*

(6) The history of the abbey of Peterborough, published by Sparkes, places this in 777.

(7) The Thames passes on to Benson, formerly Bensington, which Marianus calls a royal vill, and reports, that it was taken from the Britons by Ceaulin in the year 572, and possessed by the West Saxons for two hundred years after. But then Offa, king of Mercia, thinking both his interest and honour concerned that they should hold nothing on this side the river, took this town by force (ann. 772 or 775) and joined it to his own kingdom. [Lying near the frontiers, in the contest between the West Saxon and Mercian kings, it often changed its masters.] Camb. Gib. Edit. p. 320.

but

Ab A. D. 775 but it is uncertain to whom the advantage
 Ad A. D. 780. fell. It is probable the battle fell to Offa,
 because the Saxon chronicle informs us Be-
 fington fell into his hands. A great autho-
 rity in learning, in his edition of Camden,
 places the taking of this town in the year
 778, or 779, probably upon the credit of
 Florence, and Matthew of Westminster; but
 his own edition of the Saxon chronicle fixes
 it as I have. Our English authors, without
 specifying the time, tell us, that he marched
 into Northumberland, where he was like-
 wise victorious. In the year 776, his power
 was so great, as to alarm not only the Sax-
 ons, but the Welsh. The latter, therefore,
 taking the opportunity of his wars with the
 Saxons, that year invaded Mercia with fire
 and sword, and the next, renewed their
 ravages in the most dreadful manner. Some
 authors say, with great likelihood of truth,
 that this invasion was prompted by the Sax-
 ons themselves, as the only means to divert
 the arms of Offa from their own territories.
 In the first year of their ravages they seem
 to have met with little or no resistance,
 Offa being employed elsewhere; but in the
 second, finding himself unable to withstand
 the united efforts both of the Welsh and
 the Saxons, he thought it safest to make
 peace with the Saxon princes, that he might
 have leisure to turn the whole force of his
 arms against the Welsh. The Saxons, be-
 fore this time, entertained such terror of
 Offa's power, that they had even applied to
 Charles the Great that he would interpose
 his authority in their behalf. Charles, at
 this time, meditating the conquest, and
 claiming the superiority over the Saxons
 upon the continent, was glad of this oppor-
 tunity of trying how far his credit reached
 among the Saxons in England. Accordingly
 he wrote to Offa, and cajoled him with
 whatever he thought could win his esteem
 and friendship, but to no effect; for Offa
 knew his own strength, and was neither
 to be amused nor terrified with so distant an
 enemy. The Welsh, therefore, proved much
 more powerful agents for the Saxon princes;
 who having obtained a peace, Offa had no
 great difficulty in forcing the former to quit
 all the plain country between the Severn
 and the Wye, which he peopled with Sax-
 ons, as a barrier against future invasions.
 But, not thinking this sufficient, he drew
 a prodigious dike from the mouth of the
 Dee to that of the river Wey, as a boundary
 between his subjects and the Britons, ex-
 tending for about ninety miles. "The
 tracing of this dike, says the right reverend
 editor of Camden, gives us the exact
 bounds of the Britons and Saxons. It
 may be seen on Brachy-hill, and near
 Rhyd ar Helig, and Lanterden in Here-
 fordshire; and is continued northwards,
 from Knighton, over a part of Shrop-
 shire, into Montgomeryshire; and may be
 traced over the long mountain, called,
 in Welsh, Kevn Digolh, to Harden-castle,
 cross the Severn, and Lhan Drinio Com-
 mon; from whence it passes the Vyrnwy
 again into Shropshire, not far from Of-

waldshy, where there is also a small vil-
 lage, called Trevyrclawdh. In Denbigh-
 shire, it is visible along the road between
 Rhywabon and Wrexham; from whence
 being continued through Flintshire, it
 ends a little below Holly-well, where that
 water falls into Dee, at a place formerly
 the site of the castle of Basingwork.
 This limit seems not afterwards to have
 been well maintained by the English;
 for although we find that the British
 tongue decreases daily on the borders of
 Wales; yet not only that language, but
 also the ancient British customs and names
 of men and places remain still, for some
 space, on the English side, almost the
 whole length of it."

It must not here be forgot, that in an old
 life of Offa, published at the end of Mat-
 thew Paris, and perhaps wrote by him or
 some monk of St. Alban's, the king of
 Wales, at this time, is called Marbonius;
 and the same author informs us, that both
 the kings of the South Saxons and North-
 umbrians took refuge in his territories; and
 upon Offa's claiming them, and the Welsh
 prince's refusal, war was immediately de-
 clared. Various are the stratagems which,
 the same author tells us, were made use of
 to surprize Offa, which had almost ended
 in his destruction; till at last, with great dif-
 ficulty, he gave them a total overthrow,
 which he followed by a massacre of all the
 Welsh who were wretched enough to fall
 into his hands.

Offa, having got the better of all opposi-
 tion, applied to Charles the Great for his
 friendship; and there are extant, in the same
 author, several letters, with manifest proofs
 of forgery, which passed between him and
 Charles. It can, however, scarcely be doubt-
 ed, that some epistolary correspondence did
 subsist between them.

While Offa was in the height of his vic-
 tories, the Danes invaded his kingdom; and
 through ignorance, says my author, of the mi-
 litary virtues of Offa, penetrated to the inland
 parts. I am apt to think, that this was the
 same invasion taken notice of under the
 history of the kings of Wessex. The life
 writer adds a circumstance which discovers
 the great gallantry of Offa's character: for
 some of the Danish officers being taken pri-
 soners, confessed, that they were invited to
 the invasion by the beauty of the country,
 and the fertility of the soil. Upon which,
 Offa ordered them to be sent, unhurt and
 unplundered, on board their ships, with a
 command to tell their countrymen, that,
 while Offa lived, they should ever meet with
 the same reception upon the like occasion.
 The Danes, who expected to be treated as
 a handful of pirates, were amazed at this
 magnanimity, and made no more descents
 upon England all Offa's reign.

This incident, which happened in the
 year 787, in some measure, serves to prove
 the nature of that sovereignty which the
 Saxon monarchs exercised over the other
 princes of the heptarchy: for though this
 descent was made upon the territories of
 Wessex,

The present
lord bishop of
London.

Attacked by
the Welsh.

Speed.

Charles the
Great inter-
poses with
Offa in favour
of the Saxon
princes.

Offa's great
dike.

Ab A. D. 780
Ad A. D. 787.

He prosecutes
the war with
the Welsh.

His dominions
invaded by
the Danes;

and his great
gallantry on
that occasion.

Ab A. D. 787 Wessex, yet we find Offa, in right of his sovereignty, assumes a power of examining, punishing, and pardoning the prisoners; and considers himself as the head of the English armies, in case any more invasions of that kind should happen in his time.

The great resort to Offa's court.

See p. 141.

The great power and reputation of Offa, about this time, drew to his court all the neighbouring princes, either to pay their homage, or to conciliate his favour. Offa had the address to give each a reception, void of all the haughtiness of superiority or conquest; and interested himself in composing their domestic differences, so that they might sit easy and firm upon their respective thrones. This conduct begot in them both love and reverence; and Offa's three daughters, whom he had by his queen, were considered as the three brightest prizes in the Saxon monarchy. Accordingly one, as we have already seen, was married to Brithric, the king of Wessex; another to Ethelred, king of Northumberland; while another was afterwards betrothed to Ethelbert, king of the East Angles.

He associates his son with himself.

Reflection on the character of Offa.

Historians are divided with regard to the time in which the synod of Calcuith was held; but though the Saxon annals have placed it in the year 785, yet I should be inclined, with Sir Henry Spelman, to fix it to the year 787. The reason why I take notice of this synod is, because Offa took that opportunity of associating his son Egfer into his own sovereignty.

Malmesbury takes notice, that it was hard to say, whether, in Offa's composition, virtue or vice was most predominant; but if we are to judge from his conduct, with regard to the unfortunate Ethelbert already mentioned, we are clearly to give it for the latter. For Offa, as we have seen, getting him into his power, by the persuasion of his wife, as is pretended, barbarously put him to death, and then seized his kingdom. His great authority rendered this detestable step the more easy, whilst he himself as grossly affronted God as he had offended man, by pretending deep contrition for the offence, yet retaining all its effects, I mean possession of the dominions left by the murdered prince. This happened in the year 792.

He goes to Rome,

It was owing to the remorse which Offa conceived for the murder, and the ridiculous devotion of the times, that Offa undertook a journey to Rome, that, by his submissions and liberality to the pope, he might make up his peace with heaven. His adventures in this journey, which are so particularly described by the author of his life, are too ridiculous to be placed here; but his liberality to the see of Rome was fruitful of many terrible consequences, though, at first, no other than a bounty, or rather an alms. For an English school having been erected at Rome, as we have already seen, in the reign of Ina the king of Wessex, Offa ordered, for the further maintenance of this school, a penny to be yearly collected of every family within his dominions, where their lands, not including

their tenements, amounted to the sum of thirty pence yearly rent. This rent being yearly paid upon the feast of St. Peter and Vincula, which falls on the 1st of August, was from thence called St. Peter's pence; and, after being collected by the bishops, was paid to the pope's agents, who remitted it to Rome, and, as I have already observed, was to be applied to the use of the Englishmen studying there, and of those English travellers who travelled to Rome. This bounty was collected in no less than twenty-three counties, which I shall set down, as they serve to shew us the extent of Offa's dominions before his death. In the counties of Worcester and Gloucester, belonging to the see of Worcester. In Warwickshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Derbyshire, then belonging to the bishopric of Litchfield. In Leicester, being under the jurisdiction of Legrecestræ, or Leicester. In Lincolnshire, where the bishop's see was at Linsday. In the counties of Northampton, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and half Hertfordshire, which were all within the diocese of the bishop of Dorchester in Oxfordshire. In the counties of Essex, Middlesex, and half Hertfordshire, belonging to the see of London. In Norfolk and Suffolk, in which there were two bishop's sees, one at Helmam, the other at Dunwich. Offa likewise was king in Nottinghamshire; but the spiritual jurisdiction belonged to the archbishop of York. But, of this tax, more when we come to the history of the church; at present I only consider it as a civil transaction, and attended with great political consequences.

Ab A. D. 792
Ad A. D. 794.

The extent of his dominions.

Offa, before his death, had gained the esteem of Charles the Great, so that an epistolary intercourse was opened between them; and I should be apt, from the general strain of our historians, to believe, that Charles once had a thought of invading Britain, at the instance of the other Saxon princes, jealous of Offa's power. This amounts to more than conjecture, when we consider the several applications which we are told were made to Charles by those princes, and the menaces which he actually sent to Offa. But the latter appears to have early and exact intelligence of all their conspiracies. Lambert, then archbishop of Canterbury, a person of great address and ambition, appears to have carried on this correspondence between Charles and the Saxons. Offa was sensible of this, and managed it so, that Lambert actually was accused, both indirectly and directly, upon that head. It was first represented to the king, that Canterbury, the residence of the archbishop, lay too near and too convenient for Charles. He was then directly accused for entering into engagements (previous to the alliance between Offa and Charles) to favour the latter, and to give him free admittance within his jurisdiction, in case he should make an attempt upon England. But Offa, powerful as he was, had not interest enough to push this charge home to Lambert's person;

His correspondence with Charles the Great.

The archbishop of Canterbury accused of a treasonable correspondence.

and establishes Peter's pence.

A. D. 796. son; all he could do was to make it serve for a handle to translate the archiepiscopal see from Canterbury to Litchfield.

The death of Offa.

We now attend this great man to the last period of life; for, after his return from Rome, and giving several lavish endowments in favour of the church, he died at Offley, in the year 796 (though the Saxon chronicles have fixed the time of his death to 794) since it is certain he survived pope Adrian, who died late in the year 795, if not in the beginning of the following year. This is plain by a letter from the emperor Charles to Offa, in which he tells him, that, to encourage his pious resolution of endowing the English school at Rome, he had taken care to give orders throughout his dominions, that all English travellers, going thither on account of learning or religion, should pass without paying toll; and, if imposed upon, should have speedy redress. He then informs him, that he had ordered Vestments to be sent out of his wardrobe, by way of presents, to every church in Offa's dominions in which his bishops were to perform services for the soul of pope Adrian. This observation may be of use, as it has great consequences upon the chronology of our history.

He is succeeded by his son,

Offa, after a glorious reign of forty years, was succeeded by his son Egfer, as sole monarch of the Mercians. This prince, during his father's time, gave indications of a happy disposition for government; but fate upon the throne no longer than four months.

and he by Kenulf,

He was succeeded by Kenulf, in the year 795, or 796. This prince was of the Mercian blood royal, and inherited the virtues of their family; gentle in peace, terrible

in war, impartial in justice, and mild in his judgments. An old grudge subsisting between the people of Kent and the Mercians, things came to such extremity, that Kenulf had recourse to arms. This he did at so lucky a juncture, when Kent was distracted by domestic divisions, that he not only took the Kentish king prisoner, but annexed his dominions to his own crown, and governed them by a substituted king. We have no more particulars of this prince; but we learn, in general, that, after a glorious reign of twenty-four years, he resigned his life, in the year 819.

See p. 131.

He was succeeded, according to the Saxon annals, by Ceolwulf; but our other historians tell us, that his son Kenelm, then a child of seven years of age, was placed upon the throne, under the tuition of his sister, the ambitious Quendrida. This lady, tasting the sweets of power, and aiming to be absolute in her own right, plotted and compassed the death of her innocent brother. He was murdered in a wood, and the power of the murderers was such, that no enquiry was made after his death (1). The detestable sister, however, did not long survive the murder, and Ceolwulf, the brother of Kenulf, succeeded to the crown. His reign was but short, being driven out of the kingdom, after a year, by Beornulf, who reigned for two years; but, in 823, he lost a battle with the king of the West Saxons, at Ellenden. Soon after, the East Angles invaded their territories, and Beornulf, opposing them, was slain.

who is cruelly murdered by his sister.

He was succeeded by Ludecan, with the mention of whom I shall close the history of this kingdom.

(1) Our histories are full of the murder of this prince, and its wonderful discovery; therefore I shall give the whole story from Mr. Tyrrel, who takes it from William of Malmesbury. "Kenelm, says he, son to king Kenulf, being a child of seven years old, succeeded his father, under the tutelage of his sister Quendrida, who being tempted by a wicked ambition of reigning, was by her made away, and thereby he obtained the name of a martyr: the manner of which (though it is certainly but a legend) I shall, to divert the reader, relate out of William of Malmesbury and Matthew of Westminster.—This young prince was committed by his sister to an attendant, on purpose to be made away; who carrying him into a wood under pretence of hunting, cut off his head, and threw his body into a thicket of bushes: his sister, presently seizing the kingdom, strictly forbade all enquiry to be made after her lost brother. But sure it was miraculous, that a thing done so privately in England, should be first known at Rome; but so it came to pass by divine revelation: for, upon the altar of St. Peter, a white dove let fall a certain paper, which discovered both the death of king Kenelm, and also the place of his burial; which, being written in golden letters, was thus:

"In Clent Cow-batch, Kenelme king bearne, lieth under a thorne, heaved bereaved.

"Which, being in Saxon, may be thus translated into English rhyme:

"In Clent-Cow-pasture, under a thorn,
"Of head bereft, lies Kenelm king born.

"But, it seems, the characters were so hard to be read, that all the Roman clerks there present, attempted in vain, at the pope's command, to read this writing; but an Englishman by chance standing by (whom, to make the miracle the greater, Matthew of Westminster, reading angelus instead of anglus, calls an angel) and translating this writing into Latin, caused the pope, by an epistle sent by him on purpose, to give notice to the English kings of their martyred countryman; whose body, being thus miraculously discovered, was, in a great assembly of clerks and nobles, taken out of the hole where it was laid, and carried to Winchelcombe in Gloucestershire, and there buried in the church of that abbey, which his father had founded; which, after some time, brought no small profit to that monastery, by frequent pilgrimages made to the tomb of this little saint. But now my hand is in, pray take all the rest of the story. When the body of this young prince was brought home, the murderers, his sister, being vexed with the singing of those clerks and laicks that attended the corps, and looking out of her chamber-window in fierce spite, repeated the psalm backward which they then sung, thereby to disturb the harmony of the chorus; but, as the same author adds, whilst she was thus singing, both her eyes fell out of her head upon the psalter she held in her hands; and the psalter itself set in silver, and beamed with the blood of her eyes, being then to be seen, gave a pregnant testimony of her crime, as well as punishment. Yet, it seems, William of Malmesbury knew nothing of this legend of the finding the body; but only says, it was discovered by miraculous rays of a vast light, which shining all night over the place where it lay, was the occasion of its being found out; but no matter for the manner, both of them being alike credible. This is enough, if not too much, of this boy, king, and martyr: and this is certain, that his unnatural sister did not enjoy the fruits of her wicked ambition long; for Ceolwulf, brother to king Kenulf, succeeded in the kingdom, though he likewise reigned but little more than one year."

T H E

HISTORY of the ENGLISH CHURCH,

F R O M T H E

Year Five hundred and ninety-seven, to the year Eight hundred and twenty-eight.

I Have already, in the civil history of Kent, given an account of the conversion of that kingdom to Christianity, by the labours of Augustin; and have considered it, as I think it ought to be, in the light of a civil transaction. I now proceed to the history of the church, as detached from temporal affairs; a laborious task, when we consider how artfully the histories of the two states have been interwoven by our old authors; but still so, as that of the church appears the ground-work, and little of the civil history can be discovered, but where the thread of the narrative must, without it, be broken off and lost.

The great progress Augustin made at the court of Ethelbert, made him look upon the total conversion of the Kentish as being already certain, and that of the other Saxons as probable. But hitherto he appeared only in the character of a simple monk, to which that of the missionary gave no relief, farther than what was acquired by his personal virtues. A higher character is now to be assumed, and Augustin must appear with a pomp and dignity suitable to the apostle of the English nation. A stipulation of that kind had been made between him and Gregory, to encourage his labours; and accordingly, without consulting his constituent, he crossed to Arles, where he was consecrated metropolitan of the English nation by that bishop. When we consider this step in a political light, perhaps it was a wise measure in Augustin. Dignity and grandeur of character have great effects upon the vulgar; nay, if we consider the situation and temper of the Saxons at that time, and the intercourse that was open between such of them as favoured Christianity and the Britons, Augustin was, in some measure, compelled to assume a higher authority than that of a simple monk. Immediately after his consecration he returned to Britain, and sent a priest, one Laurentius, with a monk called Peter, to Rome, to inform the pope of the success of his labours, and the increase of his dignity. At the same time, looking upon the establishment of a regular church in England as what soon must be the consequence of his mission, he sent, by his messengers, certain questions, in which he desired to be resolved by the pope himself. Such of them as are really material to a history of the church, I shall give; but as

many of them as are matters of obscene curiosity, though agreeable enough to the character of a monkish age, I shall omit.

Augustin's first question was, How the bishops should converse with their clergy, as also concerning those things that are offered at the altar, by the oblations of the faithful? and how many portions there ought to be made of them? and how a bishop ought to behave himself in the church?

Tyrrel from Bede. The first question.

To these things the pope answered to this effect:

That as for bishops, how they ought to carry themselves in the church, the holy scriptures teach, and especially the epistles of St. Paul to Timothy; in which he endeavours to teach him, how he ought to behave himself in the house of God; also, that out of every thing which shall be offered at the altar, there ought to be made four divisions, viz. one for the bishop and his family, for hospitality and entertainment of strangers; the second for the clergy; the third for the poor, and the fourth for repairing of churches. But as you are well skilled in the monastic rules, nothing ought to be possessed by any clergyman in particular in the English church, which lately, by God's grace, is brought to the faith; but you ought to imitate the primitive converts, among whom none enjoyed any thing as his own, of those things he possessed, but all things were in common among them.

In the second question, Augustin desires to be informed, whether priests, not able to contain, may marry? and, if they shall marry, whether they must return to the secular life?

The second question.

This question Bede hath not, but posterously joins the following answer to the first question; yet Sir Henry Spelman hath added it, out of the Paris edition of councils, Anno 1518, where the answer of pope Gregory is thus:

That if there be any of the clergy out of holy orders, that cannot contain, they ought to marry, and still to receive their stipends; concluding, great care ought to be had of the stipends of the clergy, that they may be diligent in service; and that there was no occasion of making a long discourse concerning their keeping hospitality, when all the overplus ought to be bestowed upon pious and religious uses.

The

Augustin consecrated metropolitan of England. Reflection.

Sends messengers to the pope, with certain questions to be resolved.

See p. 110,
111.

The fourth
question.

The third question of Augustin has been already taken notice of.

His fourth question was, What punishment ought to be inflicted on him that commits sacrilege?

The pope's answer to this question being somewhat long, I shall only give the substance of it. In the first place, he distinguishes between those who commit theft out of a wicked intent, and those that offend out of necessity; from whence it follows, that some are to be punished with fines, others with stripes, and some more severely. And when, says he, you proceed against any with more rigour than ordinary, you must do it out of charity, not out of anger, because the punishment is inflicted to this intent, that the party punished may be saved. Then he shews the end of such punishments, from the examples of fathers correcting their children, purely for their good, though they love them very well. He admonishes him to use a mean in chastising them, and not without the rules of reason. But if you ask, How things, taken from the church, are to be restored? God forbid that the church should receive any increase for the loss of mere earthly things, or go about to make advantage of such trifles.

The three following questions, concerning in what degree of consanguinity men and women may marry, I shall omit, as being impertinent to our purpose; and shall proceed to the eighth question, which is this:

The eighth.

If, for the great distance of places, bishops cannot easily meet, whether a bishop may be ordained without the presence of other bishops?

The answer of pope Gregory is to this effect: Certain it is, that, in the English church, wherein, as yet, there is no other bishop but yourself, you can ordain a bishop no other way than without bishops; for how can bishops come from Gaul that may assist at the ordination of a bishop in Britain? But we would have you so to appoint bishops, that they be not too far asunder from one another, that there may be no hindrance; but that, at the ordination of a bishop, others may be present; and such other presbyters also, whose presence is requisite, ought to have easy means of access. When, therefore, bishops shall be so ordained in places near one another, the

ordination of a bishop ought never to be without three or four bishops assisting, &c.

Augustin's ninth question was this: How ought we to behave ourselves towards the bishops of Gaul and Britain? The ninth.

The pope's answer was to this purpose: (for being somewhat long, we shall also contract it.)

In the first place, the pope allows him no authority over the bishops of Gaul, any further, than by advice or spiritual admonition, if they should happen to be guilty of any faults, because they were no way subject to his authority: and concludes thus; But all the bishops of Britain we commit to your brotherhood, that the ignorant may be taught, the weak by persuasions strengthened, and the perverse corrected by our authority.

I shall forbear any comment upon these questions, being satisfied with delivering facts. It is below the dignity of history to go into monkish disquisitions, therefore my reader is to expect nothing that does not immediately relate to the history of the church of England.

Augustin was furnished with Melitus, Paulus, Justus, Melinus, and Rufinianus, as assistants to him in his labours to convert the Saxons. Together with them was sent a large quantity of church plate, with a (1) pall, and some directions about erecting fees among the Saxon inhabitants. The new missionaries were recommended to Clotair, Brunichild, Theodore and Theodobert, who were princes among the Franks.

Augustin furnished with assistants.

In the mean time a great question arose with regard to the heathen temples, which hitherto had subsisted in the Saxon part of Britain. While the zeal of reformation was flagrant, they were voted to demolition; but when the prospect of success in the Saxons being converted to the Christian religion opened, Gregory the pope wisely retracted his sentiments, and, in a letter to Melitus, ordered him to acquaint archbishop Augustin, that he who intends to reach the top of an eminence, must rise by gradual advances, and not think of jumping to it at once. This maxim, so useful, so wise, and so necessary to a maker of proselytes, was enforced by particular directions. He tells him in his letter, that, upon farther thoughts, he had come to a resolution, that the Pagan temples in that country should not be pulled down, it being sufficient that the idols in

A question arises about the Pagan temples.

[Collier]

Gregory wisely saves them.

(1) The pall, as Harpsfield (Hist. Eccl. Angl. c. vi. p. 58.) describes it, is a small piece of woollen cloth, put on the archbishop's shoulders when he officiates, and lies over the rest of his habit; 'tis not at all ornamented with any rich dye, but is just of the same colour the sheep wore it; 'tis laid upon St. Peter's tomb by the bishops of Rome, and then sent away to the respective metropolitans. This ancient ceremony is supposed to signify these two things: first, that the archbishop may not grow vain upon the pompousness of his habit; and that, by looking upon the homeliness of the pall, the gold tissue and jewels about him may not affect his fancy, and make an unserviceable impression. The other lesson held forth in the emblem was, that the prelate, considering the pall was taken from St. Peter's tomb at Rome, should be careful to adhere to St. Peter's doctrine.—Thus far Harpsfield. But the learned Peter de Marca, archbishop of Paris, has a much larger, more instructive discourse upon this subject. As to the form, he observes, that the modern pall is much different from the ancient; that the modern one is nothing but a white piece of woollen cloth, about the breadth of a border made round, and thrown over the shoulders. Upon this border there are two others of the same matter and form, one of which falls down upon the breast, and the other upon the back, with each of them a red cross, several crosses of the same colour being likewise upon the upper part of it about the shoulders. This pall is tacked on with three gold pins. Thus the modern fashion of it is described by Honorius of Autun, Hugo a sancto victore, and pope Innocent III. But the old pall was a rich robe of state, and hung down to the ground, and the same with the Greek omophorion. This *ὀμοφόριον*, the Latins call pallium; which is a plain argument, that it was an entire garment, and not only a few borders. Thus Pelagius and Gregory I. inform us, that it was a magnificent habit, designed to put the prelate in mind, that his life should answer the dignity of his appearance. Collier.

Bede.
Collier.

them be destroyed; therefore let these places of heathen worship be sprinkled with holy water; let altars be built, and relics placed under them; for if these temples are well built, it is fit the property of them should be altered; that the worship of devils be abolished, and that solemnity changed to the service of the true God. That when the natives perceive those religious structures remain standing, they may keep to the place without retaining the error; and be less shocked at their first entrance upon Christianity, by frequenting the temples they have been used to esteem. And since it has been their custom to sacrifice oxen to the devils they adored, this usage ought to be refined on, and altered to an innocent practice. He advises, therefore, that, upon the anniversary of the saints, whose relics are lodged there, or upon the return of the day the church was consecrated, the people should make them booths about the churches lately rescued from idolatry, provide an entertainment, and keep a Christian holiday; not sacrificing their cattle to the devil, but killing them for their own refreshment, and praising God for the blessing. And thus, by allowing them some satisfactions of sense, they may relish Christianity the better, and be raised, by degrees, to the more noble pleasure of the mind; for unpolished ignorant people are not to believe all at once. Soon after this, churches were erected every where at or near Canterbury; and Ethelbert was so zealous a convert, that he even made a present of his own palace to the church, and retired to Reculver.

Ethelbert makes a present of his palace to the church.

The British bishops independent of Augustin.

But Augustin hitherto looked upon himself only as the half ecclesiastical monarch of Britain. The British clergy, ungalled by the dominion, unused to the power, of a pope, retained their ancient privileges, and appear to have acted with great firmness and independency. Augustin wanted to bring them into a conformity with the see of Rome; and their difference from the popish church, in the observation of Easter, seems to have been the capital point. All the ecclesiastical arrogance of Augustin could not force them to believe, that they had any manner of dependance upon the chair of Peter; but, as the Saxons were Christians, they thought it fair to give an equal ear to whatever might be offered. In the mean time Augustin, now backed by the authority of Ethelbert the Saxon monarch, laboured still the more to bring them, not to conformity only, but subjection, to the see of Rome; at last a conference was agreed upon, at a place since called Augustin's ac, or rather Augustin's oak, probably in Worcestershire. At this conference it appears, the Britons, founding themselves entirely upon the principles of independency on the Romish church, were quite insensible to the high pretensions of Augustin. The insolent remarks of a popish priest, who always writes without sentiment, sometimes without information, and often without candour, are below the dignity of history to chastise. His character, in a misguiding and misguided church, hath swelled him into

Augustin's conference with them.

Cardinal Baronius.

importance with it; his prejudices, bigotry, and inaccuracy justly sink him into contempt with every man who will think for himself. The British bishops were not, according to his insolent remark, malefactors; they were Christians, the best of Christians; all their crime was, that they did not run headlong into that spiritual slavery, the only merit among the Romanists. They stuck to the point of their independency; and Augustin, with his creatures, were obliged to have recourse to that poor uncertain evidence of precarious religion, the test of miracles, unsupported by argument, unrecommended by principle. The manner in which the miracle, that was to be the criterion, was introduced, is more than evidence of its forgery. It was to be performed by Augustin upon a Saxon (probably a creature of his own) pretended to be born blind, and recovered by him, after the ineffectual efforts of the British bishops. This ridiculous juggling was far from having any influence upon the Britons; they seem to have acted with a sincere desire of information, without the least tincture of pride or obstinacy. They looked upon the Christian religion as depending upon a rectitude of heart, and innocence of manners. They abandoned the minute disquisitions of human learning; they stuck to the characters of Christianity; and were resolved to be determined by that religion which appeared to be most according to their Saviour's own heart. Accordingly, unmoved by the specious pretence of miracles, they desired another conference, which was granted on the part of Augustin and the Romanists.

The Britons stick to their independency. Augustin obliged to have recourse to miracles;

and recovers to fight a blind Saxon,

Another conference agreed on between the British bishops and Augustin.

The pretensions of Augustin were high, and his merits, in the conversion of the Saxons, were great, therefore they claimed regard. The Britons consulted the simplicity of virtue, rather than the intricacies of learning. Before they came to the meeting they went to a hermit, whose religion, piety, and good sense gave them assurances of fuller satisfaction than they could obtain from interested views and studied distinctions. To him they put the question, Whether they ought to embrace Augustin's model? The hermit, with a greatness of soul, and uprightness of heart, scarce to be met with since it was set by our Saviour's own example, put the merit of the doctrine upon the virtue of the teacher. He told them, if Augustin was a man of God, they ought to be determined by him. The Britons naturally asked him, What was the criterion of a man of God? The hermit answered, "That it was his taking the yoke of Christ upon him, and his being meek and lowly in heart; and that, if he shewed other dispositions, his doctrine was not to be regarded." The Britons asked him farther, Which way they might distinguish the temper of his mind, and by what signs they were to be governed? He replied, "They were to manage the matter so, as that Augustin and his company might be first upon the place; and then, if he rose to them at their coming in, they might

The Britons apply to a hermit.

His excellent advice.

Bede.
Collier.
Spelman.

U u

" conclude

"conclude, he belonged to God Almighty,
 "and then his doctrine was to be followed;
 "but if he overlooked them to that degree,
 "as not to pay them the civility of standing
 "up, they might return his contempt, and
 "have nothing to do with him."

Augustin's
 haughty re-
 ception of the
 Britons.

He insists on
 their conform-
 ing to the
 Romish
 church.

Upon the place, and at the time of meeting, Augustin behaved quite the reverse of what the hermit described a man of God to be. He received the British bishops, who were seven in number, with all the pontifical haughtiness so common with overweening merit. Dinoh, the abbot of Bangor, appears to have been the mouth of the British clergy. Augustin insisted, in a peremptory manner, upon their keeping Easter, and administering the sacrament of baptism after the manner of the Romish church. This the Britons, without better arguments than he was able to bring, refused; and the substance of their answer will stand for ever as a monument of their good sense, and steadfastness against Romish usurpation. We have it from a manuscript, furnished to Sir Henry Spelman by a Welsh

gentleman; in Welsh, Saxon, and Latin. The manuscript, according to that excellent antiquary, has great weight; and the answer is as follows, in the words given us by Sir Henry Spelman:

"Be it known, and without doubt, unto
 "you, that we all are, and every one of
 "us, obedient and subjects to the church
 "of God, and to the pope of Rome,
 "and to every godly Christian, to love
 "every one in his degree, in perfect cha-
 "rity, and to help every one of them, by
 "word and deed, to be the children of
 "God. And other obedience than this I
 "do not know due to him, whom you name
 "to be pope, nor to be the father of fa-
 "thers, to be claimed, and to be demanded;
 "and this obedience we are ready to give
 "and to pay to him, and to every Christi-
 "an, continually. Besides, we are under
 "the government of the bishop of Kaer-
 "leon upon Uske, who is to oversee, un-
 "der God, over us, to cause to keep the
 "way spiritual."

(1) This answer was far from agreeing with

(1) It were unpardonable for an historian who writes to vindicate the independency of the English church, should he omit here the excellent words of bishop Stillingfleet; I do not fear but that the pertinence of the quotation will make up for its length.—It remains only, that we consider the liberty or independency of the British churches; of which we can have no greater proof, than from the carriage of the British bishops towards Augustin the monk, when he came with full power from the pope, to require subjection from them: and this material point, relating to the British churches, I shall endeavour to clear from all the objections which have been made against it. In order thereto, we are to understand, that Augustin the monk, by virtue of the pope's authority, did challenge a superiority over the bishops of the British churches; which appears not only by Gregory's answer to his interrogations, but by the scheme of the ecclesiastical government here, which Gregory sent to him after he had a fair prospect of the conversion of the Saxons, which was at the same time that he sent Melitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus, with the archiepiscopal pall, to him. There he declares, that there were to be two archbishop's sees, one at London (which, out of honour to Ethelbert or Augustin, was fixed at Canterbury, or rather by Ethelbert's own authority) and the other at York, which had been a metropolitan see in the British times; and both these archbishops were to have twelve suffragan bishops under them. The bishop of London was to be consecrated by his own synod, and to receive the pall from the pope; but Augustin was to appoint the first bishop of York, who was to yield subjection to him for his time, but afterward the sees were to be independent on each other. But, by all this, it should seem, that he had authority given him only over those bishops who were consecrated by him, and the archbishop of York: what then becomes of those bishops in Britain who were consecrated by neither, and such they knew these were? Concerning these, Gregory gives a plain answer; "That they were all to be subject to the authority of Augustin, and to govern themselves in life, and doctrine, and church-offices, according to his direction." Augustin being furnished with such full powers, as he thought; desires a meeting with the British bishops, at a place called Augustinslac, as Bede saith, in the confines of the Wiccii and the West Saxons. Where this place was, is very uncertain, and not at all material. Camden could find nothing like it; and the conjectures of others, since, have no great probability, either as to Austeric, or Haulstake, or Osuntree. But at this place the British bishops gave Augustin a meeting; where the first thing proposed by him was, "That they would embrace the unity of the Catholic church, and then join with them in preaching to the Gentiles;" "For, saith he, they did many things repugnant to the unity of the church;" which was, in plain terms, to charge them with schism; and the terms of communion offered, did imply submission to the church of Rome, and by consequence to his authority over them. But the utmost that could be obtained from them, was only, "that they would take farther advice, and give another meeting with a greater number." And then were present seven bishops of the Britons, and many learned men, chiefly of the monastery of Banchor, where Dinoh was then abbot. And the result of this meeting was, "that they utterly refused submission to the church of Rome, or to Augustin as archbishop over them." And for the account of this, we are beholding to Bede, whose authority is liable to no exception in this matter.—The learned prelate then proceeds to obviate three objections made to this matter of fact, and are as follow:

I. That Augustin did not require subjection from the British bishops, but only treated with them about other matters in difference between them.

II. That their refusing subjection to the bishop of Rome, depends upon the credit of a spurious British MS. they lately invented and brought into light, as the answer of Dinoh.

III. That if they did refuse subjection to the pope, it was schismatical obduracy in them, and contrary to the former sense of the British church.

To all these I shall give a clear and full answer.

I. As to the matter of their conference, it cannot be denied that other things were started; as about the paschal controversy, and some rites of baptism, &c. But this was the main point; which Augustin did not, in plain terms, insist upon, because it would look too invidiously to require subjection to himself; but he cunningly insinuates it under the name of ecclesiastical unity. For I dare appeal to any man's common sense, whether, upon the principles of the church of Rome, the British bishops complying with other things, and rejecting the pope's authority, would have been thought sufficient? If so, then submission to the pope is no necessary term of communion, and men may be in a very safe condition without it; but if it were necessary, then Augustin must imply it within the terms of catholic peace and ecclesiastical unity. It is therefore ridiculous in Alford and Cressy, and such writers, to say, that Augustin did not insist upon it; for it is to charge him with ignorance or stupidity, that he should leave out so necessary an article of communion. And yet Gregory had so great an opinion of him, as to make him the director of the British churches; and therefore it cannot be supposed that he should offer terms of communion, without requiring submission to the pope's authority, if those were in a state of schism who denied it. But it is said, that, in the conclusion of the second meeting, Augustin did not insist upon, nor so much as mention, any subjection to him from the British churches; but only required compliance in three points, viz. the time of the paschal solemnity agreeable with the church of Rome, following the Roman customs in baptism, and joining with them in preaching to the Saxons; and upon these they break up the meeting.—To which I answer, "that these things were required by Augustin, not as conditions of brotherly communion, but as the marks of subjection to his authority;" which appears from Bede's own words, *Si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis, &c.* which Cressy very unfaithfully renders, "If they would conform in three points only;" whereas the meaning is, "If they would own his authority in those three things." And therefore the British bishops answered very appositely, when they said, "We will neither do the things, nor submit to you as archbishop over us." Why should they deny subjection, if it had not been required of them? which shews, they very well understood his meaning, and gave answer, in short, to the main point. And upon this account, I suppose, it was, that the anchorite's advice was followed, about observing whether he rose up

See p. 144

Augustin's
menace.

His death.

Melitus made
first bishop of
London.

with the views of Augustin; and upon this occasion it was, that the insolent menace, I have already taken notice of, dropped from his mouth. For, after finding all his arguments ineffectual, he told the Britons, that, since they would not agree to live in unity with his party, they would be delivered over into the hands of their enemies, and compensate with their blood, the price of their difference. This menace, as we have already seen, was but too literally fulfilled. The death of Augustin is, by some, fixed to the year 604, in which year he had consecrated Melitus and Justus. Essex being under the dominion of the kings of Kent, who claimed the power of lords paramount over it, Melitus, who had been instrumental in converting some of the inhabitants to Christianity, was made first bishop of London, and St. Paul's was his cathedral. Justus was thereupon ordained bishop of Rochester by Augustin; but, upon the death of Sebert, king of Essex, and Ethelbert, king of Kent, the inhabitants of Essex, returning to Paganism, drove their bishop from his diocese to perpetual exile. As to Justus, he too, after the death of

Ethelbert, not having the courage to stand the persecution of the apostate princes, embarked for France, along with Melitus.

Augustin was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Laurentius, a coadjutor of his own, and successor in his zeal; as well as his diocese. The ridiculous question about the observation of Easter was pushed by him with the same unchristian temper as it had been by his predecessor. Melitus even took a voyage to Rome, to consult pope Boniface about that and some other regulations. After assisting at a synod, he brought a copy of its acts, when he returned to Britain, together with several cajoling letters from the pope to the new converts, both princes and plebeians. But, as I have hinted before, the son of Ethelbert, who died about the year 616, apostatizing, was followed by the example of the three princes of Essex, who scoffing at religion, Laurentius, the archbishop of Canterbury, was upon the point of following the examples of Melitus and Justus, when, by a happy (1) stratagem working upon the weakness of his prince, too ludicrous for the gravity of history, he prevailed on Eadbald, his king, to

Melitus goes to Rome to consult the pope.

Laurentius reclaims Eadbald to Christianity.

to the British bishops at their entrance; not that they were so offended for want of a compliment, as Mr. Cressy suggests; but this was looked upon, by them, as a mark of that superiority which he challenged over them; and therefore they had reason to take so great notice of it, and to infer harder usage from him, when they should be under his authority. They could not be ignorant, what authority the pope had given Augustin, and that made them more observant of his whole behaviour; and finding it so agreeable to the character of an archbishop over the British churches, they gave him that resolute answer, "that they would not own any authority he had, as archbishop, over them;" which is a sufficient proof, that this was really the main point contested between them.

II. As to the British MS. which contains Dinoh's answer more at large, I answer, 1. Leland observes, "that the British writers give a more ample account of this matter than is extant in Bede," who is very sparing in what concerns the British affairs: but from them he saith, "that Dinoh did at large dispute, with great learning and gravity, against receiving the authority of the pope, or of Augustin; and defended the power of the archbishop of St. David's, and affirmed it not to be for the British interest to own either the Roman pride, or the Saxon tyranny." And he finds fault with Gregory for not admonishing the Saxons of their gross usurpations, against their solemn oaths; and adds, "that it was their duty, if they would be good Christians, to restore their unjust and tyrannical power to those from whom they had taken it; for Dinoh, out of his great learning, could not but know that the pope, under a pretence of bringing in the true faith, could not confirm them in their unjust usurpation; for if that should be admitted, no princes could be safe in their dominions." And no doubt the British bishops looked upon this attempt of Augustin upon them, to be the adding one usurpation to another; which made them so averse to any communication with the missionaries, which otherwise had been inexorable. 2. The certainty of the British churches rejecting the pope's authority, and Augustin's jurisdiction, doth not depend upon the credit of this British MS. for this is sufficiently clear from Bede's own words, wherein they declare, "they would not own Augustin as archbishop over them." But if they had owned the pope's authority, they ought to have submitted to him who acted by virtue of his commission; and it was not possible for them, at such a distance from Rome, to express their disowning his authority more effectually, than by rejecting him, whom he had sent to be archbishop over them. And Nich. Trivet, in his MS. history, cited by Sir Henry Spelman, saith expressly, "that Augustin did demand subjection from the Britons to him, as the pope's legate; but they refused it." So that, if this MS. had never been heard of, the matter of fact had been nevertheless fully attested. 3. The objections against this MS. are not sufficient to destroy the authority of it. Sir Henry Spelman, who sets it down at large in Welsh, English, taken out of an older, but without date or author; and believes it to be still in the Cotton library. Here is all the appearance of ingenuity and faithfulness that can be expected; and he was a person of too great judgment and sagacity to be easily imposed upon by a modern invention, or a new-found schedule, as Mr. Cressy phrases it. The substance of it is, "that the abbot of Banchor, in the name of the British churches, declares, "that they owe the subjection of brotherly kindness and charity to the church of God, and to the pope of Rome, and to all Christians; but other obedience than that, they did not know to be due to him whom they called pope; and for their parts, they were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Caer-leon upon Ush, who was, under God, their spiritual overseer and director." But, say the objectors, "there was then no bishop of Caer-leon upon Ush, and had not been since the time the metropolitan jurisdiction was by St. David transferred to Menare." I grant, that from the time of Dubricius, the see was transferred, first to Landaff, and then to St. David's; but this latter translation was not agreed to by all the British bishops: and it appears, by the foregoing discourse, that the bishops of Landaff did, at that time when Odoceus lived, challenge the metropolitan power of the Caer-leon to themselves, and therefore would not be consecrated by the bishop of St. David's. And Caer-leon having been the ancient metropolitan see, it was no absurdity at all to mention that in a dispute which depended upon ancient right: for the authority over the British churches was not upon the account of St. David's or Landaff, but the metropolitan right which belonged to the see of Caer-leon. As if, in the British times, the metropolitan see had been removed from London to Canterbury, what incongruity had it been, in a dispute of superiority, to have alledged, that the British churches of those parts were under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of London, although at that time the see were removed to another place? And if this be all to make it appear to be a forgery, as Mr. Cressy pretends, for all that I can see, it may be a very ancient and genuine MS.

(1) Laurentius, being ready to quit the island, and follow Melitus and Justus, ordered a bed to be made him in the church at Canterbury; and here, after he had spent a great part of the night in watching and prayer, St. Peter, as Bede reports, appeared to him, and scourging him severely upon the shoulders, asked him, in a very reprimanding manner, "Why he deserted his flock in the time of danger, and left the sheep with the wolves about them? If he had forgotten what loss of liberty, what hardships, what imprisonments, and what a tormenting death himself had suffered for the interest of Christianity?" Laurentius, being thus remarkably corrected by the vision, went to the king in the morning, and making his shoulders bare, shewed him the marks of St. Peter's discipline. The king was strangely surprized, and enquired, "Who it was that was so bold to strike Laurentius, and treat a man of his character so rigidly?" But being informed by the archbishop how he came to be thus handled, the king was mightily affected with the relation; and growing now apprehensive for himself, he renounced his idolatry, disengaged from his unlawful marriage, turned Christian, was baptized, and laid out his endeavours for the benefit of the church. To this purpose he sent into France, and recalled Melitus and Justus, and gave them the liberty of managing their dioceses at their discretion.

return

return to the bosom of the church, and the practice of virtue. Eadbald, at the same time, sent for Justus out of France, whom he restored to the bishopric of Rochester; and endeavoured to do the same by Melitus to that of London, but ineffectually.

He is succeeded by Melitus,

Laurentius dying in the year 619, was succeeded by Melitus, noble in his extraction, and eminent in his piety; and, if we may believe historians, a worker of useful miracles, in putting a stop, by his prayers, to a conflagration which had broke out in Canterbury. This prelate, however, dying in the year 624, was succeeded by Justus, the bishop of Rochester, who received an authority to consecrate bishops from pope Boniface V.

and he by Justus.

See p. 147. Paulin converts the court of Northumberland.

Within this period falls the conversion of the court of Northumberland, which I have already so fully handled, by means of Paulin, who wrought so effectually upon the inhabitants both of Deira and Bernicia, that they were baptized by thousands in the river Swale in Yorkshire. Paulin, meeting with such success benorth the Humber, crossed it, and travelled southward to Lincoln, where he converted a great man of that country to Christianity, and built a church. The authority, example, and countenance of Edwin was, no doubt, very serviceable in those conversions; we find him attending the pious bishop and his labours, and a witness to his baptizing great numbers of the inhabitants in the river Trent. Paulin was assisted by one James, a deacon, a man of learning and character, and alive in Bede's days. The fame of Paulin reaching Rome, Honorius, who then filled that see, sent him a pall, as archbishop of York, and ordered another to be sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, who, at this time, was Honorius, the successor of Justus. The date of the pope's letters to Honorius on this occasion, is in the year 634. The privilege of these palls was extremely convenient to the English church, since they gave a power, in case of the death of either of the metropolitans, for the survivor to consecrate another, without being at the trouble of a journey to Rome.

Upon Edwin's death, Paulin retired, with the remains of the royal family and the church plate, to Kent. There was, at this time, a vacancy in the see of Rochester; and, at the instance of Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, and king Eadbald, it was filled up by Paulin. But here we must not forget his deacon James, who bravely faced the storm under which his superior sunk; for he remained upon the spot, and continuing his evangelical labours near Catarick in Yorkshire, preserved the sound, confirmed the weak, and reclaimed the apostate.

The conversion of the West Saxons to Christianity was effected, independently of the mission of Augustin and his coadjutors, and is fixed to about the year 634. The instrument of it was one Berinus, who applied to pope Honorius for leave to labour in the conversion of the English Pagans. The pope not only granted his request, but invested him with an episcopal

See p. 134. The West Saxons converted by Berinus.

character. The success of his labours Ibid. has been already taken notice of.

The conversion of the Mercians is fixed to the year 644. For its occasion and progress the reader may consult the history of that kingdom.

The author of the life of Wilfred, bishop of York, gives us a pompous account of that prelate's success in converting the South Saxons, about the year 686; but, when we consult circumstances, his merits appear, as a prelate, to be but trifling. Adelwalch, their king, had been already, for valuable considerations, converted to the faith; but a lucky incident gave Wilfred an opportunity of improving the king's zeal to a more general conversion of his subjects. The people of Suffex, though inhabiting a sea-coast, were quite ignorant how to make advantage of their situation; a scarcity of grain happening about this time, Wilfred taught the inhabitants the art of fishing in the sea by nets; and, by this substantial proof of superior merit, gave them a high opinion of his abilities. The gratitude of Adelwalch has been already taken notice of; and Wilfred acted as bishop among the South Saxons for about five years, which he spent in exile from his own see of York.

The conversion of the South Saxons by Wilfred.

See p. 132.

Having taken this short review of the original conversions of the several kingdoms of the heptarchy, I proceed in order, and shall endeavour to give a history of the church, rather than of churchmen; intending, for that purpose, to clear my narrative of all the ridiculous miracles, fanatical behaviour, and pious, though mistaken, zeal, with which our former historians of the church so largely abound.

The archbishops of Canterbury in their pretended right from the see of Rome, did all they could to bring not only the other Saxons, but the Scots and Britons, into a spiritual dependency upon them. For this purpose they made several essays to bring them to the conformity of their own church, in the observation of Easter, and their obedience to the see of Rome; but all to no purpose. As this controversy, with regard to Easter, is so often mentioned in our ecclesiastical history, it is incumbent on us, once for all, to give some account of it here. This account cannot come better in, than in this place; for Deusdedit succeeding Honorius in the archbishopric of Canterbury, a vacancy for four years happened in that see. Egbert and Oswald, the kings of Kent and Northumberland, sent a Kentish priest, one Wygar, to Rome, to be consecrated archbishop; but he dying of the plague, Theodore, a Greek, a man of great abilities and great ambition, was appointed archbishop. This prelate brought over with him a great many Greek and Latin books; but his being a Greek, gave the pope some jealousy, lest he should introduce some of his own country customs into Britain. For this reason one Adrian, an abbot, who had before refused the archbishopric, was appointed to go along with Theodore, and to watch his actions. When Theodore came

The archbishops of Canterbury endeavour to make the Saxons, &c. dependent on them.

Account of the controversy with regard to Easter.

Theodore appointed archbishop.

came here, he found ecclesiastical discipline entirely decayed; penances were only done in Lent, and absolutions cheap and easy. The wholesome discipline of primitive Christianity was worn out by the more gainful trade of auricular confession; a practice which, to designing clergymen, serves both as a curb and a spur upon the laity. Theodore wanted to introduce a more regular discipline, and, for this purpose, formed a penitentiary, in order to direct priests how to proportion the degrees of penance to the nature of sins. Theodore's haughtiness, however, created him enemies at Rome; and the pope sent one John, his precentor, to enquire into the faith of Theodore, and the rest of the bishops. A synod was held at Bishopsthatfield in Hertfordshire, where the faith of the five first general councils was amply declared and confirmed. This happened in the year 680. But before this, in 673, a synod was held at Hereford, or Harford, in which Theodore produced the book of canons, and pointed out ten particulars, which he proposed should be diligently observed by the synod. The first was, that they all jointly keep Easter-day on the Lord's day after the fourteenth day of the moon, in the (1) first month.

This canon was aimed at the Britons and Scots, who still kept their Easter by another rule than that which Augustin brought from Rome. It is not certain what their rule was, or how they came by it. Constantine, in his letter to the churches, declares, that the Britons, as well as other nations, observed Easter as the council of Nice had directed. Whether the Romans or the Britons had departed from the measures there fixed, will very well bear a dispute. The invasions of the northern people in the fifth century cut off the communication which there had formerly been between Rome and the British churches. And the revolutions made by the Saracens in Egypt, in the next century, did for a long while eclipse the patriarchs, and, for some time, interrupt the succession of them at Alexandria, from whence Easter-day used to be notified to Rome, and thereby communicated to the churches of the West. In the

mean time Victorius and Dionysius Exiguus new modelled the cycles for finding Easter in the church of Rome, without the participation of the Britons, who therefore refused to submit to Augustin's proposal, or to depart from their old rules. Usage supplied the part of argument with the Britons, who seem to have been but ill skilled in controversial learning. Two British bishops from Icolm-kill, the seminary of their clergy, had prevailed with the Northumbrians, notwithstanding their being converted by Romanists, to follow the British rule; but Oswy, the king of Northumberland, shewed so great regard to the church of Rome, that, in the year 666, he ordered a (2) conference before himself to be held, on this subject, at Whitby in Yorkshire. Colman, a British clergyman, was the principal speaker on that side, and he had other Scotch priests and monks for his assistants; he was likewise favoured by the king, who had celebrated Easter after his manner. Wilfred, who was then an abbot, was the mouth of the other party. The particular arguments that passed on both sides are equally weak and ridiculous, and well worthy of Monkish ignorance. It is sufficient to inform the reader, that Wilfred had the good fortune to get the king upon his side in the course of the debate. Perhaps the Romanists had no small advantage through the favour of the queen, who kept Easter in their manner. Colman, therefore, finding his opinion over-ruled, threw up his preferment in England, and retired with his party into Scotland; while Oswy, regardless of the merits of the cause, but full of veneration for St. Peter, who he was told kept the gates of heaven, and would be exasperated if a proper regard was not shewed to his successors, became a zealous convert to the Romish celebration.

Another important point discussed in this synod was, the ecclesiastical tonsure. The Romanists insisted upon its being done in such a manner as that it might resemble the crown of thorns which our Saviour wore; the British tonsure was somewhat different from this. But to proceed in our history.

The other nine canons, produced by Theodore upon this occasion, were,

Theodore forms a penitentiary.

Johnson's collections. Euseb. de rit. Const. lib. ii.

The cycles new modelled for finding Easter.

Oswy orders a conference on this subject to be held.

An account of it.

Spelman. Collier. Johnson. Ecclesiastical tonsure discussed at the same synod.

The rest of their canons.

(1) Primum capitulum, ut sanctum diem paschæ in commune omnes fervemus, Dominica post decimam quartam lunam primi mensis.

(2) I cannot forbear here giving the reader the manner in which this conference is represented by a learned foreigner of the Romish persuasion, I mean Mons. du Pin, and leave the reader to judge, from his words, which are all taken from Bede, whether I have done this conference any wrong in representing it as I have.—The chief occasion of this conference (related by Bede, lib. iii. cap. 25. of his history) was the dispute about Easter-day. Colman maintained the practice of the Britons, and Wilfred that of the Romans. King Oswy was present at it. Wilfred founded his practice upon the universal custom of the church, which kept Easter on the same day, excepting the Picts and the Britons. Colman would have defended their practice by the authority of St. John; but Wilfred shewed him that he did not agree with this apostle, who kept Easter without staying for the Sunday, which they did not follow, seeing they stayed till the Sunday next after the fourteenth moon. That they did not agree with St. Peter neither; for this holy apostle kept Easter between the fifteenth and the twenty-first moon, whereas they would keep it from the fourteenth to the twentieth; so that they did sometimes begin this feast at the end of the thirteenth moon. Colman alledged, for his defence, the authority of Anatolius, Columba, and the ancients of his country. Wilfred answered, that they did not agree with Anatolius, who made use of the cycle of nineteen years, which they were strangers to, because that author's opinion was, not that Easter was necessary to be kept before the twenty-first moon, but that he had mistaken the fourteenth moon for the fifteenth, and the twentieth for the twenty-first. As to Columba, and his successors, he would not condemn them; that he was persuaded they might be excused for their simplicity, in a time when no body was able to instruct them; but as for them, they could have no excuse, if they refused the instructions given them: however, that Columba's authority was not to be preferred before St. Peter's, to whom Christ gave the keys of the church, and said, "Upon this rock will I build my church." The king, struck with these last words, asked Colman if it was true that Christ said so to St. Peter? Colman having confessed it was true, the king said, that, seeing St. Peter was door-keeper of heaven, he would not contradict him, but would obey his statutes. This decision was approved by the company; Colman and his men withdrew, refusing to yield to the practice of the Romans, about the keeping of Easter, and the tonsure, about which there was also a contest; men take such delight in disputes about small things,

That every bishop should confine himself to his own diocese, without invading that of others.

That monasteries and places consecrated to God should be kept unmolested and unviolated.

That monks keep to one place of residence, without removing from one place to another, but by the abbot's leave; and that the tenor of their life should be according to the terms of their engagement.

That no clerk shall stroll up and down at his own pleasure; and if any of them should desert their bishop, or ramble into another diocese, without commandatory letters from his bishop, and if he refuse to return, another being received, that both the entertainer, and the person who is entertained, should be laid under excommunication.

That itinerant bishops and clergymen should be contented with an hospitable reception in the places to which they resort; but without exercising any ecclesiastical functions, but by leave of the bishop of the diocese.

The next article provides, that a synod be called twice a year; but this canon, upon farther deliberation, was changed; and it was unanimously agreed, that it was sufficient if a synod was assembled once a year, on the 1st of August, at Cloveshoo, which is supposed to be Abbingdon in Berkshire.

That priority of consecration shall be the rule of precedence among bishops.

The next article relates to encreasing the number of bishops in proportion to the number of the faithful who are converted; but this canon was not finally agreed upon.

The last canon related to matrimony; by which it was provided, that none be allowed but what is lawful; that no incest be committed; that no divorces be allowed but on account of adultery; and that when a divorce, between a man and his lawful wife, happens, the man shall either live single, or be reconciled to his wife. But, with regard to the meaning of this canon, I own I am somewhat doubtful; for, by a penitentiary, which is said to have been drawn up by the same Theodore, and certainly was of his age, the innocent party is permitted to marry again. Second marriages likewise are allowed of; nay, if the husband forfeited his liberty, the wife, being a free woman, was allowed to take another man. So that, upon the whole, there is an expression, at the end of the canon, which seems to imply, as if this rigour was rather a matter to be wished for, than enjoined. All these articles give us no contemptible opinion of the virtue of this synod; nor is there a single passage, in either our histories or records, to favour the assertion of the Romish prelate, as if it had been convened by the pope's authority (1).

The synod itself was composed of bishops

only. Those mentioned on this occasion are Bisi, the bishop of the East Angles; Wilfred, bishop of the Northumbrians; Putta, bishop of Rochester; Leutherius, bishop of the West Saxons; and Winfred, bishop of the Mercians.

Bisi, whom we have just mentioned, was at this time old and infirm, therefore desired leave to retire from his sacerdotal labours. The East Anglian converts, at this time, seem to have been numerous, ignorant and zealous. Theodore, therefore, granted the request of that bishop, by consecrating Ecci and Baduin consecrated bishops of East-Anglia. Ecclesiastical and Baduin in his stead; and from that time, says the venerable historian, the East Angles had always two bishops.

Soon after this, some differences and heart-burnings, which could be no longer stifled, happening between Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and Winfred, bishop of the Mercians; the former had spirit enough to depose his suffragan, and appointed Sexwulf in his place. Winfred retired to his monastery, where he finished his days with exemplary piety. I shall not enter into any disquisition with regard to the authority upon which the archbishop proceeded. Theodore deposes Winfred, and appoints Sexwulf in his place. I am apt to believe that it was not very regular, and that the whole was a piece of party-work. To establish precedents, to draw conclusions, and to form arguments from measures where success alone gives sanction, belongs, I think, only to bigots. It is natural for all mankind to endeavour at the enlarging their own power; in some respect they think it even meritorious. Happy and favourable conjunctures were seldom wanting to the clergy in those days, when ignorance and bigotry put the consciences of most princes, as well as subjects, entirely into their hands. These considerations will easily account for that independency upon the civil magistrate, in the proceedings of the clergy, which is so boasted of by zealous writers. At the same time I am far from denying that a metropolitanical power was invested in Theodore, as archbishop, by the constitutions of the church at this time; but it is ridiculous to pretend that the compliance with those constitutions was any other than the mere effect of the devotion of the civil magistrate, and the high opinion he had of the church.

It was about this time that Sebba, king of the East Angles, meditated to retire from civil life. For this purpose he persuaded his queen to part with her royalty, and, putting himself into the hands of Walder, bishop of London, he became a monk. Upon his resignation he took care, however, to furnish himself with a large sum of money, which he carried with him into his retirement, and applied to pious purposes. In his last illness, being afraid that the agonies of death might betray him into some indecency of posture or expression, he

This synod not convened by the authority of the pope.

(1) Baronius founds this upon Theodore's saying to the bishops, in his speech when he opened the synod, that he was consecrated by the pope to the see of Canterbury; but this is far from proving that either the synod was convened by the pope, or that Theodore acted as his legate. Add to this the profound silence of all our old historians, who would not have failed to have taken notice of such a circumstance.

discovered an uneasiness on that account, and sent to the bishop of London, to desire that only he and two of his own domestics should be present in the room, to close his eyes. This was a delicacy not unbecoming a great man, and something above the spirit of that age; but the royal monk was happily disappointed, for he left life without either a pang or a struggle.

Leutherius, who, as we have seen, was bishop of the West Saxons at the time of the late synod, dying about the year 676, Heddi was consecrated by Theodore in his room. During his prelacy, the great revolution of that kingdom happened under Ceadwalla, and he was bishop when that prince went to Rome.

Putta obliged to fly to Sexwulf,

who kindly receives him.

About this time Putta, bishop of Rochester, was obliged, by Ethelred, king of the Mercians, who had invaded Kent, to fly from his see to Sexwulf, the bishop of Mercia. This prelate received the outed bishop very kindly; for he gave him a church and a small field, in the possession of which Putta very comfortably ended his days. It must not here be forgot, that the exiled prelate spent his time in instructing the people in church music, which appears about this time to have been far from barbarous. Theodore consecrated Quichelm in his stead; but the ravages committed by the enemy had been so great, that the see was not able to maintain its bishop, so that he was obliged to seek a subsistence elsewhere.

See p. 151.

A difference happens between Egfrid and Wilfred.

Its occasion.

I come now to the year 678, when the throne of Northumberland was filled by Egfrid. At this time a difference happened between him and Wilfred, archbishop of York, which was prosecuted with great animosity on both sides; and, I think, is the most early instance in which pontifical pride incroached upon royal authority. As this difference was attended with great effects, I shall relate it more particularly. Egfrid's first queen had a visionary turn, which put her upon denying her husband the rights due to a marriage state. The king, who really loved her, and who was sensible that her unreasonable delicacy proceeded from no dislike to his person, but from motives of mistaken piety, applied to Wilfred to win her from her obstinacy; and, if he succeeded, he promised the prelate good store of money and lands. The lady, with invincible fanaticism, was so far from complying with her husband, that she solicited the king to follow her example; and, at the same time, redoubled her instances for leave for herself to retire to a monastery. It is more than probable that Egfrid imagined Wilfred had betrayed him in his application, and that this was the first cause of the dislike which he ever after had for the prelate; for the queen actually went into the monastery, and received the habit from Wilfred himself. This insolence of the prelate seems to have been supported by a great power and

party in the country; but Egfrid had courage enough to dispute the heart of his wife with the monks, and to reclaim her from the monastery, though in vain: for she was so deep an enthusiast, that all the charms of royalty, and all the courtship of a loving husband, could not bring her back to the world; and she fled out of Egfrid's power to Ely.

This unfurmountable obstinacy cured the monarch of his fondness; and he soon after married Ermenburg, a woman of a different cast from his former queen. This royal pair, conceiving that sovereign authority must be cramped, while a subject lived under them who possessed the ambition and power of

Wilfred, resolved to crush him. Accordingly Egfrid began by seizing certain revenues belonging to St. Peter's church at York. This invasion was warmly resented by the prelate; and Egfrid's queen, being a woman of equal spirit, took care to improve the misunderstanding into a total breach between Egfrid and Wilfred. The latter gave her great opportunities of working his disgrace at court. His large revenues and pompous attendance, so inconsistent with evangelical simplicity; and his aspiring, intriguing character, so dangerous to the peace of civil government, were not only specious, but solid charges against Wilfred. Yet, notwithstanding all the power and interest of

See p. 151.
Egfrid seizes some revenues belonging to St. Peter's church, which ends in a rupture between him and Wilfred.

Egfrid applies to Theodore,

and procures the erection of several new bishoprics in Wilfred's diocese.

Wilfred claims the re-union of his see;

Egfrid, it appears, upon the face of the history, that he could not have wrought the downfall of this haughty priest, had he not found means to render him odious to his brother Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury. This created a division in the interest on which Wilfred must rely for support. Egfrid was sensible of the advantage it gave him; and applying to the archbishop of Canterbury, several new bishoprics were erected in Wilfred's diocese, without his consent. Though this was both right and reasonable, when we consider the great extent of Wilfred's see, and the impossibility of one man's being able to discharge such a compass of duty; yet Wilfred raised a clamour, as if the rights of the church had been invaded. He came to court, and, with more than pontifical arrogance, demanded of the king and the archbishop, how they came, like a couple of robbers, to spoil him (1) of the estates given by princes to the church, without his having been guilty of any crime? Egfrid, with great prudence and resolution, did not, upon this piece of insolence, deign to enter with the prelate upon any disquisition of his demerits; so put the whole of his conduct upon the right he had, as a sovereign prince, in conjunction with the metropolitan, to make such innovations. And indeed, as the revenues, seized from Wilfred, seem to have been applied towards endowing the new-created dioceses, the prince appears to have acted an honest part, for the advantage and edifi-

(1) I shall, lest the reader should suspect that I misrepresent this passage, set down the words of the original, as we have it in the life of Wilfred himself, as wrote by his cotemporary and panegyrist Eddius. Quo audito sanctus pontifex nolter regem et archiepiscopum adiit, interrogans quid causæ esset, ut sine aliquo delicti peccato suis substantiis a regibus pro Deo donatis prædonum more defraudarent.

but is denied it,

and appeals to Rome.

The authority of the pope little valued at Egfrid's court.

The courtiers laugh at Wilfred's appeal.

He menaces them.

The papal authority not regarded by Theodore,

who exerts his metropolitical authority in the see of York, and consecrates Bosa bishop of that see, Eata of Hexam and Lindisfarn, and Edhed of Lindsey.

The latter obliged to retire from his diocese.

cation of his subjects. But Wilfred, considering the revenues as belonging to him rather than to the church, insisted upon his charge with great warmth; while the king, with equal firmness, told him, that he was well satisfied with what he had done, and would not alter his determination. Upon this the prelate had recourse to his last weapons, and appealed to the see of Rome.

It appears, from a circumstance which has upon this occasion dropped from our historians, that the power of the Roman pontiff was very little understood or valued at Egfrid's court; for, upon Wilfred's appeal, the courtiers looked upon it as so impotent a method of seeking redress, that they burst into fits of laughing, which was returned with equal presumption and arrogance on the part of the prelate; for he treasonably told them, that in a year the court of Egfrid should dearly pay for the pastime they now took. This menace was not without its effect; for in a year Egfrid, being invaded by the Mercians, perhaps prompted by the intrigues of Wilfred, he lost his brother Elfwine. But Wilfred's threats little availed in the mean time; and the papal authority appears to have been as little regarded by archbishop Theodore, as by the king himself. For, notwithstanding pope Gregory had established an archiepiscopal see at York, independent on that of Canterbury, after the death of Augustin the monk, which independency had been confirmed by pope Honorius; yet Theodore, acting entirely under the sanction of the civil power, exerted here all the metropolitical authority he could have done had he been in his own diocese: for, after he had cantoned out the archbishopric of York, he consecrated Bosa into that see, he made Eata bishop of Hexam and Lindisfarn, and Edhed of Lindsey in Lincolnshire, a territory lately conquered from the Mercians by Egfrid. Sexwulf had been bishop here under the Mercians; but, upon the late conquest, was obliged to retire to the middle Angles. But the Northumbrians, shortly after, losing Lindsey to the Mercians, Edhed was obliged, in his turn, to retire from his diocese; and being received by Theodore, got from him the jurisdiction of the church and abbey of Rippon. The same archbishop, by direction of the king no doubt, took upon him to divide the dioceses of Hexam and Lindisfarn, by making Dunbrith bishop of Hexham, and continuing Eata bishop of Lindisfarn; though some say, that one of those sees was reserved for Wilfred, if he would submit to accept of it. Theodore likewise exerted other metropolitical acts upon this occasion; for we are told that he consecrated one Trumwin bishop of Candida-cala, or Whitern, which had been, some

time before, conquered from the Scots and northern Britons.

In the mean time Wilfred, finding all his schemes blasted in England, resolved to prosecute his appeal in person at Rome. There is reason to believe that Egfrid was vindictive enough to follow his resentment against this prelate into a foreign country; for the writer Eddius.

of his life tells us, that his enemies found means to give information to the Franks of his journey through France, and to solicit them either to put him to death, or to kill his attendants, and strip him of all he had.

(1) But Wilfred set sail directly for West Friesland, where he arrived after a pleasant voyage, and was honourably received by Algifus, king of that country, a pagan, as were his people. His evangelical labours here, if we are to believe the historians of the times, were crowned with great success. The particulars I shall omit; only Wilfred's enemies were malicious enough to push their resentment against him even into this useful scene of his labours; for Ebroin, first minister and general to Theodoret, king of the Franks, sent a messenger to Algifus, with promise of a large sum, in case that prince would send Wilfred, either alive or dead. The generous Algifus threw the letter, containing this detestable proposal, into the fire, desiring the messengers to acquaint their master, that he wished God would so consume the power and life of every perjured prince, who betrays the laws of hospitality, and the man who trusts him.

Wilfred, after various other adventures, at last arrived at Rome, at the time when Agatho, then pope, was making preparation for a general council against the Monothelites. That pope, however, seems to have been no stranger to the disputes between Theodore and Wilfred; for Theodore had taken care to send a monk, one Kene-wald, with the state of the disputes between him and Wilfred, set in the most favourable light for himself; but Wilfred preferred his petition to the pope in council. The strain of it was such as could not but highly flatter the ambition of the pontiff and his council; it made them sole judges of the differences between the two archbishops; complained in how independent a manner upon the see of Rome Theodore had acted; and concluded with this servile expression: "That he hopes to approve himself a most devoted follower of whatever his holiness shall ordain, to whose equity, leaving all other considerations, he had now fled with the most entire assurance (2)." This artful application had the effect he intended; judgment was given for him; and two councils about the British affairs were held. The decision of the first appears to have been general; and, though

Wilfred resolves to appeal in person to Rome.

The Franks corrupted to betray him.

He arrives at West Friesland, and is received by Algifus, king of that country.

Theodoret, king of the Franks, sends a messenger to Algifus to deliver up Wilfred; but is disappointed.

Wilfred arrives at Rome.

lays his case before the pope in the most favourable light for himself.

Judgment given in his favour.

(1) Rapin has represented this matter rightly; but his translator, probably following Collier, or some other of our ecclesiastical writers, tells us in a note, that, "according to Eddius, Wilfred first went to France, where he was way-laid, and his company and equipage plundered." But Eddius has no such thing; he tells us indeed of the way-laying; and that Wilfred, bishop of Lichfield, being likewise driven into banishment, and travelling that way, fell into the hands of the way-layers, who plundered him, mistaking him for Wilfred, bishop of York.

(2) Confido enim, quod omnem devotæ obedientiæ obsequiam statutis apostolicis exhibebo: ad ejus æquitatem, omnibus abjectis, cum tota mentis confidentia properavi. Edii vit. Wilfredi.

arising from the differences which had been between Theodore and Wilfred, nothing particular is decreed against the former (1). On the contrary, one John, a precentor, was sent as legate from the see of Rome, with a decretal order for Theodore to assemble a general council, for the better observance of what had been decreed by the church in general, and by that synod in particular.

But it does not appear that Agatho, though a very vain prelate, expected that Theodore should appear in person at Rome; on the other hand, Theodore seems to have been quite satisfied with what he had done, and with the protection of the king of Northumberland, without being over-sollicitous to vindicate his conduct before the tribunal of the Roman pontiff. This behaviour in a bishop whom the court of Rome looked upon as a creature of its own, got great favour there to Wilfred. Another synod being called, Wilfred was solemnly re-instated, as far as they were able to do it, in his diocese. Some regard, however, was had to the late division of his see; for it was decreed, that a synod of English bishops should be called, and that those coadjutors who should be approved of by Wilfred and this synod, should from him receive consecration, and succeed in place of those settled by Theodore in the new-erected sees. This was politically managed by the synod; they had, in the case of Theodore, just seen an instance of contumacy to their authority, occasioned by his great power which enabled him to act independently; therefore they,

He is ordered to be re-instated in his diocese.

perhaps, considered that this might be the case with Wilfred, and were not sorry that his diocese had been parcelled out, since thereby his power and revenues would be greatly reduced: but, at the same time, they had the insolence to insert a decree that threatened degradation to every clergyman, and excommunication to every layman, without excepting even the king himself, who should refuse to submit to their commands. All this passed not in the name of the pope alone, but of the synod.

Wilfred, exulting with success, obtained a copy of the sentence, with an order, which he was to communicate to the king and archbishop Theodore. The former, still preserving the appearance of moderation, summoned a meeting of both clergy and laymen, to examine the contents of Wilfred's dispatches; but this meeting acted as if they had owed no obedience to the see of Rome. They warmly declared, that the pope and his synod had been bribed into their determination; and Egfrid, being thus secure, that the body of his subjects would stand by him, with that spirit which became a sovereign prince and the father of his people, threw the haughty prelate into prison.

Wilfred lays a copy of his sentence before Egfrid and Theodore. A meeting summoned to examine it;

who act independent of Rome, reverse the pope's decree, and imprison Wilfred.

I have already taken notice of the synod of Hereford, which sat by virtue of writs from Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of the commission given to John, the pope's precentor. The pope, who received a copy of their proceedings from John, was very well satisfied with their conduct. But to return to Wilfred.

See p. 161.

(1) I shall, for my reader's satisfaction and instruction, give some of the decrees of this council, and their form. The names of the bishops who composed it, were Crescens of Vibo-Valentia in Calabria, Andrew of Ostia, Juvenal of Albanum, Maurice of Tibur, John of Faleronia, Benedict of Messina, Theodosius of Syracuse; Deusdedit of Narnia, Paul of Nomentum, John of Porto, Deodatus of Nepe, Vitus of Sylva-Candida, Gaudiosus of Signia, George of Agrigentum, Placidius of Veletre, George of Catana, and Deodatus of Juscolum; and the venerable priests, Boniface, Peter, Juvenal, Theodosius, George, Theodorus, Sisinnius, Theodorus, Augustus, Benedict, Paul, Tribunus, Coronus, Peter, John, Sisinnius, Epiphanius, Sisinnius, Decorus, Soleuncius, Theopictus, Martin, Sisinnius, George, Sisinnius, John, Habitus, Probinus, John, Martin, Peter, Eutichius, and Sergius. Its two first articles are as follow:

"Agatho, the most holy and blessed pontiff, &c. said to his coadjutors, I know you cannot be ignorant for what reason I have called you, my brethren, to this venerable convention, viz. because I desire your sincerity to examine and treat with me concerning the state of the church in the island of Britain; where, by the grace of God, the multitude of believers are greatly increased, there a dissention is lately raised; whereas the harmony of the faith is one only, which faith they received by the preaching and instruction of this apostolical see; it being begun and regulated by our blessed memorable predecessor, St. Gregory, and by St. Augustin and his companions.

"The most reverend bishops, Andrew and John, answered, in the presence of all, saying, It is evident to all, that the churches situate in the island of Britain do much want pontifical succour, especially because of the dissention there, between the most holy archbishop Theodore, and other prelates of the same province; which the apostolic authority is able, with the help of God, to assuage, and to remove the fuel of dissention, while it takes away the occasion of scandal, and prunes off superfluities, and cures, by spiritual medicines, such things as are hurtful to Christian polity, such things as are agreed to be done there."

After some preambles, unnecessary to be inserted here, they proceed:

"Therefore, all points being considered and debated, both what we know by the relation of such as come hither, and what could be collected from the divers written reports that have been sent to the apostolical see, upon a very solicitous enquiry, we have resolved, with common consent, to publish this definitive sentence: We determine then, and ordain, by the authority of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, to whom the Creator and Saviour of mankind, the Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, gave the keys of binding and loosing in heaven and earth, that every kingdom, constituted in the island of Britain, have bishops of their provinces, so placed, in proportion to their dominion, that all the prelates of the churches, together with the archbishop, may be twelve in number. Let the bishop, who, for the time being, is honoured with the pall by this apostolical see, promote and canonically ordain them to the sacerdotal honour; and let them be subject to his ordering only; with this express condition, that none of the bishops presume to meddle with the rights of another prelate; but that every one preserve his own rights untouched, and study to instruct and convert the people.

"We also ordain and decree, That bishops, and all whosoever profess the religious life of the ecclesiastical order, do not use weapons, nor keep musicians of the female sex, nor any musical concerts whatsoever; nor do allow of any buffooneries, or plays, in their presence: for the discipline of the holy church permits not her faithful priests to use any of these things; but charges them to be employed in divine offices, in making provisions for the poor, and for the benefit of the church; especially, let lessons out of the divine oracles be always read, for the edification of the churches, that the minds of the hearers may be fed with the divine word, even at the very time of their bodily repast."

The last article is as follows:

"Moreover, Agatho, the most holy, &c. delivered also to the aforesaid religious abbot, John, the synod of the blessed pope Martin, subscribed by one hundred and five bishops, not long before, at Rome; that, when he went into Britain, he might carry it with him to the archbishop Theodore, not only as a testimony and confirmation of his legateship, but also that Theodore, the archbishop, might recommend that, whatever it were, which he, with the wise, faithful, and religious men in the provinces of the English, could find conducive to the profit of the churches of Christ, and of all the people of God that dwell there, or to the religion of Christ, to be corroborated and transcribed by the authority aforesaid."

Wilfred released by the means of Ebba, and sentenced to banishment.

See p. 152. He is invited by Theodore to a conference.

Theodore's motives.

He promises to make Wilfred his successor to the see of Canterbury, [Collier.]

and writes in his favour to Alfrid and Ethelred.

Alfrid re-institutes Wilfred in the see of York.

Wilfred's arrogance

After lying a year in prison, he was released, at the instance of the abbess Ebba, a lady of the royal family; but the terms of his release were attended by a sentence of banishment. He then travelled to Mercia, where he got some footing; but was soon driven thence by Ethelred, who was afraid of Egfrid's displeasure. The like fate attended him among the West Saxons; and his success among the South Saxons has been already taken notice of. Having lived here for some time as bishop, and in great splendour, he, together with Ercenwald, bishop of London, was invited by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, to a conference. Notwithstanding the arts of ecclesiastical historians, who impute this invitation, on the part of Theodore, to his remorse of conscience for his treatment of Wilfred; yet it is very plain, that it was owing to Wilfred's own interest, which was daily gaining ground, and was adopted by the Romanists in general; and to Theodore's old age, now destitute of Egfrid's support, who by this time was dead. The loss of so great a patron, and his inability to stand his ground with the same spirit and firmness he had hitherto done, made him, no doubt, resolve, if he could, to finish his days in peace. The conference being accordingly accepted, matters were made up between the two bishops; and, if we are to believe the panegyrics of Wilfred, Theodore promised to make him his successor to the see of Canterbury. The ridiculous inference drawn upon this occasion by a partial priest, is unworthy notice. It is certain, however, that a reconciliation was effected between the two prelates; and Wilfred, by his zeal and behaviour during his disgraces, so far regained the favour of Theodore, that the latter wrote in his favour to Alfrid, who was Egfrid's successor, and to Ethelred, king of the Mercians. This letter is in such a strain of primitive evangelical simplicity, that it gives us the highest opinion of Theodore's heart; but no room for the insinuations which partial pens have thrown out, as if it had been the effect of remorse (1). Those letters had the desired effect with both the princes to whom they were addressed. Alfrid in particular recalled Wilfred, and re-instituted him in his see at York, putting him in possession likewise of the monastery of Rippon, to serve as some equivalent for dismembering his see.

But the spirit of this pragmatical priest not brooking subordination to temporal power, and Alfrid being equally jealous of his own authority, a fresh scene of differences between them was opened. The monarch wisely insisted upon Wilfred's conforming himself to the injunctions of Theodore, which the other as loudly dis-

claimed. Not contented with this, he attempted to re-annex Hexham, which had been made a see, to his own bishopric; and claimed the restitution of such of the revenues of St. Peter's at York, as had been secularized by the king. These high demands soon plunged our prelate into fresh difficulties; and though it must be owned that Alfrid owed a great deal to him, yet, not chusing to content himself with the shadow of superiority, while its substance was wrested from him by Wilfred, he drove him once more from his church.

He again had recourse to Ethelred, king of Mercia, and Theodore, in the mean time, died, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. The church of England owes a great deal to this prelate. Though the interested cardinal I have sometimes taken notice of, will have him to act by a legatine power from the see of Rome; yet it is certain that no such thing appears from the face of our history, or records: nay, there are all the presumptions the nature of the thing will admit of, to prove the contrary; witness his not complying with the decision of the Roman synod, in the case of Wilfred, and the other steps he took in contempt of papal authority; so that it is plain, he acted under the protection of the civil power, and appears, in every respect, to have been essentially independent upon the see of Rome, and its creatures. This nation is likewise extremely obliged to him for the library both of Greek and Latin authors, which he imported hither, and for his educating several men of distinction, both in letters and piety, in that age. I shall now, that the thread of the history may not be interrupted, follow Wilfred into his second banishment.

During his stay in the Mercian dominions, he was summoned, about the year 701, by Birthwald, now archbishop of Canterbury, to a council of almost all the English bishops, at a place called Onestresfeld. Wilfred, at first, relying on the protection of Ethelred, refused to obey the summons; but that prince saw now too much into his character, not to be glad of every opportunity to mortify him: for he not only deprived him of the bishopric of Leicester, which he had enjoyed ever since his last expulsion from the see of York; but sided with Birthwald, in his endeavours to call Wilfred to account. The latter, finding how matters stood, was, at last, glad to comply with Birthwald's summons, and, after procuring safe conduct, he went to the synod. Here he was charged with several crimes, importing no less than degradation. Their design in this, probably, was rather to have a safe composition with Wilfred, than to push him into farther in-

(1) I cannot help giving, as an instance of this kind, Mr. Collier's candour in translating this letter. The words of the original passage I point at, are, *Quia longo tempore propriis orbatus substantiis inter Paganos in Domino multum laboravit*; which Mr. Collier has translated, "In regard, that since he has been expelled his country, and wrongfully dispossessed of his estate, he has taken great pains in converting the Pagans, and enlarging the borders of the church." But the archbishop does not speak a word of this wrongful dispossession of his estate; if he had, he must have appeared in a ridiculous and inconsistent character; what he says, is only matter of fact, that Wilfred had been dispossessed of his estate. I should not have taken notice of this little inaccuracy, had it not been to vindicate this great man's character from the charges it has suffered through the misrepresentations of divided writers, both in our own church and that of Rome.

He appeals to conveniences; but the unsubmitting spirit of this prelate remonstrated, with great freedom, against their proceedings, and fled to his last refuge, the authority of the see of Rome. He then charged both them and Theodore with their contumacy to that see, in preferring their own injunctions and orders before those of the pope and the Romish clergy. This very charge is a noble proof of the independency with which the English clergy in general, at that time, acted; and we need go no farther for concluding, that, had it not been for the faction of this Wilfred, which was supported by the church of Rome, and cherished for their own ends, our ancestors would have still preserved their spiritual independency.

The council disseizes him of his effects.

But the council, despising Wilfred's remonstrances, and finding it in vain to hope that his spirit might be mollified by their doing things by halves, at last disseized him of all his effects, both in Northumberland and Mercia. At the same time, that this sentence might not seem to be aimed at the man, but at his offences, its severity was, in some measure, softened; for Wilfred was put in possession of the abbey of Rippon, with its revenues: but this mercy was attended by a demand, that Wilfred should give it under his hand not to exercise any part of his episcopal function, nor stir out of the precincts of the said monastery without leave from his prince. Wilfred, remonstrating against those proceedings, again appealed to Rome, which, by the contrary party, was considered as a fresh aggravation of his crimes; but the council having given him security for safe conduct, interceded with the king, that he should be put under no farther restraint, but have liberty to return. This being granted, he again applied to Ethelbert, king of Mercia, who coldly answered, "That he would consult the court of Rome with regard to the conduct he was to observe to Wilfred." In the mean time, this prelate's arrogance, in appealing to a foreign jurisdiction from the decision of an English synod, was so resented by the Northumbrians, that he was excommunicated, and his party held in the utmost detestation.

He again appeals to Rome;

which the Northumbrians resenting, excommunicate him.

He again goes to Rome.

Birchwald sends agents thither like-wise.

Wilfred then, though seventy years of age, again went to Rome, and begged of the court to intercede in his behalf with the kings of Mercia and Northumberland; and, if the latter would not restore him to the see of York, that he might at least have the monasteries of Rippon and Hexham bestowed upon him. On the other side, the archbishop of Canterbury sent certain agents to Rome to vindicate his conduct. The manner in which this was done, and the matter of the vindication, is a high disclaim of the papal authority in matters regarding the peace or settlement of the English church; therefore we are to consider the application of Birchwald as a matter rather of decency, than of duty. It was right for him to stifle, if he could, the clamours raised, by this pragmatical prelate, among the foreign clergy, however independent he might be of their authority.

This conduct is every day observed among sovereign princes, who never disdain to vindicate their conduct with regard to their own subjects, when any of them fly for protection to a foreign power, as was the case of Wilfred. The main head of Birchwald's representation will be sufficient to prove what I have advanced; for they there insist upon it, that it was a capital crime in Wilfred to refuse obeying the determination of an English synod, convened under a metropolitan. This charge was partly evaded by Wilfred, who limited his disobedience of the decrees of the synod and archbishop to those points alone, which were inconsistent with the injunctions of the Romish see.

A conduct thus mean on the one side, Wilfred's success, and haughty on the other, ever the effect of ill-judged ambition, could not fail of success at so degenerate a court as that of Rome, when the cause of the defendant became their own. Wilfred, after several traverses, for the sake rather of form than of justice, was acquitted by the pope and a synod consisting of an hundred and twenty-five bishops, and then allowed to take his place in their council. The pope afterwards gave him the letters he desired to the kings of Mercia and Northumberland. Those letters were conceived in all the terms of pontifical insolence; and, with an air of superiority, recommend the cause of Wilfred to the protection of the princes. Ethelred appears not to have been so firm in his opposition to the papal power as was Alfred; and this division of sentiment threatening a division of interest, might be the reason why Wilfred succeeded better than he had reason to expect: for the archbishop of Canterbury, fearing lest he might not be supported by the temporal power with the same firmness he had hitherto been, and finding how powerful Wilfred's interest was at Rome, relented a little in his opposition, and promised him his future friendship. But he was not so successful with Alfrid, king of Northumberland; for though that prince received Wilfred's deputies with civility, because of their own personal characters; yet, when they came to treat particularly about his affairs, he shewed as much aversion to him as ever: for he roundly told his deputies, that he never would enter into correspondence with a person of Wilfred's character, nor communicate with one who, like him, had been twice condemned by an English synod; adding this remarkable sentence, "That no recommendation, no decree of the Romish church, should ever make him pardon a man who had been thus refractory." Alfrid, as we have already seen, being succeeded by Eadwulf, Wilfred was equally unsuccessful in his attempts to introduce himself under this prince; for, though Eadwulf's title was very bad, and though it might have been greatly strengthened by the accession of Wilfred's interest; yet, considering he must be but a precarious monarch under so aspiring a prelate, he rejected all the advances of Wilfred, and drove

[See p. 152.]

But is again driven out of Northumberland.

drove him, with menaces, from his dominions.

[See p. 152.] A revolution soon after happened, in which Wilfred appears to have had great merit. The spirit of the court then took a turn as strongly in his favour, as it had been in his prejudice; for his party being supported by the abbess Alfred, sister to king Alfrid, and Berfred, prime minister of Northumberland, the archbishop of Canterbury thought it therefore dangerous for himself longer to delay bringing his affairs to an issue.

A council held in Scotland, Accordingly a council was held near the river Nid, now in Scotland, where the members at first shewed great averseness to Wilfred's cause; but partly over-ruled by the menaces, and partly inveigled by the promises, of the government, their resolutions took a new turn. The alternative laid before them by the archbishop of Canterbury, was, That the occupiers of those sees, dismembered from Wilfred's diocese, should either immediately resign their possessions to him, or undertake a journey to Rome, and there defend their rights in a more numerous synod. If this alternative was rejected, Birthwald declared, that the party rejected was to be denied the sacrament, if a layman; and to be degraded, if a priest or a bishop. But those menaces would have had but little effect upon the members, had not the government, which was divided between an ignorant woman and a designing minister, found it necessary to strengthen themselves by the interest of Wilfred and of Rome. For such is the effect of short-sighted politics, that any cure, however pernicious, which administers present relief, is chosen, rather than a slow, though sure, remedy, prescribed upon the principles of the constitution. This was the case, at that time, with the kingdom of Northumberland; for Wilfred now gained a complete victory, not only over his adversaries, but over the independency of the English church. An accommodation was entered into, by which John, bishop of Hexham, was translated to the see of York, then vacant by the death of Bosa; and Wilfred succeeded John in the bishopric and abbey of Hexham, and was restored to the possession of the abbey and revenues of Rippon.

As this is an interesting period in the history of the English church, I am under no concern about any censure for having thus particularly related it. The opposition made to the aspiring prelate, was founded upon the principles of both civil and evangelical liberty. It was, at the same time, carried on by men the most eminent in their time for piety, disinterestedness, and learning. Among those was the famous Cuthbert, who, in the last year of Egfrid's reign, was made bishop of Holy-island; and was eminently remarkable in his endeavours to reclaim a great many Christians, who, after their conversion, still retained several heathenish customs, which deservedly gave great scandal to the faithful: in short, the whole of his life was spent in a constant tenure of piety, and his character was in every respect

unexceptionable. Bosa, bishop of York, was likewise a person of exemplary holiness and humility; nor have the most professed favourers of Wilfred, or the Romish see, ever spoke of him without the highest veneration. John of Beverly, the same who succeeded Bosa in the bishopric of York, was another of Wilfred's opposers. This prelate was so venerable in his character, that it is dignified by Bede even with miracles. Such were the opposers of Wilfred; which takes off all the suggestions of bigots to the Roman see, as if his difficulties had arisen from self-interested, ambitious men. In short, it is plain, from the whole of the controversy, that the dispute was not so much between them and the person of Wilfred, as between the independency of the church of England and the arrogance of that of Rome.

I shall here only mention the death of Wilfred's death, Wilfred, which happened in 708 (about four years after the accommodation at Nid, in the monastery at Oundle) at the age of seventy-six, forty-five of which he had been clothed with an episcopal character. Soon after died Aldhelm, bishop of Sherburn, whom I mention not so much because he was of the blood royal of Wessex, but because, by order of a synod, he wrote a book against the manner in which the Britons celebrated Easter: and charged them with several other particulars, which were inconsistent with the practice of the English church. Whether it was owing to the reasoning of the bishop, or the dread of the English power, is hard to tell; but it is certain the book had great effects upon the Britons, many of whom now conformed themselves to the Roman usages. We must not omit, however, that this prelate had the most polite pen of his age, and was so eminent both in letters and virtue, that he was invited to Rome by pope Sergius, who longed to see so great a man. Aldhelm had humility enough to gratify the pontiff's curiosity, and was, by him, caressed and favoured with several personal distinctions.

In this year was held the synod of Alne, convened at the instance of Egwin, who was likewise of royal blood, and bishop of Worcester. This prelate, having been driven from his see, went to Rome, and procuring from the pope a grant of a place, called Evesham, in Worcestershire, built a monastery upon it; then got it endowed with several extraordinary privileges; and the business of this synod seems principally to have been to confirm the grants of the lands made to this monastery. It is uncertain, whether it was held early enough in the year for Wilfred to assist in it.

Church music, about this time, began to receive great encouragement and improvement in England. Acca, the successor of Wilfred, is particularly mentioned by Bede as being eminent in this respect. The venerable historian adds, that he improved himself in several points of ecclesiastical discipline by going to Rome, which he had no opportunity of doing in his own country. This circumstance is at once a proof, that

Summary of Wilfred's history.

Character of his opposers. Cuthbert.

in which Wilfred's party succeeds.

Reflection.

The event of the council.

John of Beverly.

and that of Aldhelm, bishop of Sherburn.

The synod of Alne.

Church music improved.

that there was not an absolute conformity in every respect between the see of Rome and the English church; and that the frequent journeys the clergy took to Rome, where they were debauched into all the superstitions of the age, were the principal means by which they came to lose their virtue as men, and their independency as churchmen. The practice of after-times confirms this observation.

Image-worship, when introduced into England.

The Romish historians are at a loss how to introduce the practice of the worship of images, and the celibacy of the clergy, into the church of England. The more knowing among them have assigned them no date, being willing it should be thought that they are coeval with Christianity itself among the English; but this appears to be a gross misrepresentation of facts: for there is no passage in Bede that countenances the practice of worshipping images when Augustin first preached in England; and the opinion of Gregory, his principal, is flatly against it. It is true, that both Gregory and Bede are not against making use of images and pictures, because the instruction conveyed by them is more quick and easy to be apprehended than oral dictates are; but they go no farther; nor is there to be found, in all their writings, the least sentiment that tends to admit of the adoration of Images (1). As to the celibacy of the clergy, I shall have occasion to speak of it elsewhere.

But the silence, or rather opposition, of historians, with regard to images, reduced the more ignorant bigots among them to another expedient to account for their introduction. Accordingly they tell us, that, about the year 712, Egwin, who, as we

have already seen, was elected to the see of Worcester, had a direction from heaven to set up the image of the virgin Mary in his cathedral, but the truth of this relation coming to be disputed, the pope was made umpire of the difference; and Egwin appearing before his tribunal, swore to the truth of his vision, and brought several corroborative circumstances to prove it. Constantine, who was then pope, upon this, dispatched his legate, Boniface, into England; and, according to the same authors, he convened a council in London, where both the worship of images, and the celibacy of priests were decreed. But this council, besides the many (2) eminent marks of forgery that rest upon it, is not mentioned by Bede.

In the mean time, the church of Rome, the more degenerate she grew, grew the more intent upon making converts. The keeping of Easter, and the forms of ecclesiastical tonsures, were, to her, matters of great indifference; yet they became important, as they served to keep up a distinction fatal to her claim of superiority. But her indefatigable zeal, at last, got the better of all opposition, though by degrees; for, in the year 716, one Egbert, who was an Englishman, came from Ireland to the island of Hye, or Iona, the seminary of the British clergy, and prevailed with the monks there to receive the Roman tonsure, and to celebrate Easter after the Roman manner. But though the Scots were, in those respects, brought within, what the Romanists call, the pale of their church; yet the southern Britons, as we learn from Bede, still retained their independency.

Progress of the church of Rome in Britain.

The isle of Iona receives the Roman form of tonsure, and celebration of Easter.

As I observed before, it is the history of

(1) I shall, for the reader's satisfaction, to obviate all the impudent pretences of the Romish church on this head, give the express words of Gregory himself, as I find them in Collier. In his letter to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, "I am lately informed, says he, that, upon your taking notice that some people worshipped images, you ordered the church-pictures to be broken, and thrown away. Now, though I commended you for your zeal in preventing the adoration of any thing made with hands, yet, in my opinion, those pictures should not have been broken in pieces; for the design of pictures in churches, is to instruct the illiterate, that people may read that in the paint, which they have not education enough to do in the book. In my judgment, therefore, brother, you are obliged to find out a temper, to let the pictures stand in the church, and likewise to forbid the congregation the worship of them; that, by this provision, those who are not bred to letters may be acquainted with the scripture-history, and the people, on the other side, preserved from the criminal excess of worshipping images." In another letter to the same bishop, "In short, says he, let no statuary or painter be discouraged in their profession; but take all imaginable care that nothing, made by them, be honoured to adoration. Thus, by this temper, the understandings of the unlearned may be instructed, and their affections warmed at the sight of church pictures; and our worship, at the same time, be all of it reserved for God, and directed for his holy temple." The greatest length that Bede goes in this subject, is in a tract of his (*Lib. de templo Solomonis*, c. xix. tom. 8.) where he says, "If it was lawful for the Jews to set up the brazen serpent, why may we not have a crucifix before us? Such a representation refreshes the memory of our Saviour's passion and miracles, helps to produce pious and serviceable thoughts, and informs the unlettered in the gospel-history. And if Solomon was allowed to support his bason of the sea with twelve brazen oxen, why may not a painter, or statuary, represent the twelve apostles, both in their persons and design, and give us part of the holy scripture, as it were, on marble and colours?"

(2) It may not be amiss, says Mr. Collier, to observe, that neither the charters of Cenred and Offa, nor that of Egwin, bishop of Worcester, take any notice either of the worship or introduction of images. Besides, these two charters seem to have been the contrivance of later times, and have some marks of forgery upon them. To examine them in a line or two distinctly: In the charter of Cenred and Offa, this latter prince is called gubernator, or king, of the East-Angles; whereas it is evident, from Bede, Florence of Worcester, Higden's Polychronicon, that Offa was king of the East-Saxons at the date of this charter; and there was no king of the East-Angles of this name, till the year of our Lord 793, in which Offa, king of the Mercians, barbarously murdered Ethelbert, king of the East-Angles, and seized his dominions. And as to Egwin's charter, not to mention the difficulty in the date, which runs A. D. 714, in which Cenred signs in the royal stile, though it is plain he had quitted his dominions, and was turned monk five years since; not to mention this, I say, the charter is said to be written by Birthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, at the pope's order, with the consent of all the princes and great men of England. And yet, as Sir Henry Spelman observes, these princes were neither convened, nor the pretended council sitting; nor had Birthwald ever been at Rome, as the charter seems to suppose.—To return to the council of London, which is said to have been summoned upon the credit of Egwin's visions. We have another mark of imposture upon the story: for here Boniface is said to be pope Constantine's legate, and to have been dispatched into Britain to summon and preside in the council. Now this Boniface must be the same with Winfred, an Englishman, who altered his name to Boniface, was afterwards archbishop of Mentz, and successively legate to Gregory II. and III. and Zachary II. This Boniface, in a letter of his to pope Stephen, after having excused himself for not having been more early in his address, desires his legantine character, with which he had been honoured for thirty-six years, might be continued. This letter to pope Stephen III. must have been written in 752, if not two years after. Now take it at the earliest date, and then, by computation, Boniface's legantine commission will commence in the year 716, which was after the death of pope Constantine, falls in with the papacy of his successor Gregory II. and is about six years after the time assigned for the pretended council at London.

Ina's charter
to the monks
of Glaffen-
bury,

[See p. 138.]

exempting
them from all
episcopal ju-
risdiction.

Bishop Stil-
lingfleet.
Reasons a-
gainst its au-
thority.

the church, and not of churchmen, I write; therefore I shall pass over the death of Guthlac, St. John de Beverly, and many other eminent monks and clergy, as matters of no general import, and proceed to what is more material. The year 725 is distinguished by the charter granted by king Ina to the monks of Glaffenbury, and signed by himself, and Edalburgh his queen, by Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Daniel and Forthere, or Forthena, bishops of Winchester and Sherburn. By this charter that monastery was endowed with great revenues and privileges, particularly with an exemption from all episcopal jurisdiction. The charter itself was preferred in a great council of the whole West Saxon kingdom, and is said now to be in the library of Trinity-college. It was afterwards confirmed by the pope. But, notwithstanding all those strong evidences in its favour, and the great use made of it by the see of Rome, its authority is justly suspected by a learned prelate. His first reason is taken from referring to other ancient charters of the church, as to the exemption of the monastery. "And," says the bishop, the Benedictin monks have a long time lain under so great a suspicion among those of their religion, as to this matter of forging charters of exemption, that no prudent persons will think this a sufficient foundation to build their faith upon, as to any ancient history which must depend upon their credulity." He continues, "It was, therefore, a judicious rule, laid down by the learned author of the preface to the Monasticon, concerning the charters of monks, that the older they pretend to be, the more they are to be suspected." He then concludes his first reasoning with observing, "That it cannot be proved there were any charters among the Saxons before that of Withred, anno 694; and, if not, all the ancient charters, referred to in this charter of Ina, must be false and counterfeit."

His next reason brought against this charter is of great historical importance, nor can I give it in better words than his own. "How comes king Ina to have so great authority over all the kings of Britain, the archbishops, bishops, dukes, and abbots, as this charter expresseth? In the beginning of the charter, he mentions Baldred, as one of his vice-roys; in the middle, he speaks of Baldred, as one of his predecessors, and joins him with Kenwalchius, Kentwin, and Ceadwalla; but, in the end, he makes him to confirm what Ina has granted, Ego, Baldredus rex, confirmavi. But who was this king Baldred? In the kingdom of Kent, Edricus was, in the beginning of Ina's reign, according to the Savigian Fasti; and Withredus from the sixth to the end. In the kingdom of the East Saxons, there was Sighardus, Senfredus, Offa, and Selredus. In the kingdom of the East Angles, Beorna and Ethelredus. In the kingdom of Mercia, Adelredus, Kenredus, Ceol-

redus, Athelbaldus. In the kingdom of Northumberland, Alfredus, Osfredus, Kenredus, Ofricus; but, among all these, not one Baldredus appears. There was, indeed, one of that name king of Kent near one hundred years after; but what is that to the time of Ina? But suppose Baldred then in being, and only a viceroy in some part of Ina's dominions, how comes Ina to this universal monarchy, or power to command all the kings of Britain, which is expressed in the charter? Sed et omnibus regni mei regibus, &c. præcipio. By what authority did the king of the West Saxons, at that time, make such a precept to all the other kings in Britain? But, I remember, Geoffrey of Monmouth makes him grandchild to Cadwallader. And the author of the additions to king Edward's laws saith, he had the kingdom of Britain by his second wife, Wala, daughter of Cadwallader; and then Ina called a parliament, for the intermarriage of Britons and Saxons. So that there was an opinion among some, that Ina had the monarchy of Britain; which opinion was certainly followed by the contriver of this charter. But Mr. Lambard confesseth, that these passages are not in the ancient MS. of king Edward's laws, and it is a wonder they should ever come into them, being so destitute of any colour of authority, and so remote from the design of his laws.

"As to these counterfeit charters, the opinion of Papebrochius seems most probable to me, that they were, for the most part, framed in the eleventh century, when there was ignorance enough to make them pass, and occasion enough given to the monks to frame them for their own security, against the incroachments of others upon their lands, and the jurisdiction of bishops over their monasteries. And William the Conqueror having given such invidious privileges to Battle-abbey, as may be seen in his charter, the elder monasteries thought much to be so far behind them, and therefore made themselves as great privileges by favour of Saxon kings."

The same learned prelate, after some other reasoning, not so material to my present purpose, upon the same head, observes farther, "That it seems strange that such a charter should ever pass for authentic with any, who compare the language of it with the history of king Ina, as it is delivered by the monkish historians; for, by them, it appears what wars he had with his neighbouring princes, and how far he was, to the last, from commanding kings, and princes, and archbishops, whose kingdoms were confined to the West and South Saxons, and had but one bishop in them till the eighteenth year of his reign, when it was divided into two, Daniel having one share, and Adelm the other; and, some years after, Eadbertus was bishop of the South Saxons:

"so

“ so that he had but three bishops at the
 “ most, and never an archbishop, in his
 “ dominions. How then could he call the
 “ several kings, archbishops, and bishops
 “ together to pass this charter ? ”

Birthwald dying,
 is succeeded
 by Tatwin.

In the year 731 died Birthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, after sitting thirty-seven years and a half in that see. He was succeeded by Tatwin, a Mercian monk, who immediately exercised all his metropolical functions, notwithstanding it was three years before he received his pall from Rome, which he did not before the year 733.

An account of
 the bishops
 now in Eng-
 land.

It is about this period that the ecclesiastical history of Bede is finished. And as, at the end of it, we find a catalogue of all the bishops in England at that time, it may not be amiss to insert it here. Tatwin, as we have said, was now archbishop of Canterbury, and Adulf bishop of Rochester. Ingwald held the see of London, the only one the East Saxons had. Ealdbert and Hadulac were bishops of Dunwich and Helmam, among the East Angles. Daniel was bishop of Winchester, and Forthere of Sherburn, among the West Saxons. Alwin was bishop of Litchfield, and Walchford bishop of Hereford, or, as Bede expresses it, over all the inhabitants to the West of the Severn. Wilfrid was bishop of Worcester, and Cinebert of Cydnacester, or Lindsey. The bishopric of the isle of Wight belonged to the foresaid Daniel; and the rest of the South Saxon kingdom seems to have been divided between him and Forthere. All the territories where those bishoprics lay, belonged, at this time, to Ethelbald, king of the Mercians. As to the kingdom of Northumberland, it had now, according to the venerable historian, four bishops. Wilfrid II. was bishop of York, Edelwald of Lindisfarn, Acca of Hexham, and Pethelm of Whiterne, which had been lately, through the great increase of the faithful, erected into a bishopric.

An account of
 Bede.

Gratitude, to the memory of so useful an historian as Bede is, requires something to be said of him on this occasion, as we are now come to the time of his death. He was born in the year 673, near the monastery of Jarrow, in the bishopric of Durham. Being sent thither very young, he had greater leisure and opportunities of studying, which he improved so well, that he was looked upon as one of the best scholars of the age. His reputation was such, that the reigning pope wrote to his abbot to send him to Rome, that he might have an opportunity of consulting him upon several points of ecclesiastical discipline; and his loss was a detriment not only to the church, but to learning itself: for the nation, soon after, fell into a state of most deplorable and abandoned ignorance. It is uncertain whether his death happened in the year 735, or 736. His body was removed from the monastery of Jarrow, where it was first buried, to Durham, where it was laid in the same tomb with that of St. Cuthbert.

About this time died Tatwin, archbishop of Canterbury; and was succeeded by No-

thelm, who received the pall at Rome, and sat in the archiepiscopal see till 741. This archbishop had formerly been a priest of the London diocese, and was a man not void of curiosity; for Bede informs us, that he was instrumental in procuring him several valuable records, with regard to the settlement and progress of Christianity in Kent; and that he transcribed several letters for our historian's use, out of the pope's registers at Rome.

is succeeded
 by Nothelm,

Nothelm was succeeded, in the year 742, by Cuthbert, bishop of Hereford, of noble extraction; and, in the year 745, wrote the famous letter from Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, and several other bishops, met in a synod at Mentz (which I have already taken notice of in the history of Mercia) to king Ethelbald. Boniface, at the same time, wrote to one Herisfrid, a priest, desiring that he would translate his letter to the king, and lay it before him; telling him, that they put him upon this office, because they understood him to be a man who was not afraid of kings, nor apt to be debauched by courts, and because the king took in good part his admonitions, when directed with prudence and in season. And indeed it must be owned, that it was a bold task put upon a subject, to communicate to his prince a letter wrote with so much freedom and plainness as this was; for it not only accuses the nation in general of the greatest wickedness, but it carries the charge home to the king's person, and treats him with great freedom of language; laying before him his scandalous way of living, and putting him in mind of his predecessor's fate, who had been guilty of the like enormities.

and he by
 Cuthbert.

Though this Boniface appears to have been very warm and zealous in the cause of religion, yet it is certain he was a creature of the court of Rome, and did great prejudice to the English church. His preferments abroad created him great esteem here; and, about the time he wrote his letter to Ethelbald, he addressed another to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury. Along with this letter he sent a transcript of the canons of a synod held at Augsburgh, where Boniface himself presided. The purport of those canons was to establish, in an authentic, determined manner, the power of the pope over all metropolitans and bishops. The first canon established the see of Rome as the centre of all unity; it decreed that all metropolitans should be obliged to the pope for their pall, and conform, in every thing, to the commands of that see. There is another canon, which refers all cases, in which the archbishop finds the clergy to be unmanageable, to the cognizance of the pope. As to the rest of the letter, it being in general terms, I omit it. This synod at Augsburgh was to be therefore the model, by which the English church was to direct its conformity to that of Rome; for it is very certain, that the matters contained in the two canons I have mentioned, were perfectly new, since, before this time, the metropolitans, when they were consecrated,

Boniface a
 creature of
 Rome.

only

Tatwin dying,

A synod held
at Cloveshoo.

The names of
the prelates
who composed
it.

The matters
of its delibera-
tion.

only made profession of their faith, and bound themselves to govern the several suffragans under them according to the canons. In the mean time it must be acknowledged, that a great degeneracy, in point of discipline and morality, had, by this time, crept into the church of England. A provincial synod, therefore, was held, in the year 747, at Cloveshoo, near Rochester, in Kent. At this synod assisted all the bishops, whose sees lay within the Mercian jurisdiction; but none of those under that of Northumberland appear to have been present. The names of the prelates who assisted at it, were Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury; Dunnus, bishop of Rochester; Totta, Huita, and Podda, bishops of Leicester, Litchfield, and Lindsey; Hunferd and Herwald governed the sees of Winchester and Sherburn, in the kingdom of the West Saxons; Herdulf was bishop of Dunwich and Hegmam, Eogulf was bishop of London, Milred of Worcester, Alwi of Lindsey, or Cidnacester, and Sigga of Selsey in Suffex. Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, himself likewise assisted, with a great many temporal noblemen.

The matters which fell under their deliberation, were the government and discipline of the church. At last a body of canons were drawn up, which in themselves are in general so excellent and primitive, that I shall give a short abridgment of them, with a few slight observations, to enable the reader to form some judgment how far the body of the English clergy, even at this time, thought themselves independent on the see of Rome.

The first canon decrees, "That every bishop shall, by the assistance of God, be ready to defend the pastoral care intrusted with himself, against all manner of temptations, without setting a bad example, by negligence in living, by carelessness in teaching; that he should be far from being more employed in secular affairs than the service of God; that he should be adorned with holy manners, the virtues of abstinence, works of justice, and a zeal for learning; that, thereby, he might be able, according to the apostle's precept, to correct the manners of the people by his own example, and instruct them in the principles of sound doctrine (1)."

The second canon, which I shall here give somewhat at large, is well worthy the attention of a son of the English church, and the subject of a British prince. By it this synod devote themselves to a bond of mutual intimate peace and charity to endure for ever; and that there be a perpetual concord through the whole ecclesiastical system, in preaching, in living, in judging, without adulation to any one person; since, continued they, they are the servants of one Lord, and mutually engaged in the same service. Thus, though they may be locally separated, yet they may be, thereby, mentally united in one spirit, and serve God in faith, hope, and charity; diligently praying for one another, that each may be enabled faithfully to run the course that is set before him (2)."

It will easily occur to the reader, how strongly this canon is levelled against the incroachments of the see of Rome; yet, at

(1) It is not from any motive of disregard, or disrespect, to the clergy, that I animadvert upon the writings of Mr. Collier, the intention of whose ecclesiastical history is to carry the claims of his order to a ridiculous, though dangerous, height. To serve this purpose, he writes, as always, without judgment, sometimes without candour; an instance of which I have before me, in the turn he has given to this canon. "It was decreed, says he, that every bishop should be careful to support his character, execute every part of his office, and maintain the canons and constitutions of the church, against all sort of liberty or encroachment: and that those of this order should answer the expectations of their station, not engage in secular affairs so far, as to be disabled for their functions; but to be remarkably eminent for their probity, self-denial, and learning; that, by this means, they may be qualified to make an impression upon the people, both by their instructions and by their practice." I shall now give my reader the words of the original, as I find them in Sir Henry Spelman. *Atque deinde primo suorum loco decretorum, hoc rata sanctione condixerunt: ut unusquisque episcoporum curam sibi pastorem creditam, canonicasque Christi ecclesie institutiones, summo conamine, contra diversa ac prava temptamenta, Deo patrocinante et adjuvante, defendere sit promptus, nec ullatenus deinceps negligenter vivendo, segniter docendo, negotiis secularibus plusquam Deo servitiis, quod absit, subditus existeret, sed bonis utique moribus, abstinencie virtutibus, justitie operibus, doctrinae studiis adornatus, ut secundum apostolum, populum Dei suis exemplis bene corrigere, et sanæ quoque doctrinae sermonibus instruere prevalebat.* I shall now, to clear myself of all partiality, give a translation of the same canon in the words of another clergyman. "They established it with an authentic sanction, That every bishop be ready to defend the pastoral church entrusted with him; and the canonical institutions of the church of Christ (by God's protection and assistance) with their utmost endeavour, against the various and wicked assaults [that are made upon them;] nor be more engaged in secular affairs (which God forbid) than in the service of God, by looseness in living, and tardiness in teaching; but be adorned with good manners, with the abstemious virtues, with works of righteousness, and with learned studies; that so, according to the apostle, they may be able to reform the people of God by their example, and instruct them by the preaching of sound doctrine." I own that, were this observation to be looked upon merely in a literary light, it is below even verbal criticism itself. Any one may see, that Mr. Collier's variation from the sense of the original, was not through ignorance; and, as many, I believe most, of his readers are possessed with a high opinion of the goodness of his heart, it never will come into their heads to attribute it to design. But surely, whoever compares the turn which Mr. Collier has given to this canon, with Mr. Johnson's translation of it, will easily perceive with what view the former has softened it in the manner he has done. Would not any man, of common sense, imagine the first part of this canon, as Mr. Collier has represented it, to be a kind of an association of the clergy, to render themselves independent upon the civil power? whereas, in reality, it is a noble, pure, disinterested resolution, to resist the temptations of the world, and, by the purity of their own lives, to vindicate the authority of their pastoral order. Would not every body imagine, that, by this canon, as represented by Mr. Collier, such a latitude was given for prelates to intermeddle in secular affairs, that if they took care to reserve just as much time from the pursuits of worldly ambition, as to huddle on their vestments, and mumble over a prayer, they discharged their duty very well? whereas, in the original, there is a strong mark of detestation set upon those (quod absit) who did not employ the most of their time in the service of God. I say, therefore, when we consider the purpose which Mr. Collier wrote to serve, the great consequences it has had on civil government, with the implicit belief which most readers pay to what fell from that gentleman's pen in point of fact; and how few either incline or know how to turn to originals, we are to consider this as a matter of great importance.

(2) I shall, because of the importance of this canon, give it in the original to the reader, which is as follows: *Secundo loco; sub testificatione quadam confirmaverunt, ut pacis intimæ et sinceræ caritatis devotio ubique inter eos perpetuo permaneat; atque ut una sit omnium concordia in omnibus viris ecclesiasticæ religionis; in sermone, in opere, in judicio, sine cujusquam adulatione personæ; utpote unius Domini ministri, uniusque ministerii conservi; ut licet sedibus sint divisi per diversa loca, tamen mentibus conjuncti in uno spiritu, Deo in fide, et spe, et caritate deserviant, orantes diligenter pro invicem, ut sui certaminis cursum fideliter unusquisque consummare possit.*

the same time, how fearful its enactors were to provoke that great power, which his creatures had, by this time, acquired in England. As the proposition laid down in the equality of the ministry is general, and without exception, we soon perceive that it is levelled at the doctrine recommended by Boniface their countryman.

The third canon.

Johnson's canons ad an. 747.

The third canon is of a like wholesome general tendency with the former two, and a strong preservative of the church against prelatical indolence; for it enacts, that every bishop do every year visit his parish, by travelling through, going about, and making an inspection into, it; and that he call to him, at convenient places, the people of every condition and sex, and plainly teach them who rarely hear the word of God; forbidding them, among other sins, the pagan observances, diviners, forcerers, auguries, omens, charms, incantations, or all the filth of the wicked, and dotages of the gentiles.

The fourth canon.

The fourth canon provides against the abuses of monastic life. And the fifth and (1) sixth are of the same nature; only the latter guards against admitting ignorant and scandalous clergymen into orders: and an expression we find in the original gives room to believe, that all the purposes of confession to the priest, in this age, were merely penitentiary, without their assuming any arbitrary power of absolution.

The seventh canon.

The seventh canon excellently well provides, that bishops, and others of the clergy, should mind the education of those who were under them. And provision is here made against an abuse, which had, at this time, crept in. In religious houses certain schools were erected, for the education of youth; but the rectors of those schools were so greedy of profit, that they set the boys to work, as well as to read, to the great scandal of religion, that they might make advantage of their labour. This is the abuse, therefore, provided against by this canon.

The eighth, ninth, and tenth canons are drawn up for the direction of priests, both in point of discipline and morals. The tenth canon particularly ordains, that they should explain, in the English tongue, the creed and Lord's-prayer.

The eleventh and twelfth canons.

Collier.

The eleventh and twelfth canons relate to the same matters; and particular provision is made for the just and decent performance of church music, according to a certain author; but, on a review of the text, I am apt to believe he was mistaken in the mean-

ing. It seems to be aimed against the theatrical bombast manner which now began to infect divine services; and by singing, or melody, in this place, is implied no more than that reverential modest tone of voice to be used by the priests in celebrating divine service. As the words of the canon themselves are very sensible, and never can be unseasonable, I have inserted them, with the translation, in the notes (2).

The thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth canons relate to points of ecclesiastical discipline, and therefore require not particular notice here; but it neither must nor can be dissimulated, that they are not wholly without a tincture of complaisance for the Romish ceremonies, but without affecting the great points either of practice or belief.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth canons.

The eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth canons regulate the times of fasting, and the exterior behaviour of the monastic clergy.

The eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth canons. The twenty-first canon.

The twenty-first canon is of so general and so excellent a nature, that I should be unpardonable should I omit it. It decrees, "That monastics, or ecclesiastics, shall neither follow nor affect the vice of drunkenness, but shun it as mortal poison, since the apostle declares, that drunkards inherit not the kingdom of God. And, in another place, Be not drunk with wine, in which is luxury; nor let them force others to drink intemperately; but let their entertainments be cleanly and sober, not luxurious, nor with any mixture of delicacies or scurrilities, lest the reverence due to their habit grow into contempt, and deserved infamy among seculars; and that, unless some necessary infirmity compel them, they do not, like common tipplers, help themselves, or others, to drink, till the canonical, that is, the ninth hour, be fully come." From this canon it would appear, that the primitive abstinence began now to decline.

Johnson ut supra.

The twenty-second canon contains farther regulations, with regard both to the clergy and others, especially in what concerns the worthy participation of the sacrament. The two following canons are of the same nature, and provide for the thorough examination of candidates for a monastic life before their admission.

The twenty-second canon.

The twenty-fifth canon relates to a point of ecclesiastical discipline. It provides, that, upon the breaking up of the synod, the bishops shall convene their clergy, and publish the canons of the synod; recommend-

The twenty-fifth canon.

(1) The translation of the original is as follows: "It is ordained by the sixth decree, that bishops ordain no monk, or clerk, to the degree of a priest, till they first make open enquiry into his former life, and into his present probity of manners and knowledge of the faith: for how can he preach sound faith, or give a knowledge of the word, or discreetly enjoin penance to others, who has not earnestly bent his mind to these studies, that he may be able, according to the apostle, to exhort with sound doctrine."—"Here you see (says Mr. Johnson, ubi supra) for what purpose men, in this age, confessed their sins to the priest, viz. because he alone knew what penance was to be enjoined for every sort and degree of sin, not in order to obtain absolution. Petit's collections, published with Theodore's penitential, are full of proof as to this point."

(2) Duodecimo adjunxerunt edicto: ut presbyteri sæcularium, poetarum modo, in ecclesia non garriant, ne tragico sono sacrorum verborum compositionem ac distinctionem corrumpant vel confundant, sed simplicem sanctamque melodiam secundum morem ecclesiæ sectentur: qui vero id non est idoneus adsequi, pronunciantis modo simpliciter legendo, dicat atque recitet quicquid instantis temporis ratio poscit. "They added, in the twelfth article, that priests do not prate in the church like profane poets, nor corrupt or confound the composure and distinction of the sacred words, by a pronunciation like that of tragedians; but follow the plain song, or holy melody, according to the custom of the church. Let him who cannot attain to this, simply read, pronounce, and rehearse the words, as the present occasion requires." But whoever reads, inadvertently, Mr. Collier's account of this canon, has his thoughts immediately filled with organs, and all the pomp of ecclesiastical music. "The twelfth canon, says he, regulates the church music, provides for the solemnity of the performance, and forbids the clergy to prophane the service with the air of the theatre."

ing and enjoining, at the same time, a strict conformity to them: but, in case it should happen, that any delinquents were too obstinate to be reclaimed by the power of the bishop, he is to lay the offences before the archbishop at the next synod. From this circumstance we have a farther proof that the generality of the English clergy, at this time, did not think themselves under any obligation to the see of Rome.

The twenty-sixth canon.

It is more than probable that the canons, presented by the archbishop to the synod, ended here, and that those that follow were occasionally added by the synod. The unreasonable excess of liberality to the church, at this time, called for some regulation, and the long abuse and misapplication of alms became now a matter of great consequence. The six and twentieth canon, therefore, gives us a definition of charity, and such as no Christian need be ashamed to subscribe. It says, "That alms are given, that the divine protection, by the alms-givers, if sinners, may be obtained; that they may not again commit the same sins, nor any other such like. And, by all that live religiously, that the purity of their innocency being graciously preserved by God, a recompence of things eternal may be made to them hereafter in heaven, in consideration of their freely disposing of their temporal things here on earth. And certainly they are not to be given to the intent that a man may commit any the least sins with the greater liberty, on account of the alms given by him, or by any other on his behalf; but let them be given in the manner aforesaid. For alms is a name and work of mercy; therefore let whosoever that desires to do mercy truly to his own soul, not give alms out of his unjust plunder, but out of his own well-gotten substance: for if it be given out of what is gotten by cruelty or violence, divine justice is rather provoked than pacified by it, because, according to the scripture, the alms that is done out of the substance of the poor, is like killing the son in the presence of the father. Nor let a man give alms to the needy, to the intent that he may the more freely immerge himself in gluttony and drunkenness beyond all bounds, lest, by putting God's justice to sale, he be not only more sharply, but more speedily, condemned by it. And, to speak in general, let not any man's alms be daily given to God with this view, that they may, with more impunity, act their bodily lusts; for they do in vain give alms that are entirely their own, and free from any mixture of wicked dealing, who desire and hope, through the blindness of their fancy, by this means to bribe the supernal judge: for they who act and think in this manner, while they seem to give their own to God, do undoubtedly, by their crimes, give themselves to the devil. Lastly, then, let not alms be given (according to the new-invented conceit of men's own will, grown into a custom dangerous to many) for the making an abatement, or commutation,

" of the satisfactory fastings, and other expiatory works, enjoined to a man, by a priest of God, for his own crimes, according to the canon law; but rather as an increase of his own satisfaction, that the divine wrath, which he hath provoked by his own demerits, may the sooner be pacified. And withal, the more unlawful things a man hath done, the more he ought to abstain from things that are lawful; and the greater sins he hath committed, the greater fruit of good works he ought to yield to God; and not to drop or lessen some good works, by practicing others in their stead. For it is good to be assiduous in psalmody, and often to bow the knee with a sincere intention, and daily to give alms; yet abstinence is not to be remitted; fasting, once imposed by the rule of the church, without which no sins are forgiven, is not to be remitted on account of these. Let these and such-like be done, as additions for the more full expiation of sin: for it is necessary that the jolly flesh, which drew us into sin by its incontinence, being afflicted by fasting, should hasten our pardon: for such sins as exclude us from the kingdom of heaven, if they are not corrected, are to be expiated with all the pious actions that a man can do: for one knows not what the following day may bring forth, and for how long a time he may be in a condition to do any good deeds for his former evil ones; for he who hath promised pardon to the sinner, hath not promised him another day."

I am under no apprehensions of censure for this long quotation, because, as the canon and the transactions of the council are genuine, these sentiments give us a fuller vindication of the English church, at that time, in point of doctrine, than we can receive from the most laboured reflections; and best answer the main end of my present undertaking, a history of the church of England.

The next canon treats of the manner of singing psalms, and the virtues and graces to be thereby acquired. Though the sentiments in it are likewise pious and sensible, yet they are too narrow in their nature to have a place here. But what is observable in this canon is, that after the singing is ended, the hearers are directed to bow their knees, and to say, either in Latin or in Saxon, for their neighbour, "Lord, shew thy pity upon him, spare him for his offences, and convert him, that he may do thy will." Or, if for the dead, "Lord, according to the greatness of thy mercy, grant rest to his soul; for thine infinite pity, vouchsafe to him the joys of eternal light with thy saints." Then, after several very accurate distinctions upon the unreasonableness of expecting that his sin was to be commuted by works of supererogation, or by the merits of the purse, we have an instance of a layman who happened to be in that way of thinking, who, as the canon says, durst set the divine vengeance to sale every day. This fellow, who had forfeited the communion of the church, desired a speedy reconciliation

The twenty-seventh canon.

conciliation for the heinous sin he had committed; because, as he said in his letters, that sin of his, as many assured him, was so fully expiated, that, if he could live an hundred years longer, his crime was already paid for, by the new modes of satisfaction, viz. psalmody, fasting, and alms of others, abating his own fasting, or however insufficient it were.

The twenty-eighth canon regards monasteries, as does the twenty-ninth.

The last canon establishes, That the divine clemency should be implored for kings and the rulers of the land, as well as for the safety of all Christian people, that they may live a quiet and peaceable life, under the pious protection of the government. This canon was formed from an excellent Christian motive; for it recites some disputes that were among the nobility, wherein the more unthinking, and therefore uncharitable, part of them took very much amiss some part of their behaviour, as if the clergy envied the temporal pomp and grandeur they possessed. It was therefore a pious, as well as a prudent, precaution, taken by this synod, to silence all suspicions of this kind, by ordering public prayers to be made for potentates and powers; a custom which the church of England has ever since most ceremoniously observed, and daily practises.

Having thus given a full view of this council, the reader will easily observe, that our English divines rightly distinguished between the esteem they owed their countryman, Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, as a worthy bishop and confessor of the church; and the deference he thought they owed him from the dignity bestowed upon him by the see of Rome. In whatever he generally recommended to them, as to the morals of the clergy, and the discipline of the church, that they punctually obeyed; but whatever he enjoined them with regard to an absolute submission to papal authority, that they absolutely disregarded and omitted.

The applications of Boniface to Ethelbald, king of Mercia, began, about this time, to have great effect upon his mind. He saw the general turn which his subjects had taken in favour of the clergy; and therefore, from a motive, perhaps, rather of prudence than of piety, he resolved to gain them upon his side. No method was so proper for this, as extending favours to the religious houses. Therefore, after he had finished the monastery of Croyland, he granted general privileges to all the monastic societies in his kingdom. This he did in a charter, part of which, for curiosity's sake, I shall here insert. "Considering that it often happens, " that those grants and dispositions which " are made upon mature deliberation and " advice, and passed in the presence of persons of character and credit; yet, for " want of being engrossed in writing, and " signed by witnesses, are apt either to lose " their force by length of time, or be de-

feated by fraudulent practices. For these " considerations, I, Ethelbald, king of the " Mercians, in prospect of future happiness, " and for the benefit of my soul, have resolved to endeavour the discharging my " conscience from the guilt of my former " misbehaviour. And since Almighty God, " of his meer mercy, without any desert of " mine, has been pleased to put me in a " royal station, I think myself obliged to " return him some part of his bounty, by " way of gratitude. Upon this view, I " freely grant, that all monasteries and " churches, within my kingdom, shall be " discharged from all public taxes, tolls, and " other services and incumbrances whatsoever; excepting the repairing of castles " and bridges, from which no part of the " commonwealth can be excused. (Besides, " let the servants of God have their own " liberty, in the product of the woods, the " fruits of the lands, and the taking of " (1) fishes;) without their giving any presents to the king, or great men, but such " as are voluntary: but let them freely serve " God, in peaceful contemplation, through " all my kingdom, for ever."

The privileges granted by this charter are greatly magnified by the high advocates for the independency of ecclesiastical power; though nothing can be more plain, than that this independency consisted in the voluntary gifts of princes, either from political considerations, or mistaken devotion. We may add to this, that those very charters prove, that before their date no such independence, in point of property, subsisted; and that the clergy were liable to all public taxes and duties in common with other subjects. Beside, it is very observable, that neither Ingulphus, nor William of Malmesbury, who have given us this charter, have mentioned any imprecation, as is usual in other charters of this kind, against such of the royal succession as should evade it. But on this circumstance I lay no weight.

Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury died in the year 758, and was succeeded by Bredwin, a noble Saxon, though educated in Britain; but he sat only three years in the see, leaving behind him an excellent character for piety and prudence. His death was no sooner known, than the abbot of St. Augustin's, Lambart or Iambart (but we shall, as we have done already, call him Lambart) came with a party of soldiers to Christ-church, where Bredwin died, with intention to carry off his body, probably that it might be buried in the monastery of St. Augustin, according to a privilege which the Augustine monks claimed. But finding it interred, he complained of the proceeding of the monks of Christ-church, as an invasion of the privilege of the Augustines; and appealed to the pope for satisfaction. The monks of Christ-church, destitute of the protection of the archbishop, and knowing it would go hard with them at Rome, compro-

The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth canons. The last canon.

Reflection.

Ethelbald's benefactions to the church.

His charter.

Reflection.

Death of Cuthbert. He is succeeded by Bredwin;

and he by Lambart.

(1) This, within the parenthesis, I have supplied from Ingulphus, as I find it in Sir Henry Spelman, though omitted by Collier.

mised the point with Lambart, who was a man of great pride and resolution, and were forced to buy their pardon by electing him into the archbishopric, which they did in the year 762; and soon after his election he received the pall from pope Paul V.

See p. 153.

Account of Egbert, archbishop of York.

The year 767 is distinguished by the death of the excellent Egbert, archbishop of York. I have already taken notice of this prelate, who was brother to the king of Northumberland. This, together with his great merit, for once, got the better of that partiality the church of Rome had ever shewn against the see of York, since the time of Paulin; for Egbert recovered the privilege of the pall, and the three bishops north of the Humber were made his suffragans about the year 736.

History of the partition of the see of Canterbury.

I have already taken notice of the great power of Offa, king of the Mercians, and his ambition to have an archiepiscopal seat within his own dominions. This he effected after his success against the West Saxons. Lambart, archbishop of Canterbury, did all he could to prevent this partition of his metropolitical power, and urged the grants of the see of Rome to the archbishops of Canterbury. But Offa had too much resolution to be baffled in what he once set his heart upon; and pope Adrian, to whom the appeal was made on both sides, knew too well, that if the request was not granted, it would be forced. Accordingly Offa prevailed, and procured an order from the pope to make Litchfield an archbishop's see; at the same time all the bishops, within the jurisdiction of Mercia, were made his suffragans. Their names, according to William of Malmesbury, were as follow: Denebert bishop of Worcester, Werenbert bishop of Leicester, Edulph bishop of Sidnacester, and Ulferd of Hereford; to which were added two bishops of the East Angles, Alherd of Helman, and Tidfrid of Dunwich. The first archbishop of this new-erected dignity was Aldulph, who, according to Matthew of Westminster, received the pall in the year 766; but historians are not agreed upon the particular time when this partition of the metropolitical power happened. It must be owned, that it was a fatal blow to the liberties and independency of the English church. It fixed Offa, and the new-erected archbishop, entirely in the interests of the church of Rome; and Lambart was himself, on account of his private demerits, too liable to the justice of his country, for him to make any effectual opposition. No juncture, therefore, was so favourable for the see of Rome, for thoroughly establishing its power in Britain. Therefore Gregory, bishop of Ostia, and Theophilact, another bishop, were about this time sent to England in character of legates. The former, upon his arrival, set out for Northumberland; while the other resided with Offa, to confirm him in the interests of the pope. The pretext of their mission was the reformation of manners and discipline in the English church; but, in reality, to carry into execution the partition of the metropolitical

Litchfield made an archbishopric.

Gregory and Theophilact sent into England, as agents for the Roman see.

power of Canterbury, and thereby strengthen the authority of their principal. A synod was accordingly held in Northumberland, but at what place is unknown.

It is more than probable that the legate had prepared the several articles to which the synod was to assent; and indeed it must be owned, that there is but little in the articles themselves that innovates or cancels any point, either of doctrine or discipline, already established in the English church. They are, it is true, drawn up in a more fanatical manner than those of former synods; but the matter is much the same, therefore I shall not trouble my reader, by inserting any part of it here, other than the eleventh and twelfth articles, which run in an unusual strain of arrogance to the civil magistrate, and may be considered as the first essay towards that temporal superiority which the pope afterwards claimed in England.

Synod in Northumberland.

Our address to kings is, that they administer their government with caution and direction, and that they judge righteously, as it is written, "Take hold of discipline, ye kings." Further, as we have above directed bishops to speak the word of God with a divine authority, faithfully and truly, without fear or flattery, to kings, princes, and all dignities, never declining the truth, sparing no man, condemning no man unjustly, excommunicating none without cause, and to shew the way of salvation to all, both by word and example; so we have also admonished kings and princes, that they, from the heart, with great humility, obey their bishops, because the kingdom of heaven is committed to them; and they have the power of binding and loosing; as it is written, "Ask thy father, and he shall shew thee; thy elders, and they shall tell thee," Deut. xxxii. And the apostle elsewhere, "Obey your prelates as the Lord; for they watch for you, as they that are to give account of your souls," Heb. xiii. 17. Our Saviour himself says to the doctors, "He that heareth you, heareth me, &c." Matth. ii. 7. "The lips of the priest preserve knowledge, &c. for he is the angel of the Lord of Hosts." If then priests are called angels, they cannot be judged by secular men; as the apostle says, "For me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you." Also it is said by the psalmist, "He reproveth even kings for their fakes; touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." And the apostle says, "Know ye not, that we shall judge angels? how much more the things of this world?" 1 Cor. vi. 3. For, as kings are above all dignities, so are bishops in things pertaining to God. Therefore we exhort, with all earnestness, that all do indeed honour the church of God, which is the spouse of Christ; and not put on her an unrighteous yoke of servitude, nor wax proud with secular power, nor oppress others with violence; as it is written, "The king's power loveth judgment," Psal. xcix. 4. Let every one of them consider, how he expects

Spelman. Johnson's collections, ad ann. 785.

pects that this spouse should be honoured by his subjects; and let him see, in this earthly example, how much the spouse of the king of heaven ought to be revered; lest it be said of them (which God forbid) "They have reigned, but not by me, &c." Hof. viii. 4. But that they may rather deserve to have it said, "I have found a man after mine own heart, &c." Psal. lxxxix. 19--21. That God may grant them the eternal glory of the kingdom which is to come: and let kings have wise counsellors, fearing the Lord, of commendable manners, that the people, being instructed and reformed by the good example of kings and princes, may improve to the glory and praise of Almighty God.

The twelfth canon.

The next canon is still of a more important nature, and seems greatly to favour the opinion, that the consent of the people was absolutely necessary towards the creation of kings. I shall give part of it to my reader, and leave him to his own reflections upon the words.

"That, in ordaining kings, none permit the votes of wicked men to prevail; but let legitimate kings be chosen by the priests and elders of the people." I have, in the notes, taken notice of the unfair representation which this article has met with from the pen of a bigotted priest (1).

Collier.

I know it will be said, on this occasion, that this and the foregoing canon was made entirely in compliment to the young Egfer, Offa's son, who, at this synod, was raised to an association with his father in the government; but this rather strengthens my suspicion. No prince ever behaved with a higher hand, both to his subjects and the clergy, than Offa did; and his requiring the assent of this synod, which was composed of laity as well as clergy, is sufficient proof that it was absolutely necessary for confirming the right of his son to the kingdom. But I must, with great diffidence, be of opinion, that this canon was general to all the Saxon succession; my reason is, because, according to all our historians, it was drawn up and passed in the Northumbrian synod, at which Northumbrians alone assisted, before it came to be proposed at the synod of Calcuith, as we shall afterwards see. But to proceed in our account of this remarkable canon. The rest of it guards very strongly against offering any violence to the person of the king, and provides very circumstantially for the honour and safety of himself,

as well as of his government. A principle which, as I shall often have occasion to observe, is one of the hinges upon which both the doctrine of the church, and the constitution of the state of England principally turns.

Those canons, with many others of no importance to our history, being ratified by the Northumbrian synod, a synod was called by the legates at Calcuith, at which were present Offa, king of the Mercians, and, according to some, Kenulf, king of the West Saxons. Here the same canons were received and ratified. I know indeed some considerable authorities in learning are of opinion, that the council in Northumberland and that in Mercia were the same; and that Kelcheth in Lancashire, which was on the borders of the two kingdoms, is the place where this council was held: but this seems to be against the stream of our histories.

A council held at Calcuith, where the above Canons are confirmed.

Though the pope, as I mentioned before, moved by the requests, and perhaps corrupted by the money of Offa, granted the pall, the year before this council, to the bishop of Litchfield; yet its erection into an archbishopric could not be complete till confirmed by this national council. The archbishop of Canterbury made a vigorous defence against this encroachment upon his rights, and very possibly never could have been prevailed upon to give them up, had it not been for the charge, which, as I have already mentioned, was brought against him for high-treason. At last he was obliged to succumb, though with great reluctance; and all the bishops who remained under his jurisdiction, were those of London, Rochester, Winchester, and Sherburn. It is observable here, that it does not appear Alric, king of Kent, was present at this council: this, no doubt, proceeded from his unwillingness either to offend Offa, by opposing the partition of the metropolitical power, or to give a sanction, by his presence, to what he thought an infringement of his own rights. It may be proper here to observe, with William of Malmesbury, that though this partition continued in force during all the reign of Offa, and the life of Lambart; yet the archbishop of Canterbury was restored to his former rights by one of Offa's successors, and Litchfield became, as it is at this day, a suffragan to that metropolitan, as we shall presently shew.

Litchfield erected into an archbishopric.

Alric not present at this synod, and why.

In the year 788, we are told, by Sir Henry Spelman, of a council at Fincley, in

(1) Mr. Collier, very candidly, entirely stifles this part of the canon, though the original is as follows: *Duodecimo sermone sanximus: ut, in ordinatione regum, nullus permittat pravorum prævalere assensum, sed legitime reges a sacerdotibus et senioribus populi eligantur.* It is surprizing, that neither Sir Henry Spelman, nor, as I know, any other editor or translator of the canons of this council, have taken notice of a palpable blunder in the reading here, which is corrected by a single letter, viz. by reading *legitimi* instead of *legitime*. This makes the sense natural and plain, as will appear by what follows: *Et non de adulterio vel incestu procreati.* Therefore, according to my reading, the meaning of the whole sentence runs thus: "That, in ordaining kings, none permit the votes of wicked men to prevail; but let legitimate kings be chosen by the priests and elders of the people, and not such as are procreated in adultery or incest:" as if the canon had said, "That, however regular the choice of a king might be, yet no regularity of election could warrant the priests and elders of the people for chusing a person into the kingdom who was of a spurious or incestuous brood:" for the opposition between *legitimi reges*, and *procreati ex adulterio vel incestu*, is evident. The reason, indeed, which is assigned by the canon for this practice, is very bad, and designed to raise the power of the church: *Quia sicut nostris temporibus ad sacerdotium secundum canones, adulter pervenire non potest, sic nec Christus Domini esse valet; et rex totius regni, et hæres patriæ, qui ex legitimo non fuerit connubio generatus.* "For, as in our times, according to the canons, none can arrive at the priesthood who is of an adulterous brood; so neither can he who is not born in lawful marriage, be the Lord's anointed, king of the whole kingdom, and heir of the country."

The councils
at Fincley
and Aclam.

the bishopric of Durham (1); and another at Aclam, in the year 792, a place, according to the same authority, in the same bishopric. The learned knight frankly confesses, that he knows nothing of those two councils beside their names; but is of opinion that they were called to suppress the descents of the Danes, which began, at this time, to be very troublesome: if so, we may easily conceive that no great deference was paid to the canons of Calcuith, the tenth of which prohibits ecclesiastics from meddling in secular affairs.

Charles the
Great sends
Offa the de-
crees of the
second coun-
cil of Nice.

About four years after this, Charles the Great wrote a letter to Offa, king of Mercia; and sent him, at the same time, the decrees of the second council of Nice. Those decrees are, with a just detestation, condemned by our historians, as containing a recommendation of a very abominable practice; I mean the worshipping of images. They were the more dangerous, in that they passed by the consent of above three hundred Eastern bishops at Constantinople.

Alcuin writes
a book against
them, which
he presents to
Charles.

The famous Alcuin took up his pen against this imposition, and wrote, with great force of learning for that time, against image-worship in general. This performance he presented to Charles the Great, in the name of the English clergy and nobility. This Alcuin was an Englishman, and had been tutor to Charles the Great. His remonstrance had great weight with his royal pupil, who seems himself not to have been very fond of the doctrine, and to have communicated the synodical decrees to England only by way of experiment. There is likewise reason to believe, that it had such effect upon the German divines, that the worship of images was solemnly condemned, two years after, in a synod held at Frankfort. From all this it appears, that the practice of image-worship was not, among the many other detestable innovations, imported, at this time, from Rome to England.

Its effect in
Germany.

Image-wor-
ship not im-
ported at this
time into
England.

Polydore Vir-
gil.

I should here mention the imposition of Peter's pence, which an Italian (2) publican calls the tribute paid by England to the pope; but, as I have already set that matter in its proper light, I shall here omit it. Neither shall I entertain the public with any of the miraculous stories, with which our historians so much abound, at the time when the bones of St. Alban, the English martyr, were discovered by Offa. Sufficient it is to say, that, from those bones, sprung up a great many fair revenues to the church; for one of the ends of Offa's journey to Rome was to procure from the pope a confirmation of some very extraordinary privileges, which he meant to grant to a monastery built on the spot where the relics were discovered. This monastery was built in consequence of a decree of a general council held at Verulam, of both spiritual and

St. Alban's
bones found.

A monastery
built by Offa
on that spot.

temporal members. The pope, glad of this proof of a monarch's devotion and regard, not only gave his consent for the endowing the monastery, but took it into his immediate protection, and granted it an exemption from all episcopal, or archiepiscopal jurisdiction, excepting to the see of Rome.

It was by such mutual compliances, when a monarch, either stung with remorse for perpetrated wickedness, or conscience-guided by designing priests, deigned to ask, and the bishop of Rome acquiring strength from their suitors weakness, seemed to stoop to grant, that the power of the latter grew, not in England only, but over all Europe. The Romish casuists, upon positive grants, engrafted negative power; and thus the popes came to grant what they had no right to deny, and to deny what they had no power to grant. Hence arose all their claims of dispensing, confirming, and judging in the last resort; nor is there any nation that can give more melancholy instances of this observation than the English.

Reflection.

Lambart was succeeded in the archbishopric of Canterbury by Athelard, who, we are told by William of Malmesbury, was bishop of Winchester, a man of great activity, and whose interest was strong with the nobility. The same authority informs us, that he would have been able to prevail with Egfer, son and successor to Offa, to have restored the see of Canterbury to its primitive lustre, had not death taken off that promising prince.

Lambart suc-
ceeded by
Athelard.
See p. 113.

Archbishop Athelard, still indefatigable in his solicitations, had the good fortune, at this time, to be seconded in them by Eanbald, archbishop of York. Kenulf, successor to Egfer, appears to have been a better politician than Offa was. Considering, perhaps, that it was no favourable circumstance for the exercise of royal authority that there should be, within his hereditary dominions, a subject vested with that exorbitant power an archbishop possessed, in that ignorantly devout age, he lent a favourable ear to the applications of Athelard, who, at this time, was setting out for Rome; and gave him a letter to the pope, full of submission to the holy see, and earnestly recommending the cause of Athelard to the patronage of the pope. The latter, whose ambition was sufficiently flattered by the respect and obedience of the monarch, gave him a favourable answer; and Athelard returned both with the pall, and a restitution to all the lustre of his predecessors in that see. It must not be forgotten here, the excellent Alcuin was so zealous for the peace of the church, that, fearing it might be disturbed by the resentment of Adulf, who then filled the see of Litchfield, he interceded with Athelard that the latter might have the honour of the pall con-

(1) Both Mr. Tyrrel and Mr. Collier have been guilty of some inaccuracy in speaking of those two councils. The former says, "You may see its decrees in Sir H. Spelman's 1st vol. of councils; but its constitutions, being wholly about ecclesiastical discipline, and the right observation of Easter, it is beside my purpose to take any farther notice of them." Whereas Sir Henry says, we have nothing of this council but the name: *Solummodo non anonymum est hoc concilium, sed præter nomen nihil exhibet.* Mr. Collier, expressly against Sir Henry Spelman's authority, places both this council and that of Aclam in the same year.

(2) Polydore Virgil was the collector of the pope's rents in England.

tinued to him, though without the power of consecrating bishops, or exercising any metropolitanical functions.

The English bishops apply to Rome, that they might not be forced to go thither in person for the pall.

While this affair was transacting, the English bishops, in the year 798, or 799, applied to the pope, by a pretty warm remonstrance, representing the inconveniency and injustice they suffered, in being, contrary to the usage of former times, forced to go to Rome in person for the pall. They recapitulate the practice of Gregory the Great, pope Boniface, and pope Honorius, who sent palls to the several English archbishops, with a power to consecrate their successors; and conclude with broad hints, that the inconveniences they were under, in this respect, were owing to the avarice of the court and church of Rome, which had improved the civil distractions of England to their own ends, contrary to the generous disinterested precepts of the gospel.

A council at Cloveshoo.

The metropolitanical power, as we have just seen, being recovered by Athelard, the next century began with a council held at Cloveshoo, in order to restore the archbishopric to its revenues as well as its rights. King Kenulf was present at this council, as were Athelard and all his suffragans, and the most considerable of the state, as well as the church. The archbishop here began his metropolitanical function, by enquiring into the orthodoxy, the soundness of faith, and practice of morals, within his province. He then proceeded to acts of resumption, which terminated in his profit, as well as to his honour; for Kenulf made restitution of the rich abbey which had fallen into the hands of his predecessor Offa, and had been dismembered from Christ-church in Canterbury.

Another council at Cloveshoo.

In the year 803, another council was held at Cloveshoo, by archbishop Athelard, and twelve of his comprovincials. The business of this council seems to have been preventive, as that of the last appears to have been resumptive; for the archbishop having, in a speech, laid before them the injustice done to his predecessors by Offa, and the restitution granted by the pope, proceeded to denounce the highest ecclesiastical censures upon any king who should ever attempt, and upon any bishop who should ever comply with, the like violations for the future. Several other censures were pronounced by this synod, particularly one against all laymen who should presume to take upon them the government of a monastery; and another upon all monks who should make choice of a layman for their head (1).

The year 804 is distinguished by the death of the blameless Alcuin. This great

man, setting aside his learning, which was uncommon to the age he lived in, was the most amiable character of his time. The Northumbrians claim, though the Scots are unwilling to give up, his birth. His great merits in learning brought him to be a favourite with Offa, king of Mercia, and he was, by him, sent ambassador to Charles the Great. This discerning prince soon found out the virtues of his heart, as well as of his head, and, with leave of Offa, retained him about his person. Charles himself had a cast for polite learning, and he applied to it under Alcuin; but he soon raised him from the study to the cabinet. Alcuin approved himself as able a minister as he was a great scholar. He put Charles upon polishing what he had acquired, and extinguished in his heart the barbarous lust of acquiring more. The monarch, grateful to Alcuin's labours, founded the university of Paris, encouraged scholars from England and Scotland to teach there, set an example of study in his own person to the young nobility, and, at the persuasion of his British Mæcenas, extended the like literary care to Italy, where he founded, and endowed with singular privileges, the university of Pavia. Thus the arts, which have since made both France and Italy so eminent, were, by a Briton, transplanted from the British soil, in which their seeds took too deep a root to be exterminated by the ignorance and barbarity of succeeding ages. I cannot take leave of this great character of Alcuin without informing my readers, that he possessed the valuable art of reproving, without offending, princes; of curing their passions, without rankling their minds; of mortifying the excess of their pride, without encroaching upon what was due to their dignity; and of expressing all the candour of an honest clergyman, without departing from the character of a fine gentleman. A rare example! but strictly true, as appears from Alcuin's genuine history and writings.

In the same year died Athelard, the restorer of the metropolitanical power of Canterbury, and was succeeded by Wulfrid a monk, of Christ-church, Canterbury, who received his pall from the pope the same year. I believe this complaisance on the part of the see of Rome, might, in a great measure, be owing to the remonstrance presented some time before upon this subject, by the English bishops, which I have already mentioned; so true it is, that the least appearance of spirit from an opposition never failed to bring the see of Rome to reason.

Athelard succeeded by Wulfrid.

In the year 816, another council was held at Calcluth, composed of the bishops south

Another council at Calcluth.

(1) Before we take leave of this council, says Mr. Collier, we must observe, there are some chronological difficulties in the subscriptions: for, according to the Fasti Saviliani, Werebert bishop of Leicester, Almund of Winchester, and Osmund of London, were not promoted to their respective sees till some years after this council is said to be held. And granting this mistake may be occasioned by the negligence of those that transcribed the council, or supposing the Fasti mistaken, there is another singularity in the subscription-roll; and that is, the bishops list does not stand by itself, as is customary; but every bishop has several abbots and priests, immediately subjoined to his name, and sometimes there are deacons added to them; and, under Athelard's subscription, we have one Wulfrid an archdeacon, who signs after the priests of Canterbury diocese. Now this is the first time we meet with a clergyman of this character in the English synods. Upon the whole, the abbots, priests, and deacons, being set close to their respective bishops, looks as if the matter had been transacted in several diocesan synods; and, upon the bishops meeting at the council of Cloveshoo, the subscriptions of the diocesan synods might probably be thrown into a body, and suffered to pass in the form and order they were received.

of the Humber, within the kingdoms of East-Anglia, Mercia, Kent, and Wesssex. This council was composed of Wulfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, who presided in it, and twelve of his suffragans; together with Kenwulf, king of the Mercians, and his nobility; nor were the inferior clergy excluded.

Its tendency.

The decrees which passed in this provincial synod, are of such a nature, as no way favour the innovations of the Romish church. For the second council of Nice, which had been so much pressed upon the English bishops by the pope, in its seventh canon declares, with a censure to the transgressors, that the relics of martyrs are absolutely necessary towards the validity of a church's consecration; but this council of Calcuith says, That though it may be expedient to have relics at such consecrations, yet they are not necessary (1).

Canon the second;

[Spelman.] which excludes the Scots from the exercise of the sacerdotal function in England.

The church of Scotland then governed by presbyters.

Reflection.

There are one or two more remarkable canons of this council. One, which is the fifth, will not permit the exercise of any part of the sacerdotal office to the Scots who travel into England. This canon is a proof, that there still remained great differences between the Scotch and English churches; and, I think, it reflects honour upon the judgment of those authors who contend, that the ancient form of church-government in Scotland was by presbyters. We see here the English, who were by this time perfect Romanists, disavowing the exercise of priesthood in any Scotchman. To what could this be owing? The Scots had, by this time, conformed themselves to the church of Rome in the celebration of Easter; they appear to have been under no papal or national interdict, nor was there any declared animosities subsisting between the two nations at this period; nay, upon the face of the canon itself it is said, that the council did not know whence or from whom they had their ordination. As the original canon is very strict and express, the reader may consult the notes (2). From all this I infer, that though episcopacy is unquestionably

the primitive and most apostolical form of government, yet the writers of that nation have gone too far, in putting its merits upon a single point of fact, by endeavouring to prove what is next to an impossibility, an order of uninterrupted succession in the priesthood. The practice of antiquity, and the reason of the thing, are sufficient to determine the mode of church-government; but it is both uncautious and unbecoming in the advocates for any church, to risque the credit of their ecclesiastical polity upon the practice of an age and people full of barbarity, so uninstructed in letters, that even ecclesiastics could neither read nor write. This straining is not peculiar to the Scots; but the English writers themselves ought to consider, that the British ordinations and succession, from which the English priesthood partly took its rise, must be looked upon as on the same footing with those of the Scots.

It is true, the episcopal order seems to have been extremely well understood, nay, to have been carried pretty high, by this synod: for the next canon declares, that the judgments of bishops, confirmed in former synods by either them or their predecessors, shall not be infringed, but remain firm and irrefragable. The synod then takes upon them, with what propriety I shall not determine, to pronounce the same with regard to all grants or decrees marked with the sign of the cross. This, if I mistake not, is levelled not only at the decrees of the bishops, which generally had a cross prefixed to their names; but at the grants of such of the kings as could only put their mark, which generally was that of the cross. This will appear pretty plain by the next sentence of the same canon. It is said, that if any king or prince shall set aside the authority of what they have put their hands to, or shall alter or cancel it, may he and his heirs be served with the same judgment. The canon then establishes the authority of synods in point of judgment, for which the reader may consult the notes (3).

Canon the sixth.

(1) When a church is built, let it be consecrated by the bishop of its own diocese; let the water be blessed, and sprinkled by himself; and [all things] be thus accomplished in order, according to the ministerial book. Afterwards, let the eucharist, consecrated by the bishop in the same ministration, be laid up in the same repository with the other relics, in the royal house; and, if he can find no other relics, this may serve as well, because it is the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. And we charge every bishop, that he have it written on the walls of the oratory, or in a table; as also, on the altars, to what saints both of them are dedicated. Canon the second.

(2) Quinto interdictum est: ut nullus permittatur de genere Scotorum in alicujus diocesi sacrum sibi ministerium usurpare; neque ei consentire liceat ex sacro ordine aliquid attingere, vel ab eis accipere in baptismo, aut in celebratione missarum, vel etiam eucharistiam populo præbere, quia incertum est nobis, unde, et an aliquo ordinentur. Scimus quomodo in canonibus præcipitur, ut nullus episcoporum [vel] presbyterorum invadere temptaverit alius parochiam, nisi cum consensu proprii episcopi. Tanto magis respuendum est ab alienis nationibus sacra ministeria percipere, cum quibus nullus ordo metropolitanis, nec honor aliis habeatur. Thus englished by Mr. Johnson: "That none of Scottish extract be permitted to usurp to himself the sacred ministry in any one's diocese; nor let it be allowed such an one to touch any thing which belongs to those of the holy order, nor to receive any thing from them in baptism, or in the celebration of the mass; or that they administer the eucharist to the people; because we are not certain how, or by whom, they were ordained. We know how it is enjoined in the canons, That no bishop, or presbyter, invade the parish of another, without the bishop's consent: so much the rather should we refuse to receive the sacred ministrations from other nations, where there is no such order as that of metropolitans, nor any regard paid to other [orders]."

(3) Sexto sancitum: ut non frangantur judicia episcoporum quæ a nobis nostrisque prædecessoribus synodali decreto constituta sunt, sed firma et irrefragabilia ita permaneant: seu etiam de omni re quæcumque cum vexillo sanctæ crucis Christi roborata est, sic stare servareque præcipimus, nisi forsan rex vel princeps, antecessorum suorum manum impositiones pro nihilo ducant; et illud non emendare neque cessare pertimescant, id ipsum in se suisque hæredibus sustineant, sicut scriptum est. In quocunque judicio judicaveritis, judicabimini. Et iterum, si quis ab accusatoribus suis invitetur ad synodum, et ei obvianti non tardaverit, semel, secundo, tertia vice paratus rationem ponere, et accusator renuit, et suam causam movere differat; postea judicabimus nihil ab eo plus exigatur, sed suo proprio sit contentus. Thus englished by Mr. Johnson: "That the judgments of bishops, which have been confirmed by us or our predecessors, by a synodical decree, be not infringed, but remain firm and irrefragable; and, in all cases, whatever has been corroborated with the sign of the cross, we charge that it remain in full force. And if, peradventure, any king, or prince, account the hand-writing of his ancestors as nothing, and stick not to alter or cancel it, may he and his heirs be paid in their own coin; as it is written, With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged. If any one be summoned to synod by his plaintiffs, and do not de- lay to meet them, at the first, second, or third call, being ready to give an account [of himself,] but the plaintiff flinches, and delays to open his cause, we will give sentence, that nothing farther be demanded, but let him be content with his own."

The ninth canon.

The ninth canon of the same council provides, "That every bishop shall write down the constitutions of each synod, or whatever belongs to his parish (for such is the word of the original). And likewise that he pointedly and orderly mark the year of God, with the archbishop's name, and the episcopal coadjutors present when that judgment passed, to prevent all frauds and forgeries in the respective parishes, and all deceitful evasions of judgment; and that the bishop, to whose diocese the judgment belongs, take one copy; and the party, in whose favour it is passed, another." From this canon we may fairly conclude, that no such precaution was observed before this council; and that therefore the records of former councils and synods must have been very lame, imperfect, and liable to many interpolations (1).

Sir Henry Spelman. A synod held at Cloveshoo.

The learned knight, to whom our ecclesiastical history owes so much, informs us of a synod said to be held at Cloveshoo, in the year 820, under Wulfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, in which Quendrida, an abbess, daughter and heiress to Kenulf, king of Mercia, was reconciled to the said archbishop, on account of some lands which had been seized by her father from the archbishopric, and which she restored at the request of the said archbishop, and upon the decree of the synod. The reconciliation was renewed the following year, and a farther restitution made by the said abbess, at a place called, by my author, Oslaveschelm.

[See p. 162.]

Another synod held there.

Next year another synod was held at Cloveshoo, at which were present Beornulph, king of the Mercians, Wulfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops, abbots, and the temporal powers of the kingdom. This synod, after some ecclesiastical institutions regarding the government of the church and monasteries, recapitulates the transactions of the former two synods; and makes mention particularly that the English nation was, for six years, deprived of the sacrament of baptism, on account of the differences between Kenulf and the archbishop. The same council likewise lets us into an important fact, which I meet with in no historian, and which I shall therefore give to my reader as I find it.

Kenulf summons Wulfrid before him, the conduct of the archbishop and the other clergy, that he came to London, where he

held a parliament, and, with great indignation, commanded the archbishop to appear before him. The archbishop obeyed. The king ordered him instantly to throw up all his affairs, and to be gone out of England immediately, without any hopes of ever being restored by the commands of the pope, or the intercession of the emperor, unless he would voluntarily consent to give up the manor of Leogenesham, which was worth three hundred mancuses, and a considerable sum of money besides. The archbishop made a vigorous opposition to this demand; but, at last, he submitted, upon condition that he should be restored to all his metropolitanical rights, of which he appears to have been deprived by the pope; but if the king was unable to succeed in this, then the archbishop was to be put in possession again both of his lands and money. But Kenulf, neglecting the conditional obligation, soon after died, and, it seems, left his daughter, this abbess, in possession of the several estates claimed by the archbishop.

orders him out of England,

if he gave not up Leogenesham.

Wulfrid submits, and on what conditions.

From this representation of the facts it appears, that there had been a quarrel between the king and the archbishop; and that the matter being brought before the pope, he had put not only the archbishop, but the kingdom itself, under an interdict for six years: that the difference was about some matter of property, and that the pope laid hold of this to make advantage of both, by suspending the archbishop from the exercise of his metropolitanical functions, and, under that pretext, of depriving the people of the sacraments, by involving all the clergy, who appear to have sided with the archbishop, in the same censure. From thence we may infer, how ready the see of Rome was to improve differences among its votaries to its own purposes; for though Kenulf was plaintiff to the pope against his archbishop, yet he found himself afterwards unable to discharge the process. He seems, however, to have stuck by what he conceived to be his right, and to have left the archbishop and the pope to fight it out together. An ecclesiastical writer, who seems not to have understood the matter as represented in the transactions of this council, nor to have consulted the original record, has questioned the authenticity of this council; but with what propriety the reader may consult the notes (2). We must not here forget that the authenticity of this synod is established

Reflection.

Collier.

The authority of this council vindicated.

by

(1) Nono sanximus in illa præfata synodo, ut unusquisque episcoporum debeat describere judicium illud quod in qualicunque synodo constitutum est, vel ad illius parochiam pertineat. Seu etiam constituimus, ut cum ratione et ordine describat qualis annus Domini computatur, aut a quali archiepiscopo, et aliis adsedentibus episcopis investigatum et confirmatum sit illud judicium, ne forte aliquis homo in sua parochia, cui rectum sit judicium constitutum, per falsam machinationem et malam versutiam a recto judicio declinet. Sed semper maneat firma atque immobilis in conscientia illius archiepiscopi et istius episcopi, cujus sit diocesum, et ille habeat aliam chartam ad suam sedem episcopalem, aliam ille ad quem judicium illud pertineat, ne in posterum aliquod scrupulum iniquitatis adplicetur.

(2) "But now, says Mr. Collier, to keep truth and time the better together, we must return to the affairs of the church, which will bring us to a synod, said to be held under Beornulph, king of the Mercians, and Wulfrid, archbishop of Canterbury. The design of the meeting was to restore some lands to the church of Canterbury, which had been unjustly seized by king Ceonulph, and were detained by the abbess Cenedrith, his daughter and heir. Now, it is said, that the taking away these lands from the church, occasioned so much confusion and disorder, that the sacrament of baptism was discontinued, for about six years, in all the divisions of the English." But this does not at all appear to be the case. The original quarrel between the king and the archbishop is not mentioned; only in general, that the latter had suffered greatly from the former, and that the king, by his misrepresentations, had prevailed with the pope to lay him under an interdict. The lands, restored by the abbess, appear to have been restored in compensation of what had been given up to the king upon such and such conditions, which Kenulf was unable to make good. The rest of Mr. Collier's objection to the authority of this council is, that "Beornulphus, under whom it was held, was only king of the Mercians; how

by the Saxon chronicle, which likewise mentions a journey taken by the archbishop to Rome. This, very probably, was in order to get the interdict taken off; for he had received his pall seven or eight years before. The same chronicle mentions, that he returned with the pope's benediction; so that we may reasonably believe, that he succeeded in his application; and that, upon working of his own deliverance himself, without the aid of the king, he insisted upon the restitution above-mentioned. Sir Henry Spelman has noted a very small inaccuracy in the date of this council; but this is no more than happens in the most authentic records of those days, and is not sufficient to overthrow its authenticity.

A council at
Calcluith.

The last ecclesiastical fact I shall take notice of, in this period, shall be the council held at Calcluith, under the same Beornulf,

in the year 824; at which were present Wulfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, and the chief both of the clergy and laity. This council affords us a very material fact. It was held in order to do away a great many disputes that had arisen between Herbert, bishop of Worcester, and the monks of Berkley. The decision was by oath, a hundred and fifty priests being sworn in upon this occasion. The lands were adjudged to the bishop, and the latter was finished at Westminster; but I find the temporal as well as the spiritual powers agreeing to the charter of confirmation. The learned knight I have often quoted says, in his note upon this council, that this manner of deciding by oath rather took its rise from the canon law, than any way resembled the practice of our municipal law, in deciding by the verdict of a jury.

“ then is it likely, that a dispute between his predecessor and the archbishop of Canterbury, should operate so strongly beyond his own dominions? Suspend the exercise of what is essential to Christianity, and exceed the rigour of an interdict in the foreign kingdoms of Kent, Northumberland, and the West-Saxons.” But the reverend gentleman might have known, that the words in the original (*tota gens Anglorum*) is very often used to express one particular nation, or the subjects of one prince. Admitting, however, it has a general extent, yet how do we know how far the prelates and the clergy of the other kingdoms were concerned in the matters which gave rise to this interdict? Mr. Collier's last argument against this council, has in it so little of an Englishman, that I am almost ashamed to transcribe it. “ If, says he, by Cenulphus is meant Kenulphus, then neither the seizing the church-lands, or carrying the quarrel so high to the prejudice of religion, is in the least agreeable to the character of that pious prince: for Kenulphus, as Malmesbury reports, was so unblemished in his justice and conduct, that it is hard to fasten a censure upon any act of his whole reign. Besides, is it likely that Kenulphus would hazard the happiness of his subjects, and almost extinguish Christianity for six years together; and all this, rather than do justice to the church, and give up a sacrilegious oppression?” But this supposes the prince, and not the prelate, to have been in the wrong. Now the very character given to Kenulf, throws the presumption upon his side; for it must have been something very glaring on the part of the prelate, that could push a king, of so much piety, upon such extremities. Besides, as we have just seen the dispute, the interdict was not with regard to the lands, or the pretended sacrilege of Kenulf; but some other matters, about which we are in the dark. To conclude, it is by no means incompatible with the character of a pious prince, to crush the incroachments of an aspiring churchman; nor do we find, that the interdict here mentioned, had any other rise than the interested views of the pope.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

A

GENERAL HISTORY

O F

ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

From the year Eight hundred and twenty-eight, to the NORMAN Conquest,
in One thousand and sixty-six.

Reflection on
the former
periods of this
history.

OUR history, hitherto, may be compared to a stream fed from different sources, and acquiring different tinctures, according to the nature of the various soils through which it runs. From Cæsar, it flows strong and even; from Tacitus, majestic, deep and clear; from Dio, luxuriant and gay; from the British writers, sad; from the Saxons, gloomy; sometimes fullenly diving, sometimes capriciously emerging; seldom determined in its course, and always unequal in its progress.

The task of
the author.

Discouraging is the task of an after-writer, who must be guided by such authorities; unequal to the best, unaided by the worst; here he is mortified, and there embarrassed. My humble province, hitherto,

has been to clear the channel of our history, sometimes to enlarge, but oftener to contract, its course; by combating the prejudices, to risque the censures, of mankind; and to sacrifice the pleasure of following a beaten tract, embowered with all that romance can offer, to the laborious research of truth, through all her intricate and thorny windings.

I now conduct my reader into a more extended plain, where the view enlarges, and the prospect opens; where he can breathe a purer air, and enjoy a brighter sun. Let me, therefore, proceed; my direction, inflexible truth; my patron, the generous public; and may infamy attend the line that slides into partiality, or deviates into party.

I shall here begin with the reign of

EGBERT, the Father of the ENGLISH Monarchy.

A. D. 800.
See p. 141.

WE have seen this prince, by womanish arts, driven into salutary banishment; and left him learning the arts of government at the politest court, and under the greatest prince of the age. The West Saxons, even during the reign of Brithric, appear to have considered Egbert as their future monarch; they heard with pleasure of his growing virtues; and looked upon every acquisition of fame, made by the royal exile, as an accession to their own greatness. Brithric, whose pacific virtues had endeared him to the West Saxons, was no sooner dead, than they threw their eyes upon Egbert, who, watchful of that event, was prepared to answer their call. Several messengers, according to my author,

were dispatched to inform him of Brithric's death; and having passed over to England, he was commanded, says the same author, to

A. D. 800.

Imperare
jussus.

See p. 20.

Having now arrived at that desirable point he had so long in his eye, he found himself at the head of an united people, full of the spirit of conquest, and the high ideas of their right to empire over the rest of their countrymen. But Egbert wisely considered, that a people was at his back who had a general and an inveterate hereditary animosity against all the race of Woden; that whatever war he was engaged in with his own countrymen, this people, the Britons, would be sure to join the weakest party; and that a little discipline

The hatred of
the Britons
against Eg-
bert, and all
the Saxon
race,

William of
Malmesbury.

A. D. 808.

determines
him to make
them the first
object of his
arms.

He subdues
Cornwall.

[Matthew of
Westminster.
Saxon chro-
nicle.]

[Speed.]

His penal law
against the
Britons passing
Offa's ditch.

discipline might make them formidable enemies, though nothing could ever render them hearty friends. On the other hand, as the enmity of the Britons lay against all the Saxon race, he was in no danger of any English prince espousing their quarrel; and he was sure of having no invasion upon his own territories, while he was employed in an expedition so meritorious in the eyes of the English Saxons, as was the reduction of the Britons. These, therefore, were to be the main object of his arms. But, in order to remove suspicion, and to conciliate the minds of the English, he first employed his good offices in accommodating several differences among the English Saxon princes. For Eardulf, king of Northumberland, advancing against Kenulf, king of Mercia, and both parties preparing for battle, Egbert dealt so effectually by his mediation, that a lasting peace was concluded by the two contending monarchs. This, and many other good offices of the same kind, so much won upon the minds of the English, that they already began to consider Egbert as their common father; while he, on the other hand, seeming to bend all his power against the Britons, acquired not only the dignity of the head of the English Saxons, but was looked upon as the hero of the race.

In the year 808, Egbert, being now at perfect liberty, turned his arms against the Cornish Britons, a stubborn race, often vanquished, never subdued, and now fierce, through long continuance of peace; but Egbert leading his army into their country, a terrible slaughter ensued on both sides. Those (1) authors are mistaken, who think, that his conquest of Cornwall was either quick or easy. The Britons in Wales made the cause of their Cornish countrymen their own, and not only vigorously supported them, but appear to have carried their arms into Egbert's own territories. Thus the war was long, doubtful, and bloody; for the best authorities fix the expedition of Egbert into Cornwall to the year 808; and five years afterwards, viz. 813, we find him still employed in the same war. The English and British writers, upon this occasion, inform us, that the resistance of the Britons so much provoked our monarch, that he past a law, inflicting death on any Briton who

should presume to pass over Offa's ditch. But though it is very probable such a law was enacted, yet it could not be till after Egbert had conquered Mercia, upon the borders of which this ditch lay. The same author tells us, that he ordered the statue of Ceadwalla, the British king, which, in terror to the Saxons, had been erected, after his conquest of Northumberland, over one of the city gates in London, to be demolished; and that he stormed Westchester, where he put all the inhabitants to the sword. Whatever may be in all this, it is certain that Egbert's wars with them terminated in a total subjection of Cornwall, and that he annexed it to his own dominions; though the chronological order, either of his expeditions or conquests, is not observed.

The progress of Egbert's arms, by this time, began to alarm the neighbouring princes. Beornulf, king of Mercia, lay the most exposed to his ambition, and was the only power then in England who could best oppose his arms. I am very inclineable to believe, that, upon this occasion, he used the same policy which his predecessor, the famous Penda, had put in practice before, by making an alliance with the Britons, that he might the more easily crush the aspiring fortunes of Egbert. The terms of the alliance seem to have been, that both parties should fall upon Egbert at the same time. Accordingly we find, that his late acquisitions in Cornwall and Devonshire were attacked by the Cornish Britons, and that a battle was fought in 823, between Egbert's Devonshire subjects and the Britons, at Camelford in Cornwall, in which the latter were defeated. In the mean time Beornulf had advanced, at the head of an army, into Egbert's dominions, as far as Ellandune (2), now Wilton, near Salisbury, where he was met by Egbert. Malmesbury gives us a very indifferent idea of this Beornulf: and another historian tells us, that Egbert's men were lean and meagre; but had, even in time of peace, been trained up to military discipline, and inured to the fatigues of the field. The same writer says, that Beornulf, despising those toils as useless and unprofitable, brought into the field ten men for one that Egbert had; but those, ruddy, fat and florid, and more apt

He orders the
statue of Cead-
walla to be
demolished.

Beornulf makes
an alliance
with the Bri-
tons.

Both of them
intend to fall
upon Egbert
at the same
time.

He defeats the
Britons,

[Higden.]

(1) Mr. Rapin very accurately tells us, That in one campaign he reduced all Cornwall to his obedience; and his annotator, That one of the battles was fought at Camelford in Cornwall. But, as I have observed, no less than thirteen or fourteen years intervened between his undertaking the war and this battle; so far was he from subduing all Cornwall in one campaign.

(2) At the conflux of these rivers, says Mr. Camden, Willey waters a place denominated from it, Wilton, once the chief town of the county, to which also it gave name. It was anciently called Ellandunum, as appears from some old charters, which expressly make mention of Weolthian, earl of Ellandunum, that is, of Wilton; and again, that he built a little monastery at Ellandunum, that is, at Wilton. [And also, from the Monasticon Anglicanum, and from Mr. Brian Twine's collections, where we find Ellendinia, or Ellenduna, that is, Ellenge donne, or a place naked, desolate, or wild; from hence is Wyldton, or Wylddoun. And he says immediately after, that he takes Ellendune to be Salisbury-plain: but he tells us not in what language it is, that Ellan, or Ellenge, signifies wild; or in what age Wilton was called Wyldton, or Wylddoun.] From the name Ellan, I am induced to think this river the Alanus, which Ptolomy places in this tract. At this place Egbert, king of the West Saxons, fought successfully with Beornulf the Mercian, A. D. 821; but the battle was so bloody on both sides, that the river ran plentifully with the blood of near relations. [However, it is thought by some, that this battle was fought elsewhere, and that the circumstances of it make the foregoing opinion (that this is the old Ellandune) somewhat suspicious: for it is not probable, say they, that Egbert, the most powerful prince in the island, should let an enemy make an inroad into the very heart of his kingdom, without opposition; and it is as unaccountable why none of our historians should tell us, that the battle was fought at Wilton, when it is plain the town was known by that name long before. Therefore, to place Ellandune here, seems to them as unreasonable as Brompton's settling it in Middlesex. But if the authority of the Winchester annals may be allowed in this case, the controversy is clearly decided; for they tell us expressly, that this fight was at Ellendune, a manor belonging to the prior of Winchester. Now this seems to be no other place than Elingdon, near Highworth, (upon the borders of the Mercian kingdom) which once belonged to the monastery of St. Swithen.]

A. D. 823. to be choaked with sweat than with blood. Egbert, however, knew how to supply all defects, by a happy disposition of his army, and their experience of victory. But the battle, with such odds, was long and bloody; till, at last, the fortune of Egbert prevailed, and Beornulf was forced to fly, leaving great part of his army dead upon the field.

and Beornulf.

Egbert sends Ethelwulf, Alstan, and Wulfheard into Kent.

Malmesbury.

Baldred leaves his kingdom to Egbert.

Egbert, either afraid to follow Beornulf, or invited by the juncture, before he had (1) wiped the sweat of victory from his brows, ordered Ethelwulf his son, Alstan bishop of Sherburn, and Wulfheard one of his ealdermen, to advance, at the head of a strong body, into Kent. Baldred, as we have already seen, was then king of that country, and held his precarious scepter from the Mercian. Subjection ever sits uneasy upon a people who have been independent, and they often fancy they can get relief from a change. It would appear, from Egbert's conduct, that he had great encouragement, from this disposition of the Kentishmen, to emancipate themselves from the tyranny of Mercia; for, after his late defeat, Beornulf being in no condition to protect his vassal dominion, Baldred, after a less than womanish resistance, fled over the Thames, and left Egbert in full possession of his kingdom.

Rapin!

Egbert possessed of four kingdoms.

Polydore Virgil.

The East-Angles throw off the Mercian yoke.

As I intend, in a separate dissertation, to vindicate the character and conduct of this great prince from the reflections of an uninformed Frenchman, whose pleasure was to begrime the fairest names in the English annals, I shall not, at present, enter into any conjectures, with regard to what passed upon Egbert's annexing the crown of Kent to his own. It is sufficient to inform my reader, his success was such, that all that part of the South Saxon kingdom which had not been absolutely reduced by Ina, and all Essex, submitted to the conqueror. Thus, in about one and twenty years after his accession to sovereignty, Egbert found himself in actual possession of four kingdoms which formed part of the Saxon heptarchy.

The kingdoms of Mercia and Northumberland remained still to be subdued; for that of the East Angles was sure to follow the fortunes of the former, and is therefore not to be considered, at this time, as a separate kingdom. Though an (2) Italian publican has informed us of horrible ravages committed, by the arms of Egbert, in Kent; yet his palpable ignorance in what concerns this great prince, will be a sufficient guard to his readers to treat him with the contempt he deserves, in this and almost all the other part of his work. Egbert might rather be said to have taken into his protection, than to have conquered, Kent; and he had a family claim to Essex, as shall be more fully proved in my dissertation. His regard to the duties of a common father to his people, soon encouraged the East Angles, now groaning under the Mercian

yoke, likewise to implore his protection. The infamous manner in which the house of Cridda had acquired this domain, the weak title, the unpopular character, and the tyrannical power of the usurper Beornulf, made it both natural and justifiable in the East Angles to seek to reunite themselves to a family sprung from the loins of Woden, and to be governed by a prince, the only undisputed sovereign descendant of that stem. Accordingly they implored the protection of Egbert; and, to shew how much they were in earnest, he no sooner promised to support them, than they rose, fought, defeated, and killed their tyrants. All those events, viz. from the time of the battle of Camelford in Cornwall, to the death of Beornulf, seem to have happened within the space of eighteen months.

A. D. 823.

But the Mercians, resenting the loss of East Anglia, and dreading the progress of Egbert's arms, appear to have forgot their former intestine animosities, and to have united in the common cause of their country. Upon Beornulf's death, one Ludecan, his kinsman, was chosen king in his room; or rather, his interest in the kingdom procured his election, and common danger prevented its being disputed. Having got a body of forces together, he advanced into East Anglia, to chastise the rebels, for such they were considered to be, on account of their late revolt. But the neck that has just broke from the yoke will but hardly be brought to bend to it again; the Mercians were defeated, their new leader slain, and the East Angles were left now at perfect liberty to declare in favour of Egbert.

a Ludecan advances against the East Angles;

but is defeated.

It must be confessed, that the sentiments of this great man but little favoured the common liberties of mankind. But, without going into any laboured apology, we are to consider him as the only surviving representative of the house of Woden, and educated in all the high notions of the superiority which that house ought to enjoy over all the English Saxons. Besides, there is a certain degree of degeneracy, which renders it imprudent and unsafe to trust a people with liberty. The right of electing their own governors, is, undoubtedly, the most valuable exercise of liberty, and Egbert highly disputed this with the Mercians; for the latter, by their common suffrage, having raised one Withlaf, who was their ealdorman, to sovereign power, Egbert immediately advanced against him, and drove him from his dominions. Whether, considering the nature of Egbert's supremacy, as head of the Saxon confederacy, the Mercians had a right of such election, may bear to be discussed in the annexed dissertation; but that Egbert presumed they had not, appears from his after-conduct.

The Mercians having elected one Withlaf to the crown, Egbert drives him from his dominions.

For Withlaf flying to Seward, abbot of Croyland, was, by him, concealed from the search of the inquisitive Egbert, who had, by this time, annexed the kingdom of Mer-

He flies to Seward;

(1) *Flagrante adhuc victoria.*
(2) Polydore Virgil, who was the pope's collector in England, calls the king of Kent, at this time, Ethelwulf, thereby confounding him with Egbert's eldest son, whom he made governor of Kent in his own life-time.

A. D. 829.

cia to his own. Here he lay concealed for four months, till a conjuncture favourable for him, and the intercession of the pious abbot, brought him to dependent royalty. As Withlaf appears to have been a man of merit, and popular among the Mercians, it was both just and wise in Egbert to hearken to the abbot's solicitations. Had Egbert possessed that irregular ambition he is accused of by the enemies to the English glory, he would, according to the barbarous maxims of his age and country, have pushed his resentment against Withlaf to the grave; but, content with moderate sway, he received him again into favour, reinstated him in his throne, though not in his dignity: for he was constrained to pay to Egbert a yearly tribute, in consideration of his holding the crown of Mercia.

by whose application he is reinstated in his throne.

His motives.

See p. 143.

Egbert becomes sovereign of all England to the south of the Humber.

Account of Northumberland at this time.

Reflection on the difference of chronology.

Some political considerations seem, at the same time, to have operated in favour of Withlaf; for the northern Britons now revolting, and threatening to shake off the yoke of Egbert, the latter would have acted imprudently, if, marching against so determined a people, he had left the Mercians his enemies. His reconciliation, therefore, with their prince was very seasonable; especially if what Matthew of Westminster says be true, that the East Saxons rebelled against him at the same time, and that he drove Swithred, their king, from his kingdom. But the latter is a circumstance very improbable, considering the great age Swithred must have been at this time, unless we suppose that Egbert had granted this kingdom to another of the same name, who held it as his tributary. Be that as it will, it is certain that, in 829, Egbert, having quelled the Britons, found himself the sovereign of all England, to the south of the Humber, and meditated the extension of his power towards the north.

Northumberland, where Egbert was now to reap fresh laurels, had been long a scene of blood and rude commotion; all civil subordination was lost among them; and the shadow of royalty was held by one Eandred. Historians greatly differ with regard to the manner in which this kingdom came to be subdued. William of Malmesbury says, that the Northumbrians perceiving that they were pointed out to subjection, as being the only people in England who were independent, chose to submit to the imposed tribute. In this he is favoured by Henry of Huntingdon; but other historians say, that Egbert wasted their country with fire and sword before they submitted. While Egbert was in the northern parts, he exercised several acts of sovereignty, particularly we find a coin of his struck at York.

I know our historians in general have deferred the restoration of Withlaf to the crown of Mercia till after the reduction of Northumberland; but, besides the political improbability this is attended with, it rests entirely and originally upon a palpable interpolation in the Saxon chronicle, and is contrary to what we have from Ingulphus, who tells us, that he continued in his con-

cealment only four months, after he was obliged to fly. The same interpolation has led other historians into the mistake of fixing his expedition against the northern Britons a year too late. But the truth is, that Egbert crowded a great many triumphs into a very short space of time; nor is it very easy to fix days and months, in which his conquests were generally made, with the same accuracy as the years of other monarchs.

Egbert, about the year 829, finding himself the undisputed monarch of South Britain, resolved to give his title the sanction of coronation. Accordingly all the great men of the kingdom being summoned to a general council at Winchester, Egbert, by consent both of clergy and laity, was crowned king of Britain. Some writers among the Scots have taken offence at this title, and therefore have denied the fact, or want to pass it for an extravagant piece of vanity, as reflecting upon their own independency. But this is a mistake, proceeding from the ignorance of the English antiquaries; for the term Britain, at this time, was confined only to that tract of land which lies south of Antoninus's wall, and is always understood in that sense; so that it was no vanity in Egbert to assume that title. But we are told, at the same time, of another piece of policy he executed upon this occasion, and discovers how deep his designs lay for settling in his family a succession to his power; for he ordered, by proclamation or edict, that no future distinctions should be kept up among the Saxon kingdoms; but that they should all pass under the common name of England. Thus the English were, under that great man, brought to the summit of their glory, the nearest point to the first step of their decay, as will appear by the course of this history.

We have already mentioned a descent made by the Danes upon England. This was followed by several others upon the more northern counties; and the invaders, gaining boldness from success, began to invest even the southern coasts: for, in the year 831, they landed upon, and wasted, the isle of Sheppey, in Kent; and their progress was such, as alarmed the English nation. Next year they again appeared upon our coasts, and after receiving a check at Tinmouth, they sailed to Charmouth in Dorsetshire, where they landed. I know that some authors are fond of making Egbert meet and give them battle with a fleet; but this is by no means likely. If he had possessed such a naval force as could have looked them in the face, he certainly never would have suffered them to commit the ravages they did upon his coasts. But the truth is, the Saxons had, by this time, forgot that their own greatness was owing to the watery element; they had been so busied in mutual wars and ravages, that their sea force was absolutely neglected; and therefore those free-booters had daily opportunities of harrassing the English coasts. Their fleet, when they landed at Charmouth, consisted of thirty-five sail, and supposing each

A. D. 833.

Egbert crowned king of Britain.

The Danes make several irruptions into England.

They waste the isle of Sheppey,

[833 Sax. Ch.] and land at Charmouth,

with thirty-five sail.

fail

A. D. 833.

Egbert at-
tacks them;but is de-
feated.The Danes
retire to their
ships.Egbert re-
ceives rein-
forcements.Causes of the
decay of naval
strength a-
mong the
Saxons.

Selden.

fail to contain five hundred men, their whole force must have amounted to near eighteen thousand men. That it was not far short of this number, appears from the event; for Egbert, who had hitherto never experienced the frowns of fortune, set out against them at the head of an army. He attacked the Danes while they were landing, and endeavoured to cut them off before they were formed; but his success was far from answering his expectation: for though, at first, he put them in great disorder, yet the enemy receiving from their ships continual supplies of men, pressed the English so hard, that nothing but the approach of night could have prevented not only the total rout of Egbert's army, but the captivity of his person. Two of his principal officers, however, viz. Dudda and Osmond, were left dead upon the spot; as were two bishops, Herefrith and Wigen. Notwithstanding this repulse, the Danes found themselves so roughly handled, that we do not find they attempted to make any settlement after Egbert's retreat. His loss seems to have been owing to a contempt for his enemies, which is too often incident, but always dangerous to great men; for he attacked them with an unequal force, and though defeated, yet the taste which the Danes then received of his valour and conduct put them under such dreadful apprehensions, that they retired to their ships with as much precipitation as if the day had gone against them.

Egbert, collecting the remains of a shattered army, and strengthened with a new accession of forces, who poured in from all quarters, at first to favour his escape, but now to increase his glory, no sooner saw the Danes re-embarked, than he began to reflect upon his error. He found his enemies to be a brave, determined, hardened race, prompted by necessity, therefore tenacious of their enterprizes; but, above all, masters of that element which gave the sole security and safety to his own dominions. And here we cannot too much lament the fatal degeneracy of character the Saxons suffered from the first time of their entrance upon this island; while its causes are easily retraced. Upon their landing here they appear to have been the strongest maritime power in Europe; but their divisions into petty states, their wars with the Britons, and their civil differences among themselves, in a short time extinguished their naval glory. The truth is, tired out with a roving life, they were fond of a settlement. While their navy was the means of their subsistence, they were enabled to maintain it; but no sooner did they seek their fortunes and livings by land, than their ships became unemployed, useless, and decayed. No prince among them was powerful enough to fit out a new fleet; and though any one had, the mutual jealousies, which were ever breaking out in the confederacy, must have rendered it unsafe for him to spare so many of his subjects as could man it. An eminent patriot and antiquary has indeed been at great pains to

prove a kind of an uninterrupted succession in the English dominion at sea. All honour to his labours! but it must be acknowledged, that though he has established what no body can dispute, the reputation of the Saxons, in maritime affairs, upon their first entering this island; yet has he not been able to prove, that, between that time, and for some years after the period I now write of, the English ever maintained a single ship of force for the protection of their own coasts, or the annoyance of their enemies. It is true, that, in the days of Offa, who was a magnanimous and a politic prince, we have countenance from history to believe, that the English Saxons carried on some kind of traffic with foreigners; but this scanty testimony is but a pitiful support to so glorious a claim as the sovereignty of the seas. Egbert appears too late to have been sensible of this oversight in policy; and perceiving the Danish fleet had not yet quitted his coasts, he was apprehensive of a fresh invasion. The power of the Danes, who were, by this time, tampering with the Britons, rendered the state of his nation too momentous an affair for private deliberation. Accordingly, upon his return from the battle of Charmouth, he summoned a general assembly of the states of his kingdom at London, to deliberate on the means of averting, for the future, the insults of the enemy. At this assembly were present all the states, both spiritual and temporal of the English nation. The result of their deliberations has not indeed come to our hands; but there is reason for believing they were wise and salutary: for, within little more than a year, viz. in 835, the Danes, according to the Saxon chronicle, landed in Cornwall with a large fleet; they were joined by the Cornish Britons, and both together formed a considerable army. But Egbert, far from being daunted, advanced against them, as they were marching to invade his dominions. The two armies met at Hengston in Cornwall, and here the fortune of Egbert reassumed her former ascendancy; the pagans (for pagans they were) received a total defeat, and the few who escaped fled back to their ships.

A. D. 836.

Egbert sum-
mons an as-
sembly of his
states,and defeats
the Danes.

His death.

His character.

Egbert, now advanced in years, was thinking of ending his life upon the calm bed of domestic repose; but the restless Danes continuing to harass his dominions, he was again called to the field, in the year 836. Again he was victorious; and fortune, soon after, was kind enough to put his fame out of her own power; for he ended his days in the arms of glory that same year.

The character of Egbert may be easily discerned by the preceding account of his reign. There was a clumsiness of genius, which, in general, prevailed among the Saxons, which Egbert's foreign education had filed off. His apprenticeship in war, under the greatest master of that age, well seconded his political virtues. It is, therefore, not surprising, that a prince, with so many advantages, and favoured with so many concurring circumstances, found means to gain the ascendancy which Egbert did. A great historian

A. D. 836.
Milton.
Reflection on
the Saxon go-
vernment, and
their degene-
racy, at this
time.

historian and poet seems to question, whether the Danes could have been so successful as they afterwards were, in their descents upon England, had the Saxon heptarchy still continued. "This invasion, perhaps," says he, had the heptarchy stood, divided as it was, had either not been attempted, or not uneasily resisted, while each prince and people, excited by their nearest concerns, had more industriously defended their own bounds, then depending on the neglect of a deputed governor, sent oft-times from the remote residence of a secure monarch," But, with all deference due to this great authority, the private virtue of the Saxons was, by this time, too degenerate for them to act upon the principles of public good. The best model of government, when ill executed, is, of all things, most fatal to the liberties of a people; whereas an apparent defect in government is often supplied by private virtue. The general scheme of the Saxon constitution, which they seem to have copied from the Britons, was extremely well fitted to repel common danger. By their chusing a leader at the head of their confederacy, under whom all others were to serve, in case of their being attacked, they had, at once, every advantage arising from monarchy, and all the encouragements annexed to republican independency; but when spirits, ambitious of rule, had converted this excellent institution into a mode of tyranny, the people, losing all the generous relish of liberty, soon became indifferent under what master they served. The frame of government being thus perverted, and the great political ties either weakened or broken, separate resistance against common enemies could be but faint and unavailing. It is private property, which never can be secure but from public liberty, that puts the sword into the hands of the people, and makes every individual rather die in the breach of his fortune, than resign it to another. From the corruption of this excellent institution many monsters of tyrants were now engendered, and providence, in all human probability, united their several interests in the person of one brave man, as the means of suspending, for some time, the bitterness of their approaching fate. The sequel of this history will prove the truth of my observation; and I make no doubt but the reader will have cause to think, that, had it not been for the impolitic division of dominion in Egbert's family, the Danes could not have met with the successes they afterwards did.

But it is now time I should give some account of this formidable race, which brought such infinite calamities upon England. An English historian, in the preface to his fifth book, has given us an affecting state of the Danish progress here. He tells us, "It was more barbarous, and more fierce, than all the invasions they ever experienced, even to the days of the author. The Romans, says he, indeed were rapid in the conquest of Britain; but their administration of it was glorious. The Picts

and Scots made frequent irruptions into the northern parts of England; but their invasion seldom was general, never permanent, and often, through repulses, detrimental to the invaders. The Saxons, as they found opportunity, by degrees invaded this land; what they invaded, they possessed; what they possessed, they peopled; and, what they peopled, they civilized. Even the Normans, continueth he, though their conquests were short and rapid, left the conquered their lives, their laws and their liberties: but as to the Danes, they, by frequent fits and starts, fought not to possess, but to plunder; and thirsted not after dominion, but after destruction. Even when they were conquered, the victors had no joy in their success; since another, and a larger, fleet and army still started up to support the invaders." He then very pathetically describes the manner, and the barbarity, of their attacks; and concludes by saying, that "the invaders were composed not of Danes alone, but of Goths, Norwegians, Swedes, Vandals, and Frisians." It is more than probable, that all these nations were formerly comprehended under the name of Goths and Swedes; and that the Danes themselves were no other than colonies of Goths, sent out, upon their own country's being overstocked, to explore new habitations, in the same manner as the Saxons were when they invaded England. In their progress from Scandia, or Scandinavia, their original country, they seized upon the neighbouring islands, and likewise upon Jutland, the Cimbrian Chersonese. Their vicinity to their mother-country occasioned their continuing under her laws and government, till Humel, king of the Goths, gave them his son (whose name, according to their own writers, was Dan) for their king. Norway, in like manner, was peopled by Gothic colonies, and was, for some time, under the Gothic dominion; till, after several changes of government, some years before the Danish invasion in England, they came to be governed by a king of their own. That Woden was the common father of all those northern nations, as well as of the Saxons, is more than probable. Their laws and institutions seem fundamentally to have been the same; and when acting in common, they were called, by the southern nations, Normans, or the men of the north. Thus, as Mr. Milton observes, the Danes, by subduing the Saxons, subdued more ancient Danes; and the Normans, by afterwards subduing the Danes, subdued more ancient Normans. Eginhard, who lived contemporary with Offa, king of the Mercians, was chancellor to Charles the Great, and had great opportunities of information, in his history of that prince, has the following words: "In like manner the Danes and Sweones, with those whom we call Nor-

"mans, do possess the northern shore of Scandinavia, together with all the islands adjoining to it; whilst the Sclavi, with divers other nations, inhabit the southern coasts; but the Norwegians, or rather the

"northern

A. D. 836.

Henry of
Huntingdon.

An account
of the Danes.

A. D. 836. “ northern men (for so they are called by
 “ the Swedes, because they lie more north-
 “ erly than the greater part of that nation)
 “ and indeed all those that inhabit Scanzias,
 “ are (by the people of Europe that lie
 “ more remote) with very good reason, called,
 “ in the German tongue, Northland-men.”
 Adam of Bremen, who lived about two hun-
 dred years after, not only confirms and quotes
 these words of Eginhard, but adds, that
 “ the Danes and Swedes, with the other
 “ nations beyond the river Danube, are, by
 “ the French historians, called Normans.”
 This is confirmed by Albertus, who wrote
 about two hundred and fifty years after. And
 Grotius, through a partiality he always enter-
 tained in favour of the Swedish nation from
 personal attachments, tells us, in one of the
 prolegomena to his Gothic history, that
 “ the actions of the Normans are all to be
 “ attributed to the Swedes;” though, per-
 haps, with equal propriety, he might have
 said the Danes (1).

The convenience of the situation, and
 the great plenty of materials for shipping
 growing in their country, joined to those
 dispositions for a roving life, so common
 among the northern nations, soon rendered
 them a formidable naval power. And, for
 one hundred and fifty years, they not only
 plundered the coasts of France, England,

and the low countries, and other nations
 in Europe, but checked the arms even of
 Charles the Great. This prince seeing them
 advanced as far as the Mediterranean, one
 day, in a kind of an agony, called out,
 “ How terrible is it to me, that those pirates
 “ should venture upon this coast, even in
 “ my life-time! What scourges then must
 “ they prove to my successors!” And the
 cruelty with which they exercised their ra-
 vages was such, that a particular article was
 inserted in the litany, “ From the fury of
 “ the Danes good Lord deliver us.” As to
 their own religion, it was pagan, and, in
 general, the same with that of the Saxons,
 of which we have already treated.

William of Malmesbury informs us, that
 the excellent Egbert, when he was dying,
 told his son Ethelwulf, “ That he might be
 “ happy, if that kingdom, which a labori-
 “ ous course of industry had acquired, were
 “ not destroyed by that slothfulness which
 “ was so very common to its people.”
 This prophetic speech had but too melan-
 choly a completion. The excess of ridi-
 culous devotion, into which the English
 Saxons had for some time run, and against
 which Egbert appears always to have guarded,
 had introduced this fatal sloth, which, by
 experience, he found so conducive to his
 own ends.

2. E T H E L W U L F.

OUR histories in general are very con-
 fused, with regard to the immediate
 succession of Egbert. His son Ethelwulf
 would have been a great and glorious prince,
 had he not been infected by the lethargy of
 the age: for, during the life of an elder bro-
 ther, he was educated in a cloister, and had
 even taken the order of sub-deacon, in the

monastery of Winchester; but, upon his
 elder brother's death, a dispensation came
 from pope Leo, by which he was allowed
 to assume a secular life, and to marry. He
 then served, as we have seen before, in
 some of his father's expeditions, with great
 conduct and courage; but never could get
 the better of his indolent disposition.

(1) What the original of the Danes was, themselves are in a great measure ignorant. Danus the giant, son of Humblus, is long since discarded by antiquaries, together with Goropius's derivation from a Henne. Andreas Velleius, a Dane, and a very learned man, fetches it from the Dahi, a people of Scythia; and marc, which does not signify bounds, but a country. Our countryman, Ethelwerd, was of opinion, that the name came from the city Donia. For my part, I have always thought, that they were the posterity of the Danciones, placed by Ptolomy in Scandia, (who, by the change of a letter, are, in some copies, called Dauciones;) and that from thence they unburthened themselves into Cimbrica Chersonesus, which the Angles had left; till the learned and most judicious antiquary, Jonas Jacobus Venusinus, made a very curious discovery of some plain remains of the Danish name in the Sinus Codanus and Cadanonia, which Pomponius Mela mentions in those parts. These names the northern people pronounced grossly, Cdan and Cdanonus; but Mela, to reduce them to the genius of the Latin, made them Codanus and Codanonia; as after-ages mollified Gdanum into Dansk, Clodovæus into Lodovic, Knutus into Canutus. No mention is made of the name before the time of Justinian the emperor, about the year of our Lord 570; for, about that time, they began to make inroads into France: and the Latin writers of the history of England call them Wicingi, from their trade of piracy; Wicinge, as we are assured by Alfric, signifying in Saxon a pirate. They likewise term them Pagani (the Pagans) because, at that time, they were not converted to the Christian religion. But the English themselves, in their own language, called them Deniscan, and very commonly heathen men. Give me leave to set down here what Dudo of St. Quintin, an author of considerable antiquity, has said concerning these Danes, as I had it out of the library of that indefatigable antiquary, John Stowe, a citizen of London, to which I had always free access. “ The Danes, like bees out of a hive for confusion, and after a barbarous manner, with their swords drawn, swarmed out
 “ of Scanza (i. e. Scandia) when their lecherous heat had improved them to such an infinite number. For, when they
 “ were grown up, their way was to quarrel with their fathers or grandfathers, and very often among themselves, about
 “ the estate; the land they then had, not being large enough for them. Upon which, according to an ancient custom,
 “ a number of their young men were mustered by lot, and driven into foreign parts, to cut out their fortunes with the
 “ sword. When they were ready to be dispatched away, their custom was, to sacrifice to Thun, the god whom they
 “ anciently worshipped, not with sheep or oxen, but the blood of men. This they looked upon as the most precious of
 “ all sacrifices; and after the priest had determined, by lot, who should die, they were barbarously knocked on the head
 “ with yokes of oxen, and killed at one stroke; each of those who were to die by lot, having his brains dashed out at
 “ a single blow, was afterwards stretched upon the ground, and search was made for the fibre of the left side, that is, the
 “ vein of the heart. Of this they used to take the blood, and pour it upon the heads of such as were designed for the
 “ march; and imagining that this had secured the favour of the gods, they immediately set sail, and fell to their oars.”
 There was another way, which the Danes had, of appeasing their gods, or rather of running into most detestable supersti-
 tion; which Ditmarus, a bishop, and an author somewhat older than Dudo, thus describes: “ But because I have heard
 “ strange things of the ancient sacrifices of the Normans and Danes, I would not willingly pass them over. There is a place
 “ in those parts, the capital city of that kingdom, called Lederun, in the province of Selon. There they meet once every
 “ nine years, in January, a little after our Twelfth-day, and offer to their gods ninety-nine men, and as many horses;
 “ with dogs and cocks, instead of hawks; being fully persuaded, as I observed before, that these things were most ac-
 “ ceptable to their gods.” Camd. Gib. Ed. p. 205, 206.

A. D. 840.

In the first year of his reign, the restless Danes landed at Southampton, in three and thirty ships. Ethelwulf sent against them Wulfheard, the same general who had served with him in the Kentish expedition, at the head of an army, who attacked and routed the pirates with great slaughter; but to little purpose: for Wulfheard dying immediately after his victory, before his army had retired to quarters, news was brought, that the Danes had made a second descent upon Portland. Ethelwulf again opposed their progress, by sending one Edelhelm against them, at the head of an army, who encountered, and, at first, put them to the rout (1). The Danes, however, rallying, made a second stand, in which the English general unfortunately losing his life, the army of Ethelwulf, now destitute of a head, was obliged to leave the pirates in possession of the field of battle. The Saxon chronicle informs us, that the West Saxons, upon this occasion, were joined by the Dorsetshire men; and Ethelwerd, in his annals, says, that, after Edelhelm had pursued them for some time, he fell, with several other general officers. Next year, the Danes made another descent upon Mercia, according to a modern English historian; but more probably upon Romney (2). Against those, Herebert, an eolderman, was sent, and he too lost his life and the victory. The Danes, upon this, penetrating farther into the country, over-run, with great slaughter, all Lindsey, East-Anglia, and Kent.

[Tyrrel.]

Their progress.

The year following, viz. 839, they marched to London, Canterbury, and Rochester, where they committed most inhuman cruelties. But it appears that plunder, and not possession, was their aim; for we find them making no settlements, their progress being marked by the bloody traces of their swords.

The year 840, according to the Saxon chronicle, roused Ethelwulf from his lethargy; for the Danes, this year, landing at Charmouth, in thirty-five ships, as if success had been to follow the omen of the place and the number, Ethelwulf, hoping to oppose them there with better fate than his father had done, put himself at the head of his army. Our historians inform us, that though the number of the Danish ships was inconsiderable, yet the number of the men they contained was very large. Ethelwulf, however, attacked them, and a bloody battle ensued, in which the Danes remained masters of the field. Let us now turn our eyes a while from the scene of piratical devastations towards a great revolution, which then took place in the north of Britain, and in which the English were greatly interested.

Ethelwulf defeated.

The northern part of Britain, about the year 838, continued to be possessed by the two nations of the Picts and Scots. About

the year 842, Alpin, father to Kenneth, king of the Scots, laid claim, in right of blood, upon grounds foreign to the main design of this history, to the Pictish territories, which then contained more than two-thirds of what is now called Scotland. The Picts, trusting to their power, and disregarding of Alpin's claim, set up Wred, or Fered, of the Pictish blood-royal, as their king. This prince, who, by Buchanan, is called Brudus, was ennobled by his actions, as well as his blood. The Scots, though few, were formidable; their character the most unsubmitting of any we read of in history; their love of domestic independency stronger than that of foreign conquest; in their genius ever finding resources, which repaired the calamities of their fortune; and, rude commotions giving respite, they were far from being uncivilized, or unlettered. The Picts, on the other hand, degenerating in manners in proportion as the Scots improved, looked upon the virtues of their rivals as formidable to themselves, and determined, if possible, to bring them to subjection, or drive them from their seats. Wred, the new-elected king of the Picts, was far from being averse from those dispositions of his subjects. No sooner was he raised to royalty, than he cut off all the straggling parties of the Scots, and obliged them to confine themselves within their own scanty limits; but he knew the character of his own people, and that of his enemies too well, to attempt singly to reduce them. Renewing, therefore, the ancient policy of his nation, he attempted to restore its league with the Northumbrian English, at this time governed by a king of their own. To those he sent ambassadors, with presents; the English accepted the presents, promised aids, but declined performance. The king of the Picts, however, seemed to accept their excuse, which was, the unsettled state of their own domestic affairs; and hoping that at least they would not prove his enemies, he raised the strength of his people, and marched against the Scots, with the resolution to risk his all in one decisive battle. The event proved favourable to the Picts; the Scots were routed, their king slain, and his body treated with an indecency which afterwards cost the victors dear.

Death of the Scotch king.

Alpin was succeeded by his son Kenneth, a prince whose policy was seconded with great valour, and his valour crowned with merited success. By his own example, and an artful stratagem, he roused the almost desponding courage of his country, and brought them to resume their pristine character. In this he was so successful, that he gained a complete victory over the successor of Wred, though supported by a strong body of English mercenaries he had taken into his pay. The indignities done to the Scotch king Alpin, rose full in the minds of

Character of Kenneth, his son and successor.

(1) Mr. Rapin, with his usual candour to the English nation, says, that "this Edelhelm was shamefully beaten and put to flight;" whereas it appears, by the concurrent testimonies of all our old historians, that the very reverse of this is true, and that Edelhelm must have given the Danes a total defeat, had he not unfortunately lost his life.

(2) The word in the original is *Merse-warum*; which does not, as Mr. Tyrrel and Mr. Milton imagine, signify any particular place, but in general the inhabitants of marshes; such as of Romney-marsh, the fens of Lincolnshire, &c.

A. D. 842.

He subdues
the Picts.

the conquerors, during the rout of the Picts, and, regardless of the English escaping, at them they pointed the whole of their fury. A great slaughter ensued of the Picts, and Kenneth, to the right of blood, now added that of conquest.

Reflection
upon the in-
consistencies
of the Eng-
lish and
Scotch histo-
rians.

Our English writers, misguided by the inconsistencies of the more modern Scottish historians, and indulging private prejudices, have, at this period, fixed a general massacre of the Pictish race, and thereby have deprived the modern Scots of the glory of being descended from those Britons who so often had checked the flight of the Roman eagles, and have fixed the character of more than barbarous cruelty upon a great and a deserving prince. For, not to insist upon the inhumanity of this action, it is next to impossible for a nation, so few in number, and recovering from recent loss, as the Scots then were, to exterminate a race so greatly superior in power as the Picts, and who, in such a case, must certainly have found safety in despair. The story of this general massacre (1), when traced to its fountain, flows entirely from the noted romancer Boëce, from whom Buchanan, uncautiously and inconsistently with himself, has copied it; for that writer, in his elaborated dissertations prefixed to the body of his history, has limited the slaughter of the Picts to those of adult age falling in the heat of battle, and through the keenness of the Scots revenge. Besides the silence of all historians, who wrote for three hundred years after this pretended event, we have, from other writers, of the most early and unquestionable authority, positive proofs that the Picts were subsisting in the tenth age (2). But to return to our history.

The kingdom of Mercia had all this time continued tributary to that of Wessex. Withlaf, its late king, had been succeeded by

his brother Berthulf; and a difference arising between him and the Britons, they came to a general battle at Ketell, upon the frontiers of both dominions, in which, some authors say, Mervyne Vrych, king of the Britons, was slain, leaving behind him a son, one Roderic, who, for his actions, obtained the surname of the Great. Between him and the Mercians the war continued, the Britons being supported by the Danes from time to time, and the Mercians by Ethelwulf. The latter, as we learn from the Welsh chronicles themselves, carried their arms into North Wales, where they had many skirmishes with the inhabitants, one of whose kings they slew, after destroying the isle of Anglesey.

In the year 848, Ethelred, king of North-
umberland, was driven from his throne by his tumultuous subjects, and was succeeded by one Redwald. This prince, who seems to have acted pretty independently upon Ethelwulf, lost his life, and the greatest part of his army, in a battle with the Danes, soon after his accession to the throne, at a place called Calvethley. Upon his death, king Ethelred, according to Matthew of Westminster, was again restored to the throne of Northumberland.

In the mean time, the Danes still continuing to harass Ethelwulf's dominions, he resolved to ease himself of some part of the weight of government, by dividing it with his son Athelstan. Some writers are of opinion, that this Athelstan was not son, but brother, to Ethelwulf. Countenance is given to this opinion by the time of Ethelwulf's marriage, which could scarcely admit of his having a legitimate son fit to govern; and, as we have seen before, that the Saxon constitution was averse to all illegitimate successions, there is little room to believe, that so devout a prince as Ethelwulf would break

A. D. 848.

Of Northum-
berland.Athelstan
made king of
Kent.

See p. 285.

(1) This universal disappearance of the Picts, and of their language, gave occasion to Henry of Huntingdon, an English historian, about the middle of the twelfth age, to write, that "the Picts seemed then so far extinct, and their language so utterly destroyed, that all that was recorded of them in ancient history, appeared a meer fable." Upon which, he makes a good moral reflection on the uncertainty of human things. But Huntingdon lived at a distance from Scotland, and was not so well acquainted with the transactions, even of his own time, in the north, between the Scots and English, as was Richard Prior of Hexham, who lived in the time, and near the borders, and gives us this account: That, in the famous battle of the Standard, A. D. 1138, a part of the Scots army, under king David, was composed of Picts, as we shall afterwards more fully set down. However, this extinction of the Pictish language, and of their name, as a distinct people from the Scots, gave rise to the story of a general massacre made of them by king Kenneth; which, by posterior historians, was improved to a total extirpation of the race of Picts, man, woman, and child. So, in the writers after the twelfth age, and downwards, we frequently meet with expressions, importing, that king Kenneth destroyed them; destruxit et delevit Pictos. Fordun and Buchanan make some exceptions, as we shall observe: but Boëce, after relating many general massacres of the Picts by Kenneth's order, brings him in making a most barbarous decree to kill man, woman, and child; and executing it accordingly upon all the remains of the Pictish race, who, he says, had got together in the Utopian city of Camelodunum in Pictland. But, in reality, the story of such a general destruction, and rooting out a whole nation more numerous and powerful than the Scots themselves, is both improbable and repugnant to the truth of history.

(2) The most ancient of the Scotch writers, says Mr. Innes, who lived near to the time of the union of the Picts and Scots, is Afferius Menevensis, who, though in his chronicle he gives an account of the transactions of those times, not only of what passed in Britain, but in France; yet he hath not one word of so remarkable an event as the extirpation of the Picts, which he could not have omitted had there been any such thing, they having been one of the most ancient and powerful nations in Britain, especially having mentioned them on much less occasions. But as a demonstration, that he was far from thinking them extinct in Kenneth's time, he speaks of them by name, A. D. 875, as being, with other people of the island, harassed by the Danes. Moreover, the Saxon chronicle and Ethelwerd, two of the most ancient Saxon writers after Afferius, as they are entirely silent on the pretended extinction of the Picts, so they both mention them as a people still subsisting in Albany, upon occasion of that irruption of the Danes, A. D. 875; and thus much for the ninth age, in which the union was made. That the Picts were still subsisting in the tenth age, and made a part of the subjects of the kings of Albany, or Scotland, we have plain proof from the same Ethelwerd, in his chronicle, A. D. 937; and more particularly from Ingulfus, his cotemporary; who both relate, that the Picts made a part of the army of Constantine, king of Albany, at the battle of Brunford, against Adelstan, king of the Saxons. In the eleventh age we have accounts of the Picts, still known by their own name, in the laws attributed to William the Conqueror, and published by Selden in his notes upon Eadmer. But as that copy of the Conqueror's laws is of little or no authority, we have a certain account of the Picts still remaining inhabitants, at least, of Galloway, and other parts of the west of Scotland, and yet known by their own name, in the eleventh and twelfth ages; and this from a letter of Radulf, archbishop of Canterbury, to pope Callixtus, about the year 1122. In fine, Richard Prior of Hexham, in the twelfth age, informs us, as an eye-witness, of the Picts making part of king David I's army, A. D. 1137, at the battle of the Standard; and calls them, nine different times, by their own proper name of Picts. But it is remarkable, that this author, who lived in the time and in the neighbourhood, informs us, that the Picts were then commonly called Galweyenics.

into

A. D. 849.
Conjectures
upon Athel-
stan.

into the canons of the church, by raising a natural son to the throne. Add to this, that the Saxon chronicle, speaking of Egbert's death, positively says, that he bequeathed to his son Ethelwulf the kingdom of Wessex, and to Athelstan that of Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Suffex. Besides, in the great Alfred's will, Ethelbald is expressly called Ethelwulf's eldest son. Notwithstanding all this, the authority of Asserius and Ethelwerd, with some old writings produced by Mr. Somner, have led almost all our modern writers to believe, that this Athelstan was the son of Ethelwulf. The only way to render this opinion reconcileable with chronology is, by supposing Ethelwulf to have been but a young man when his father drew him from his religious life; and, what is probable enough, that he was soon after married: so that this son might have been old enough for government, even at the time of his father Egbert's death. There is nothing, in our most authentic histories of this time, repugnant to this opinion, and most of them favour it. Be this as it will, it is very possible that Egbert, conscious of the unactive temper of his son Ethelwulf, might nominate the young Athelstan to some part of his succession; and that Ethelwulf might suspend the execution of that part of his father's will till this time. Athelstan took the title of king of Kent, as being the most illustrious of the other kingdoms he possessed. As to his actions, they were chiefly confined to his war with the Danes. In the year 845, the Danes landed at the mouth of the river Parret in Somersetshire. It is probable that they were favoured by the inhabitants of the country; for we find the latter, that same year, fighting with one of the king's deputies. The Danes, however, were attacked by a nobleman, one Osric, and Athelstan, the famous bishop of Sherburn, who were at the head of a strong body of Dorsetshire men. The Danes were routed with great slaughter, and the southern part of England thereby obtained some relief.

But the northern parts, torn by domestic factions, ever afforded those infidels a sure retreat; ever welcome to the weakest party, they found means to keep up perpetual discord, and never failed to carry off, towards the decline of the year, a large plunder. Ethelbert, king of Northumberland, being killed three years after his last restoration, was succeeded by a nobleman, one Oswald, who fell by the sword of the Danes.

The year 849 is distinguished by the birth of the great Alfred, the fourth son of Ethelwulf. He was born at Wantage, in Berkshire; his mother, whose name was Osberge, was a lady remarkable for her piety, as well as her birth. Her father was butler to king Ethelwulf, one of the first offices about his court; his name Oslac, and descended from the two first Saxon princes of the isle of Wight. In the same year, according to Matthew of Westminster, on the 1st of June, Birthfirth, son to the king of

Mercia, perpetrated an inhuman murder upon his cousin Bertwulf, who was grandson to (1) two kings of Mercia. A. D. 851.

In the year 851, the Danes renewed their descents upon the southern parts of England. Having landed upon Ethelwulf's dominions, they committed great ravages; but, at last, were attacked by a nobleman, one Ceorl, at the head of the Devonshiremen, at Wenbury in Devonshire, who gave them a total rout. The same year, according to the Saxon annals, king Athelstan, and Elcher, a nobleman, engaged them in a sea-fight at Sandwich, where they were defeated in a bloody battle, and, after losing nine of their ships, fled with the rest. As this fact rests upon unquestionable authority, we may conclude, that the English, by this time, had become sensible of their great disadvantage in being destitute of naval force, and had been industrious enough to repair it. Their being victorious in the first encounter against an experienced enemy, does honour to the resolution with which they fought; and reflects as much renown upon their courage as the Romans acquired, when, in like circumstances, rude in naval affairs, they attacked and defeated the fleet of Carthage. But it were to be wished, that our historians had left us some particulars, with regard to this remarkable victory.

The Saxon annals, in relating the other transactions of this remarkable year, inform us, that the Danes, notwithstanding their late defeat, landed in the mouth of the Thames with no less than three hundred and fifty ships. They then took Canterbury and London. Being opposed by Bertwulf, the king of Mercia, his army was routed, and himself obliged to fly. They then seem to have carried their arms southward, to have passed the Thames, and to have penetrated into Surry. It is more than probable, that the indolence of Ethelwulf had given the Mercians an opportunity of throwing off their allegiance to his family; and that the Danes found their advantage in the differences subsisting between the two courts. It is not to be supposed, that, if there had been any harmony between them, they would have met so formidable an enemy in scattered bodies, and thereby given them an opportunity not only of ravaging the country, but of threatening even its conquest. Ethelwulf and Athelstan seem to have been very unconcerned, while the Danes were making this formidable progress on the other side of the Thames; though I shall not be positive that this was not owing, in part, to the manner in which those Pagans made war, and which discovered the spirit rather of plunder than of conquest, as well as to their animosity against the Mercians. But Ethelwulf, when the war was come to his own doors, threw off his indolence, and called forth all the hereditary virtues of his family. The number of his army is not mentioned; but the greatness of that of the Danes may be easily conceived, by the great

The Danish
progress in
Northumber-
land.

Alfred the
Great born.

The Danes
continue their
ravages.

The Danes
land at the
mouth of the
Thames;

take Canter-
bury and Lon-
don.

(1) Orig. Nepos, which Tyrrel translates nephew; but the words of Matthew explain, that he means his grandson.

A. D. 853. number of ships in which they landed, even supposing two-thirds of them to have been small craft and fly-boats. Be that as it will, both armies met at Okely in Surrey, where, after a desperate battle, the English proved victorious; and the slaughter of the Pagans, says my author, was such as can scarcely be credited. Roger Hoveden, and other English historians, though extremely inaccurate in the chronology of this king's reign, tell us, that this was the most considerable battle and victory that had ever been fought or gained in England. I am inclined to believe them, without exception even of that fought between Boadicea and the Romans. But we may well imagine, that the fortune of the English prince, next to his own valour and good conduct, was greatly owing to the Danes being incumbered with plunder, and losing their military discipline in the confidence of victory.

but are subdued by Ethelwulf.

[Matthew of Westminster.]

Ethelwulf makes an alliance with Burhed, king of Mercia,

and defeats the Welsh.

The Danes winter in the isle of Thanet, and receive continual supplies.

Ethelwulf, by this victory, effaced all the memory of his former indolence; and Berthulf, the fugitive king of Mercia, dying, that throne was filled by Burhed, a prince more agreeable to Ethelwulf, who, therefore, afterwards, made him his son-in-law, and entered into an alliance with him, in the year 853, for assisting him in his wars against the Welsh. We are told, by the Saxon annals, that not only Ethelwulf, but the principal men of his kingdom, were parties in this alliance, which was begun by way of petition from the Mercian states. Ethelwulf agreed to their terms, and marching through Mercia with a strong army, he attacked the Welsh with such success, as obliged them to come into Burhed's terms.

Notwithstanding the late prodigious defeat of the Danes, that hydra-headed people were, as yet, far from being driven out of England; for we find them this very year wintering in the isle of Thanet, where, it is probable, they kept their communication by sea so open, by means of their naval power, that they were receiving continual supplies from the continent. Here we shall leave them collecting all their strength for that general inundation, which soon overspread the face of this land, and rendered it once more a scene of blood and horror.

Where there is a natural bias in the soul to one affection, it requires a continual counterpoise to direct it in its right course. Ethelwulf had been too indolent hitherto, tho' he had a numerous inhuman enemy to deal with, which never suffered him to indulge his ruling passion. But it is now time to attend him from the field to the closet, where we shall have an opportunity of bemoaning the havoc which bigotry makes among the fairest works of God.

The particular time of Athelstan's death is not marked; but it is certain that it happened soon after the battle of Okely. I have some reasons for believing that he fell in that battle. Ethelwulf, after his death, put himself into the hands of two ministers, both of them bishops, though of very different characters. The first was Swithen, bishop of Winchester, who, with all the

Ethelwulf swayed by Swithen and Alstan, two bishops.

fawning adulation which impotent minds pay to high stations, was continually encouraging the king in his beloved disposition, under the pretence of pious and Christian duties; and, either too weak, too ignorant, or too wicked, to reconcile, in his doctrine to his master, the obligations he owed to his God, as a Christian, and to his people, as their father, he so artfully smoothed the inviting down of indolence, that Ethelwulf, at last, sunk into the fatal lethargy. The other favourite of the king was Alstan, bishop of Sherburn. What we know of this honest man is the most amiable of characters, though we have it from an author who writes under professed prejudice against his person. This prelate had, for a long time during the late reign, borne a principal sway in Egbert's councils; his dispositions fitted him for the times: by courage and experience he was qualified to head an army; and, by piety and charity, to preside in a bishopric. His authority in the government was great; his large revenues were expended in supplying, by turns, the necessities of the poor, and of his prince; while the boldness of his spirit rendered him a sharp, though seasonable, monitor to Ethelwulf. It was, in a great measure, owing to this prelate's remonstrances, that the late war was carried on with such spirit and success against the Danes. But now Ethelwulf, in peace, found a more dangerous enemy than he had experienced in war. It was in vain for his honest bishop to animate him, by setting before his eyes the example of his illustrious ancestors, and the yet verdant laurels of Egbert. Ethelwulf, insensible to every motive but danger, supinely gave himself up to the guidance of Swithen, who, laying the love of the clergy as the basis of his master's affections, there erected a monument, whose fatal trophies England had long cause to mourn. The Anglo-Saxon princes had hitherto exerted a liberality to the church verging towards profusion; but this prelate pushed his prince to transgress the bounds of generosity, of liberality, and to launch into profusion, nay, into madness. The particulars shall be recounted in the state of the church, as belonging most properly to that division; but as some circumstances may be considered in the light of civil transactions, as having great political effects, I must mark them here. In the mean time, I am far from hinting, that a just, a decent, nay, a generous, provision ought not to be made for the church; but never to the enervating the state, and giving rise to claims inconsistent with both spiritual and temporal liberty.

In the year 853, after his return from the Welsh expedition, Ethelwulf began to be so far infected by Swithen's insinuations, that he laid himself out on all hands to express his zeal for the see of Rome. The sweetness and the graceful beauty of the young Alfred, joined to a capacity above his age, had rendered him the darling of his parents. He was, as yet, not quite five years of age; and Ethelwulf thought of dignifying him with some remarkable honour.

A. D. 853. Swithen fooths him in his indolence.

The character of Alstan.

[William of Malmesbury.]

He endeavours, but in vain, to animate Ethelwulf;

who, giving himself up to the guidance of Swithen,

becomes profuse to the church.

Ethelwulf sends his young son Alfred to Rome.

A. D. 853.
Sir John Spelman.
Conjectures
on his reasons.

A modern writer of Alfred's life informs us, that several reasons were assigned for this conduct. Some people imagined, that it was in order to receive unction from the pope, to qualify him, as David was by Samuel, for the government of some kingdom, perhaps Kent or Suffex, in which his father meant to invest him. Others pretend, that Ethelwulf had a miraculous commission to dispatch his son upon this journey. But there is strong reason for believing, that, by a convention between him and Burhed, the king of Mercia, Ethelwulf was to be indemnified for his expences in the Welsh war, by either part, or the whole, of the conquered country. And some British annals expressly say, that Ethelwulf, after subduing South Wales, bestowed it, together with Suffex, upon his son Alfred (1). This fact is strongly supported by a passage in an author, cotemporary with Alfred himself, I mean Asserius, by which we learn, that Alfred, in the year 884, was possessed of this country; and, by many passages which we meet with, which prove, that, before he came to be sole king, he commanded a separate body, though under his brothers.

Alfred receives unction from the pope.

The young Alfred was received by pope Leo IV. with the greatest marks of affection, and obtained from him the ceremony of unction. There is no passage, in the Anglo-Saxon history, which gives us any reason to believe that their kings were anointed; but if, as I have already hinted, Ethelwulf destined Alfred to the government of Wales, this ceremony of unction may be well accounted for. A passage in (2) Gildas gives us strong reasons to believe, that it was the custom of the ancient Britons to anoint their kings. To perform this unction by the hands of the pope, instead of those of the British clergy, was well worthy the character of Ethelwulf, and perhaps was not displeasing to the Britons themselves, by this time greatly reconciled to the authority of the pope. I hope the reader will pardon this conjecture of mine, which is offered only to clear up a passage so greatly perplexing to all our antiquaries, and so grossly misunderstood by

our modern historians. As to the expediency of anointing this prince so young, that may be easily accounted for on the face of the history. The great affection his father had for him, would not suffer him to leave him, in his tender years, if he himself should die, to the mercy of his brethren, especially his eldest son, who was, by this time, discovering evident signs of discontent. The ceremony of unction, and his adoption by the pope, put, as it were, a seal of distinction upon the person and dignity of the young Alfred; and, in that superstitious age, was the strongest guard to his infancy. So that, upon the whole, there is no need to have recourse to any ridiculous presage entertained by pope Leo IV, who was a man of virtue and sense, as if he had foreseen Alfred was one time to have enjoyed the crown of England. But more of that soon.

It was during Alfred's stay at Rome that Alcher and Huda, at the head of the Kentish, and the Danes in the isle of Thanet; made another attempt to drive the Danes quite out of England.

They accordingly attacked them in the isle of Thanet, and, at first, bade fair for a complete victory; but the Danes, taking courage from despair, and driven to the sea-side, so furiously attacked the English, that the two noblemen I have mentioned were killed, and victory seems to have declared for the Danes. Our histories tell us, that a great many were drowned on both sides, and that the battle was fought with all imaginable courage. In the same year the nuptials between Burhed, king of Mercia, and the daughter of Ethelwulf, were celebrated with great splendour at Chippenham.

The honour done by the pope to young Alfred, put his father upon giving the see of Rome a farther, and the utmost, testimony of his gratitude. The Danes, in the year 854, had wintered in the isle of Sheppey; and I am apt enough, with some historians, to believe, that the perpetual trouble he lived in from those pirates, contributed not a little to the resolution he had

(1) If we are to believe an old manuscript in rhyme, mentioned by Weaver to be in the library of Edmund Cotton, Esq; Ethelwulf held a parliament at Chester. This is by no means unlikely, and that it was held at that time. I shall transcribe the rhymes themselves.

Adelwolfe hys sonne, att Chester hys cite,
For al hys kyngs and barons of estate,
Sent forth anone at hys parlament to be,
Whyche att Chester was than preordynate;
To whyche al cam, both kyngs, duks and prelat,
And odar al of honor or empyrse,
Hym for to do obeysaunce and ferysse.
Anone to Rome he went,
In pylgrymage, wythe hooly good entent;
Wher he was so abydyng full too yer,
In hooly lyff and full parfacyon,
In ryall wyse, as to a pryncs afer.

(2) The words are as follow: Ungebantur reges non per Deum, sed qui cæteris crudeliores extarent; et paulo post ab unctoribus non pro veri examinatione trucidabantur, aliis electis trucioribus: that is, "Kings were anointed not of God, but such as were eminently cruel; and soon after they were made away, without any form of justice, by their anointers, others more cruel being chosen in their stead." These words plainly imply, that there was an unction besides an election. Mr. Tyrrel says, "It is much disputed among some of our modern historians, of what the pope anointed Alfred king; whether of any present, or else future, dominions. But, since an ancient manuscript in the Cottonian library (containing an history of the kings of England) says expressly, that he was anointed In successorum paterni regni, and that we do not read of any territories king Alfred enjoyed till after the death of his brethren, it is most reasonable to understand it in the plain literal sense, as it is here set down, not only in those annals, but in Asser's account of this king's life and actions; that the pope anointed him king, as a prophetic presage of his future royal dignity." Tyrrel, p. 262. But Mr. Tyrrel is here mistaken; for we shall prove, that Alfred had territories of his own before the deaths of his brothers: besides, his conclusion is directly against the sense of the Saxon annals, which tell us positively, that Alfred was anointed king, and that the pope adopted him for his son.

taken,

A. D. 855.
Ethelwulf
grants, by
charter, the
tythes of his
kingdom to
the church.

taken, of bribing heaven to be on his side. Accordingly, this year, he granted a charter, dated at his palace at Wilton, by which he gave the tythe of his kingdom to the church. Some writers are fond of making a distinction between the charter granted at Wilton, and that afterwards past in an assembly of the states at Winchester; but, I own, I can see little reason for this distinction. That granted at Wilton was granted by consent of the bishops, noblemen, and the whole peers of the realm; and is given for the tenth part of the lands throughout his kingdom, no mention being made of the royal domains, nor any exception as to his other subjects. As we shall have an opportunity of examining this point elsewhere, I shall here only observe, that Ethelwulf repeated this charter, or something like it, next year, in another assembly of his states at Winchester. But whether there is an error in the dates, either in our historians or the charters themselves, as if the full grant had not been made out till after the return of Ethelwulf from Rome, is not, I think, of the importance which some writers have affixed to it. It is sufficient to say, that this grant, in the main, is allowed, on all hands, to be authentic (1).

In the year 855, Edmund, though only fourteen years of age, was made king of the East-Angles. Asserius informs us, that he too was anointed with oil, by bishop Hunberg, the next year. Thus, as I observed before, unction about this time began to be looked upon as the seal of authority, marking the persons of our kings as sacred and inviolable, and the most awful guard their tender years could receive. We know of no enemy that this year infested England. The Danes were either too weak, or had entered into a treaty, which gave Ethelwulf some respite. Accordingly, he now meditated to put in execution what he had long in his eye, I mean, a journey to Rome in person. The young Alfred was too great a favourite to be exposed, in his absence, to the resentment of his discontented brothers; his father, therefore, took him along with him. Being received at Rome with great honour

by pope Benedict III. he went in a solemn procession, with great attendance, to St. Peter's church; where he offered a crown of pure gold, with other gifts becoming royal magnificence, and gratifying at once the avarice and vanity of that see. He likewise restored the English college at Rome to great splendour, it having been burned down for some time before; increased its revenues, and added to its privileges. For this purpose he made a present to the pope of three hundred mancuses, or merks, the greatest part of which was to be expended in tapers for the churches of St. Peter and Paul, which he obliged himself to pay yearly during his reign (2). After a year's stay at Rome, he set out upon his return for England; but stopped at the court of Charles the Bald, king of France; where he married the fair Judith, daughter to that prince, though very unsuitable to himself in years.

A. D. 855.
His liberality
to that see.

In his return
he marries
Judith,
daughter to
the king of
France.

While Ethelwulf was thus alternately burning in the flames of religion and love, the Danes remained in the isle of Sheppey, watching for a fair opportunity of again invading England. This could not but give the most sensible concern to every true Englishman. The nation, now destitute of its common father for near two years, may be said to have been left to itself, for its defence against a powerful and a merciless enemy. We know, from history, of no regency appointed by Ethelwulf, during his absence, though he had now sons of adult age. Add to all this, that his dotage seemed daily to be increasing; so that, if there ever was a juncture, in which a people might be justified in changing the object of their allegiance, it was this: for Ethelwulf, by withdrawing his protection, seemed to release his subjects from their obedience; duties which ever ought to be mutual between the governor and the governed. Alstan, that gallant patriot and bishop, was, at this time, in high reputation with the people; it was, therefore, his duty to stretch forth his hand to save his sinking country. Accordingly he concerted with Ethelbald, the prince-royal of Wessex, and Eanwulf, the Earl of Somersetshire, how they might best put the

Ethelwulf's
indolence pre-
judicial to the
nation.

Alstan and
Ethelbald con-
cert how to
settle govern-
ment.

(1) The words of the first charter are: "I Ethelwulf, by the grace of God, king of the West Saxons, with the advice of the bishops, earls, and all the persons of condition in my dominions, have, for the health of my soul, the good of my people, and the prosperity of my kingdom, fixed upon a prudent and serviceable resolution of granting the tenth part of the lands, throughout our whole kingdom, to the holy churches and ministers of religion, officiating and settled in them; to be perpetually enjoyed by them, with all the advantages of a free tenure and estate. It being likewise our will and pleasure, that this unalterable and undefeasible grant shall for ever remain, discharged from all service due to the crown, and all other incumbrances incident to lay-fecs.—Which grant has been made by us, in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed virgin, and all saints; and out of regard to the paschal solemnity, and that God Almighty might vouchsafe his blessings upon us and our posterity." This charter is engrossed and signed, in the year of our Lord DCCCLIV. Indiction the second, at the feast of Easter.

(2) I cannot help here giving the particulars of Ethelwulf's liberality, as we have them from Anastasius, the pope's library-keeper, who was then at Rome. His words are as follow: *Hujus temporibus, rex Saxonum nomine — causa orationis veniens — ad limina apostolorum cum multitudine populi obtulit dona B. Petro apostolo coronam ex auro purissimo, pens. lib. 4. Baucas ex auro purissimo duas pens. libras. Spatham cum auro purissimo ligatam. Item imagines duas minores ex auro purissimo. Gabathas Saniscas de argento exaurato quatuor. Saraca de olovero cum chrysoclaro, 1. Camisas albas sigillatas holosericas cum chrysoclaro, et vela majora de fundato duo. Et ipse rex Saxonum, postulante sanctissimo Domino Benedicto, ut faceret rogam in ecclesia B. Petri apostoli publicam de pondere auri vel argenti librarum — episcopis, presbyteris, diaconis, et universo clero, et optimatibus Romanis tribuit aurum, populo vero minutum argentum. Et postmodum finita orationis causa reversus est ad propria.* "In his times, the king of the Saxons, attended by a great retinue, presented to the temple of St. Peter the apostle, a crown of the purest gold, weighing four pounds, with basons of the same, weighing two pounds each; a long sword, adorned with the purest gold; two small images of the same; four porringers, silver-gilt; one purple cloak, with a golden border; two white surplices figured, all of silk, with borders of gold, with large veils reaching to the ground. And the English king himself, at the request of his holiness pope Benedict, that he would make a public alms of gold or silver in the church of St. Peter's at Rome, gave to the bishops, presbyters, deacons, clergy, and nobles of Rome, gold; and to the inferior people, silver. Afterwards, having finished his business, he returned to his own country." This is sufficient to give the reader some idea of the magnificence and riches of this prince, and his prodigious liberality to the see of Rome.

A. D. 855.

Ethelwulf's
fondness of
his bride,draws on him
the resentment
of his sub-
jects;who form a
party against
him.

government upon a firmer foundation. Other circumstances of less importance contributed to their disgust and apprehensions on this occasion. Ethelwulf's open partiality in favour of the young Alfred, gave his other sons room to suspect that he intended to deprive them of their birthright; but they received a more justifiable handle from his illegal fondness for his young bride. To understand this, the reader may remember the exile of Egbert, and the death of king Brithric, by means of queen Ethelburg. This gave the West Saxons so high a detestation of queen consorts, that a law was made to deprive all that should afterwards be of that station of every outward distinction of royalty; but Ethelwulf, disregarding of this law, ordered that his young consort should be entertained in a chair of state, and all the respect of majesty paid her. This circumstance heightened the apprehensions of Ethelwulf's family as if the king had now given himself up to foreign counsels, and by disregarding the laws of his country, was resolved to be arbitrary; so that they very loudly intimated their discontent upon his return to England. Afferius (who was himself a priest, and under great obligations to Alfred, therefore justly to be suspected of partiality in his relation) tells us, that the conspirators are said to have entered into engagements, not to admit Ethelwulf again into the administration of royal power. But the same author informs us likewise, that a great many people

believed that the bishop and the earl had no hand in this engagement, but that it was entirely owing to the untractable disposition of Ethelbald the prince royal. The historians of those times pretend, that the king's party, upon this occasion, was by far the strongest; and that it was entirely owing to lenity and love of peace in Ethelwulf, that the prince and his party were not driven out of the kingdom. But when we take the whole of the story together, it appears, as I have already stated it, that the principal noblemen of Wessex thought Ethelwulf had forfeited his right to the crown, or, at least, that he should be bound down to certain conditions if ever he were readmitted to the throne. As to Ethelwulf's moderation upon this occasion, we cannot think it entirely voluntary, considering the great power conferred against him, and that he was now swayed by a young wife, who, we may suppose, was without neither ambition nor vanity. Upon the whole, therefore, I am apt to believe, from the aspiring character of Ethelbald, that the conditions afterwards obtained from the father, were procured by the mediation of the good bishop Alstan (1). For all historians agree, that a treaty was soon set on foot, and a partition of the kingdom, between Ethelwulf and Ethelbald, was agreed upon; the father contenting himself with the kingdom of Kent, which included Essex and Suffex; and the son being declared king of Wessex.

Reasons of
Ethelwulf's
lenity to
them.The kingdom
divided be-
tween Ethel-
wulf and his
son Ethelbald.

ETHELWULF in Kent, and ETHELBALD in Wessex.

A. D. 857.

Ethelwulf's
will.

ETHELWULF lived not quite two years after his return from Rome, and these he spent in acts of devotion, and preparations for a future life. His chief care was directed how to prevent any competition among his sons after his death; for this purpose he ordered his will to be made, which, by Afferius, is termed a commendatory epistle, probably because addressed to his children. By this his hereditary dominions were bequeathed to his two elder sons; so that all the alteration it admitted of, in this respect, was, that his second son succeeded to the dominions he himself died vested of. His personal estate he divided between his sons and his daughter; and made several other pious dispositions; particularly one, which ordained, that his successors, throughout all his hereditary lands, should maintain, out of every ten families, one poor person (either native or stranger) with meat, drink,

and apparel; always provided that the land did not then lie waste, but was cultivated by men and cattle. Ethelwulf did not long survive the time of his making this destination, which contained many more particulars too minute to be inserted here; and, upon his death, was buried at Winchester, after having reigned about twenty-one years. We know of no material civil transaction, which happened between the partition of the West Saxon monarchy and the death of Ethelwulf; for it is probable the Danes, during this period, discontinued their ravages in England, while Ethelbert, his second son, succeeded to the kingdom of Kent.

A. D. 857.

His death.

Ethelbert
succeeds him.

Nothing remarkable has come to our hands that happened during this last partition of the West Saxon monarchy, only we are told, that Ethelbald greatly degenerated, and married his father's relict; but this is very improbable, because not mentioned by Afferius.

(1) Mr. Rapin, according to his usual way, throws all the dirt he can upon the character of this excellent prelate. I have stated the case of the conspiracy as I find it in Afferius, Malmesbury, Huntingdon, and our other most authentic historians. But Mr. Rapin has made bishop Alstan a very devil. He makes his resentment against Ethelwulf a matter of revenge, for the latter's giving himself up to Swithen; and introduces him as haranguing Ethelbald in a long conversation, and persuading him to shut his father up in a monastery; which pernicious counsel the son agreed to. One should have thought, that the writer of an English history would have been extremely cautious how he had destroyed the merit of so great a man as this bishop appears to have been. An Englishman would, if he could, consistent with the duty of an historian, throw a veil over the defects of such a man; and if obliged to repeat them, repeat them with regret and reluctance. How then must the reader be surprized when I inform him, that though Mr. Rapin quotes the life of Alfred by Afferius and Malmesbury, for all the ridiculous blackening stuff he has thrown out on this occasion, yet there is not a syllable of it to be found in either of these two authors, nor, that I know of, any English historian, ancient or modern, excepting Mr. Rapin himself?

4. E T H E L B E R T.

A. D. 860.
The Danes
land at South-
ampton;
are driven to
the isle of
Thanet.

ETHELBALD dying in 860, according to the Saxon annals, the Danes landed at Southampton, and advanced to plunder Winchester; but they were so warmly received by the English generals, that they were obliged again to set sail, and land in their sure refuge, the isle of Thanet. This account is according to William of Malmesbury, who informs us likewise, that the Kentishmen, upon promise of some money, had agreed to suffer the Pagans to live there in quiet; but that the latter, making nocturnal excursions into Kent, the Christians had obliged them to confine themselves to their

own quarters. But the Saxon annals speak, as if the Danes had actually taken Winchester; but that they were engaged and defeated by Osric of Southampton, and Ethelwulf of Berkshire.

A. D. 866.

Our historians agree in giving Ethelbert a good character; that he imitated the virtues of his father and grandfather. His reign was undisturbed by any intrigues at his court, or among his own subjects; and he died, to the great grief of the English, in the year 866, being buried at Sherburn, near the corps of his brother.

Ethelbert's
death and bur-
ial.

5. E T H E L R E D I.

A. D. 866.

The Danes
land at East-
Anglia.

The occasion
of this de-
scend.

HE was succeeded by his younger brother Ethelred, probably in virtue of king Ethelwulf's will, because it is plain that Ethelbert left posterity. This prince's reign was full of action and disasters. In his first year, a large body of (1) Danes arrived in East Anglia; the occasion of which being very particular, though somewhat surprising, I shall give to my readers, and endeavour to reconcile to chronology and common sense the great discrepancy among our historians at this period.

Lothbroch, king of Denmark, was a prince greatly addicted to field-sports; and one day happening to go a hawking in a boat, a diversion, to this time, common in that country, the tide carried him into the sea, and the wind then drove him upon the coast of England. Being thrown upon the shore of East-Anglia, he soon introduced himself to the court of the young Edmund, then governing that country, and equally addicted to rural sports. The king's falconer, in a short time, found himself supplanted both in the credit of his office, and the affections of his master, by this unknown stranger; and, deluding him into the woods, privately murdered him. The death of Lothbroch being providentially discovered by the fidelity of a dog, who was seen often to repair to the place where his master's body lay, the huntsman was taken up upon suspicion; and, upon confession of his guilt, doomed to be put into the same boat which had carried Lothbroch

into England, and exposed to the mercy of the winds and waves. Providence drove him upon the coast of Denmark, where he was carried before Inguar and Hubba, the two sons of the murdered king. The boat was sufficient evidence against him; and he, to excuse himself, affirmed, that their father was murdered by Edmund, the king of the East Angles. Though I have given the substance of this story as I find it in Matthew of Westminster, and from him transcribed by our other historians; yet it has too much the air of a romance, for it to be true in all its circumstances. That there was some foundation for it in fact, is, I think, extremely probable, since the Danish historians themselves give us reason for believing, that this Lothbroch, whom they call Regner (both names certainly implying the same person) was murdered somewhere in the Britannic islands. But, as their histories of this time are full of much greater inconsistencies, both in point of chronology and credibility, than our own, it is but justice to prefer the latter, whatever inaccuracies or heightnings may be in some particulars.

A. D. 866.

The two Danish princes, highly incensed against Edmund, immediately fitted out a large fleet, and landed on the coast of East-Anglia. Arriving there, Edmund either found means to inform them of the truth of their father's death, if he really did die in that country, or they perceived themselves too weak to undertake any expedition without farther supplies. The East Anglians, on

(1) Asserius tells us, that the Pagans, who invaded England at this time, came from the Danube. As we know of no Danes inhabiting about the Danube, Sir John Spelman, in his life of Alfred, imagines that they must have been Normans, the words Norici and Normanni being promiscuously used for one another, in the same manner as Daci for Dani. But the same learned gentleman entertained a very extravagant notion, when he thought, that it was not impossible for the Norici, who, according to him, inhabited both sides of the river Danube towards its head, to march down to Basil, at a time when the Rhine was so high swollen as to carry small boats; and so sail quite down the Rhine, till they got into Friseland, and from thence over to England. It is true, the sources of the Danube and the Rhine are not far distant from one another; but it is upwards of two hundred miles from any navigable part of the one river, to any navigable part of the other. It is likewise true, that Charles the Great, a little before this time, had some thoughts of joining the two rivers; but, after a fruitless essay, found it to be impracticable. But the fact is, that it is but very lately the Norwegians were called Norici; and that the Norici never did inhabit towards the sources of the Danube, but were seated about Ingolstadt, and the eastern parts of Bavaria. So that, upon the whole, the appellations of Norici for Norwegia or Norway, Daci for Dani or Danes, are of the same kind with what we find here in Asserius, who certainly, by the word Danubius or Danubia, means no more than Dania: none of them arose from any vicinity of the people, but from a similarity of the words. The curious reader, on this subject, will find an excellent note to the Latin translation of Spelman's life of Alfred, p. 11; where he will find this matter fully discussed.

A. D. 867. the other hand, dreading the often-experienced ravages of the Pagans, were far from provoking them, and shewed all imaginable disposition to live with them in friendship.

A convention between them and the East-Anglians.

The great number of horses then in England. Afferius.

The two people, thereupon, entered into a convention, on condition that the English should furnish their guests with a certain number of horses. From hence it appears, that the vessels, in which these barbarians had been transported, had either been too small to bring over cavalry, or that they had neglected to bring any along with them. We may likewise, from this circumstance, form some notion of the great number of horses which this island was then capable to supply, since our old historians remark, that they were able to form the greatest part of their army here into hussars, the only species of cavalry to which I can compare them.

In the mean time, a new scene opened in the north, which gave the Danes an opportunity beyond their wishes of making their fortunes there. The king of Northumberland's name, at this time, was Osbrith. This prince, one day recreating himself abroad with a few attendants, resolved to dine at the house of one of his officers, called Bruern-Brocard. This nobleman happening that day to be absent from home, having the charge of guarding the sea-coasts, the king was entertained by his wife. The elegance and politeness with which he was served, gave him some surprize; but the charms of the lady herself converted all into a violent love for her person. After dinner, the monarch, who, in a short time, had made great progress in a passion which is impatient to be gratified, handed the lady out of the room, and, pretending private business, led her into her own apartment. We must, for the honour of the fair sex, suppose, that her resistance was very violent, that the monarch was very potent, and that she was, at last, ravished in her own house, surrounded by her own servants, and by the prince she had so generously entertained as a guest.

The king immediately returned to York, and, some days after, the unfortunate husband came home. Either resentment, or remorse, by this time, had made great devastations on the beauty of the fair dame; her husband, with concern, saw her complexion pine, her features lose all their sprightliness, and a melancholy languor settle in her eyes. The alteration was too visible for her to conceal the truth; and, says our historian, she punctually informed her husband in what manner the king had dealt with her. The disconsolate Bruern, equally full of rage and love, kissed the tears from her eyes, telling her, that her sincerity had confirmed her in his affections; but, at the same time, vowing revenge on the author of her wrongs.

who resents it, gets together a party,

Buern had great interest, great relations, and great merits, in his own country; but his injuries, in the abused honour of a beloved wife, were the most effectual advocates for strengthening his party. The violated rights of hospitality were detestable to an

English heart; and the story of the rape needed only to be heard, to beget universal indignation against the ravisher. Calling together, therefore, the whole strength of his party, he advanced towards York, where Osbrith resided. So formidable an appearance in such a cause, at once alarmed the monarch, and awakened him to all the sense of his guilt; but he thought proper to dissemble, and invite Bruern to his court. Bruern had too gallant a mind either to accept of the invitation, to stifle his resentment, or to continue under any farther obligations to the ravisher of his honour. With his friends at his back, he renounced his homage, he rendered back his lands, and disclaimed his allegiance; and then, without more, he left the royal presence. He then, according to some historians, by advice and consent of his friends, went over to Denmark, where he consulted with the king of that country upon the means of dethroning Osbrith. As the Danes were then governed by several princes, there is no inconsistency in what our historian tells us, that the Danish king's name, to whom Bruern applied, was Guthric, or Gudrun. But I am apt to believe, that Bruern, instead of going to Denmark, went to East-Anglia, and addressed himself to Inguar and Hubba, with a proffer, if they would assist him, to put them in possession of the kingdom of Northumberland. What makes this the more probable is, that we learn, from the same historians, Bruern himself was of Danish extraction, and therefore might be the more easily prevailed upon, by his passion, to assist those detestable enemies in conquering Northumberland.

A. D. 867. advances towards York to Osbrith,

renounces his allegiance to him.

solicits the assistance of the Danes.

While Bruern was thus employed in seeking the means of vengeance, his party, which was very powerful in Northumberland, found means to effect a revolt of the whole kingdom of Bernicia from Osbrith, and to declare Ella king, though not of the blood royal. This civil dissention proved a farther incitement to the Danes; so they resolved to take advantage of it, and march directly into Northumberland. What became of Bruern appears not; but it is probable that his friends, either did not imagine, or repented that he was gone upon so fatal an errand as to excite an invasion of his country. Bruern's foreign extraction was a colourable pretence for his returning to his own countrymen; but his friends, as Englishmen, could not approve the ends of this invasion. Accordingly, hearing that the Danes had sailed from East-Anglia, and, landing at the mouth of the Humber, were marching directly to York, all parties among them dropped their private animosities, to unite against this common enemy. The conjunction, however, of Osbrith and Ella's party was not quick enough to prevent the Pagans from seizing upon York, from whence they marched, thinking that the divided kingdom would fall a cheap prey into their hands. But the union of the two kings, by this time, had raised so formidable an army, that the Danes, bold and exulting as they were,

The kingdom of Bernicia revolts from Osbrith,

and declare Ella their king.

The Danes invade Northumberland, seize York,

A. D. 868. were, thought fit to retire, and take shelter within the walls of York. The Northumbrians impolitically chose to push their apprehensions into despair, and, in that, the Danes found their safety. York was then surrounded with somewhat like a wall; but this being soon stormed by the Christians, the Danes resolved either to escape, or to sell their lives as dearly as they could. The effort they made to escape proving successful, they improved it into an attack. An universal slaughter, flight, confusion, and desolation immediately follow, within and without the walls. The two Northumbrian kings fell in the heat of the action; the Danes remain masters, while the Northumbrians are either cut in pieces, or taken prisoners. But the Danes, upon this occasion, acted more politically than their enemies had done before; for they made a bridge of gold to those that fled, and granted them safety upon conditions.

and make a terrible massacre among the Northumbrians.

Thence they march into Mercia, and seize Nottingham. Burhed, king of Mercia, applies to Ethelred for assistance. Ethelred and Alfred besiege Nottingham;

but are obliged to capitulate with the Danes.

The year 868 is distinguished by a great famine in England, and by the marriage of Alfred to the daughter of Ethelred, eolderman of the Gani (1), surnamed the Mikel. In the mean time, the Danes having settled their affairs in Northumberland, resolved to extend their conquests over the rest of England. Accordingly they marched into Mercia, and advanced as far as Nottingham. This alarmed Burhed, the king of Mercia, and he applied to Ethelred for assistance. Ethelred knew too well the fatal consequences of the Danish progress, not to be glad of this opportunity of joining his forces with the king of Mercia. Accordingly he and his brother Alfred set out, at the head of an army, and, joining the Mercians, laid siege to Nottingham, in which the Danes, thinking themselves unable to encounter the combined armies, had shut themselves up. It would appear that Nottingham was then better fortified than York; for the English, too weak either to carry the town, to force a battle, or perhaps to subsist, considering the famine that then raged in the country, were obliged to grant the Danes an honourable capitulation, and suffer them to retire back to Northumberland. We find the Danish army at York in the year 869; and that the famine, by this time, was attended by a plague. The disappointment of the Danes, with the averfeness of their manners and religion to Christianity, had now exasperated them so far, that they launched into the most boundless cruelty. Matthew of Westminster informs us, that this year they put to the sword all the English that fell in their way; but perhaps we ought to confine this charge to the barbarities they committed in the religious houses. These were the most inviting scenes of plunder, which was still the great aim of the Danes, both on account of their rich endowments, and their being the repositories of private wealth in times of public confusion. Add to this, that the Pagans met here with objects to gratify their lust, as well as their avarice. The behaviour of Ebba, abbess of Coldingham in Yorkshire, is mentioned on this occasion, to the immortal honour of herself and her nuns. Understanding that her nunnery was to be attacked next day by the Danes, she called her nuns together, and laying before them the character of that nation for lust and cruelty, informed them, she was resolved to preserve her chastity at the price of her beauty. Upon which, setting the example herself, she cut off, with a razor, her nose and her upper lip; in which she was followed by all the sisterhood present. The two Danish generals, Inguar and Hubba, repairing hither next day with a party, were struck with the horrible appearance of the maids, in whose arms they promised themselves so much pleasure: the disappointment begot rage, and rage, cruelty; which ended in an order to shut the nuns up within the monastery, and to reduce the whole to ashes. The like fate, though not with the like merit, attended most of the other monasteries and religious houses in the north of England. Particulars would be tedious to mention.

A. D. 869.

The cruelty of the Danes upon the religious houses.

The remarkable behaviour of the nuns of Coldingham.

The Danes, now fully masters of Northumberland, over-awing Mercia, and fearless of Wessex, resolved to resume their first intention, and to gratify their revenge upon the king of East-Anglia. Accordingly, quitting the north, in the year 870, they marched through Mercia, and advanced into the East-Anglian territories as far as Thetford. Various are the adventures which our authors have assigned, both to the Danes and English, in the course of this campaign; but as they are too minute and too tedious to enter into a general history, and yet too important to be entirely omitted, the reader may consult the notes (2): it is sufficient here,

The Danes march into East-Anglia.

(1) From whence Gainsborough.

(2) Ingulphus (a writer who lived about the time of the conquest) and the book of Peterburgh, printed at London in 1723, from him, gives us a very particular account of all these matters; and they have been very industriously collected by Mr. Tyrrel, as follows: — Winter being ended, the Danes took shipping, and went into Lindisse in Lincolnshire; and landing at Humberstan, spoiled all that country; at which time that famous and ancient monastery of Bardney was destroyed, the monks and all others being slain in the church without mercy; and when they had there stayed, wasting the country for the whole summer, about Michaelmas they did the like to the country of Kesteven, in the same province, where they committed the same murders and desolations. The same year, in the month of September, count Alger drew together all the youth of Hoyland (now called Holland) in Lincolnshire; with two knights, his fenescals; Wibert and Leofric, who marched in the head of them; together with a brave body of two hundred men, belonging to Croyland-abbey; who being all stout fellows, were led by one Toly, then a monk, but formerly a famous soldier among the Mercians. These taking with them about three hundred stout and warlike men more from Deping, Lantoft, and Boston; to whom also joined Morehar, lord of Brunne, with his strong and numerous family; and being met by the sheriff of Lincoln, a valiant and ancient soldier, with the Lincolnshire forces; all which mustering together in Kesteven, on St. Maurice's day, they joined battle with the Pagans, where God gave them the victory, three kings being slain, with a very great multitude of soldiers. The Christians pursued the Pagans to their very camp, where finding a stout resistance, night at last parted them, and the earl drew back his army. But, it seems, there returned that night to the Danish camp all the rest of the princes of that nation, who, dividing the country among them, had marched out to plunder. Their names are barbarous, and too long to be repeated: but their chief kings were Godrum and Bassig; and their earls or leaders, Hingar and Hubba; with others, who then returned with great forces, and a multitude of captives, and a great deal of spoil. And their coming being known,

A. D. 870.

are opposed
by Edmund,
who is mar-
tyred.

here, that, with the Saxon annals, and our most approved historians of those times, I inform him, that they were opposed by Edmund, king of East-Anglia, who first lost the battle, and then his life, in such a manner as has entitled him to the honour of martyrdom. The death of Edmund reduced East-Anglia entirely under the power of the

Danes, who, we must suppose, were still fed with new supplies from their own islands and the continent; so that Ethelred was now the only power who could oppose them.

A. D. 871.

In the year 871, the Danes abandoned East-Anglia, having left one Guthrun to govern it; and advanced into Wessex, as far as Reading in Berkshire (1). The reader, from the

the greatest part of the Christians, struck with terror, fled away; whilst those that were left, early in the morning, after hearing divine service, and receiving the sacrament, being resolved to die for Christ, and in defence of their country, marched into the field against their enemies. But the earl, perceiving his forces to be too much weakened, appointed friar Toly, with his five hundred men, to fight in the right wing, because they were the strongest; and earl Morchar, with those who followed him, as also the sheriff of Lincoln, making other five hundred, in the left wing; whilst he, with his seneschals, kept the main body, as ready to help either wing if there were occasion. But the Danes, being now enraged at the slaughter of their men, having buried their three kings at a place which is thence called Trekingham; afterwards two kings and eight counts marched out, whilst the rest guarded the camp and captives. But the Christians, because of their smaller number, drawing themselves up in one body, made with their shields a strong testudo against the force of their enemy's arrows, and kept off the horse with their pikes; and thus, being well ordered by their commanders, they kept their ground the whole day. But though they remained unbroken till night, and had still withstood the force of their enemy's arrows, their horses, being then tired, began to flag. The Pagans, feigning a flight on purpose, seemed to quit the field; which the Christians perceiving, although their commanders forbade and opposed it, yet, nevertheless, breaking their ranks, were all dispersed through the plain without any order or command. But the Pagans, returning like lions upon a flock of sheep, made a great slaughter among them; while the stout count Algar, and friar Toly, with some soldiers, getting upon a rising ground, and being drawn up into a round body, did for a long time endure the Pagans' insults: and when the said earl, and other captains, saw the stoutest men of their small army slain, they got upon the thickest heaps of the Christian dead bodies, and there being resolved to sell their lives as dear as they could, they fell down dead, having received many wounds; only a few young men of Sutton and Gedeney, flinging away their arms, fled into a neighbouring wood; and so escaping, came the night following to the monastery of Croyland, and there related the slaughter of the Christians, and the loss of their whole company; which when they had told at the church-door, with great lamentations, the abbot and monks, being extremely confounded at this ill news, resolved to keep only with them the elder monks, and some few children, to provoke compassion; and so sent away all the younger men, together with the reliques, jewels, and charters of their monasteries, by boat, to the wood of Ancarig, adjoining to their island; where they stayed, with one Foret an anchorite, four days, being thirty in number, whereof ten were priests. But the abbot having hid the rest of the plate, with the rich table of the altar, and put on his sacred vestments, and had, with his brethren, said mass and communicated; they had scarce finished all this, when the Pagans breaking into the church, slew abbot Theodore at the altar, who perished by the hands of their king, Oketule; all the rest, as well old men as children, being also slain, except one handsome boy of about ten years old, who (being intended for a monk) was saved by count Sidroc the younger, and stripping him of his habit, put on him a Danish coat, ordering him to follow him wherever he went; and so the boy sticking close to him, his life was saved; and he alone escaping, gave a relation of what he had seen. But the Danes, when they had broke open the tombs of St. Guthlak, and the princes there buried, and finding no more plunder, set the church on fire, and burnt the dead bodies that were in it together. Four days after the destruction of Croyland, the Danes marched towards the monastery of Medeshamstede (now Peterburgh) where finding the gates locked, they began to make an assault upon it; but receiving a repulse, at the second assault, Juba, the brother of count Hubba, being knocked down with a stone, was carried off for dead; whereat Hubba was so enraged, that breaking into the monastery, he slew all the monks that came in his way; while the rest of them destroyed the others, till at last all perished: so that, in short, the monastery was wholly destroyed; and the church, together with a noble library of books, and all its charters were reduced to ashes. But the fourth day after this, the Pagan army, having got together all the spoil they could, marched towards Huntington: but in their way thither, as the two counts, Sidrocs, brought up the rear of the army, which had now passed the river Nene, two waggon-loads of rich moveables happened to be sunk in the ford, as also the beasts that drew them; in getting out of which, while Sidroc and his men were busied, the boy, Turgar, slipped away into the next wood; and walking all night, about break of day he got to Croyland, where he found the monks returned again, and busy in quenching the fire as well as they could, to whom he related all that happened; and discovering where the body of the abbot and most of the monks lay, they removed the rubbish and buried them; and then, having chosen Godric, one of the monks that escaped, for their abbot, they were resolved to go and do the like pious office for the late prior and monks of Medeshamstede; where arriving, they buried the bodies of above fourscore monks in one grave in the church-yard, placing over them a pyramidal stone of about a yard high, whereon were carved the images of the abbot and monks about him, which was to be seen in Ingulph's time. In the mean time, the Pagans spoiling the country as far as Grant-bridge (now Cambridge) they then fell upon, and burnt, the famous nunnery of Ely, killing all that were therein, both men and women, and carrying away a great deal of riches, which had been brought thither from all parts for their better security: from whence they passed over into the country of the East-Angles, where they slew earl Wulketule, coming against them, and making a stout resistance with his small forces; from whence they marched against king Edmund himself. The Danes, having now spoiled the country, and routed the king's army, came on a sudden upon a certain city, and taking it by surprise, they killed the inhabitants and ravished the women, sparing neither age nor sex; but when they had pretty well satiated their fury, Inguar, their captain, examined some of the ordinary people that were left alive, where their king used to reside.—But here our author supposes the king never yet to have resisted them, and therefore that they would first seize on him, to prevent him from raising any forces against them; which is not at all likely, especially since the Saxon annals tell us expressly, that king Edmund had already fought against them, and been put to flight. But this seems more probable, that the king, being then fled to one of his houses in the country, called Heglesdune, was by the Danes discovered; whereupon Inguar sent one of his servants on a message to him, the substance of which was, “That earl Inguar, his lord, commanded him to deliver up all his treasures, and that he should submit himself and his kingdom to his power; which, if he refused to do, he should then be deprived both of his kingdom and life.” To which the king answered, “That he would never renounce the vow he had made in baptism; and being made king by the general consent of the whole people, he was resolved never to do any thing to the prejudice of the common-weal of the English, nor ever to submit his neck to any yoke but that of Christ, whose example he now intended to imitate, and by his grace would suffer for his name.” And so he bid the messenger return, and tell this to his master. It seems the king had no sooner finished what he had to say, but, as the messenger was going back with this answer, Inguar himself met him; to whom having told what the king had said, he immediately commanded his men to enter the palace, and to lay hold of none but the king; and he, being there soon found, was immediately tied and brought before the captain, who commanded him first to be cruelly beaten, and then bound to a neighbouring tree, to be inhumanly whipped; all which he manfully endured, still calling on the name of Christ: whereat his enemies being enraged, in a most barbarous manner shot his body so full of arrows, that it seemed capable of receiving no more; yet none of the wounds killing him outright, Inguar, at last, commanded one of his soldiers to cut off his head; which our author describes with a great deal of monkish eloquence.

(1) I have related the whole of these wars with the Danes from the pure fountains of our old historians, always chusing After (who lived at that time, and therefore must be supposed best acquainted with the incidents, as being intimate with king Alfred) and the Saxon chronicle for my guide. The two stories, viz. that of king Lothbroch's death, and that of Bruern's dishonour, I have related, not as indubitable or material facts, but because the most early historians, after the conquest, have transmitted them without any manner of doubt. On the other hand, Mr. Rapin has given such a scope to invention and conjecture, as, were it indulged, must overthrow and destroy the credit of all history. I know he thought himself safe in these liberties, because they were such as but few people had the opportunities of contradicting or disproving; but I will venture to say, that whoever will take the pains to compare his narrative of those times, with what alone ought to be the standard of truth, I mean our most early and creditable historians (nay, I will go so far as to say, all our historians) he will find not one fact fairly represented, not one incident truly stated, nor the least order of time preserved. I thought of making a few collections of his blunders and inventions; but found myself so distracted by the multiplicity, that I can

A. D. 871. the character of the times, may easily judge, that the political dependency, established by Egbert upon his own family and succession, had, by this time, been greatly neglected. Ethelred, from a concern for the common fate of England, as we have seen, had made a vigorous essay to rescue the Mercian dominions from the Danish war. The capitulation that had been granted to the Danes at Nottingham, by what has dropt from our historians (1) was very disagreeable to Ethelred, and agreed to by the Mercian only upon temporary considerations, to free his country from the immediate ravages of war; it was no wonder, therefore, if Ethelred resolved not to expose his forces in conjunction with so timid allies as the English princes were. At the same time we are to reflect, that the latter, perhaps, considered it as very dangerous, to receive any assistance from a prince, who, if once entering their dominions and proving victorious, might thereby have re-established a claim of superiority, which, of all things, they most dreaded. It is likewise extremely probable, that the kingdom of Wessex, as yet free from the miseries of war, served as an asylum to the persecuted English throughout Northumberland, Mercia, and East-Anglia, and the other parts that had felt the Danish devastation. From all these causes Ethelred found himself sufficiently strong to repel force by force. I shall not, with a modern historian, think it either tedious to my reader, or impracticable for myself, to attend this war through its several scenes. The struggle, upon this occasion, made by our English prince, does honour

Conjectures upon the state of war at this time.

Rapin.

to his name and nation; it would, therefore, be unjust and ungrateful to omit it here.

The Danish army was commanded by two generals, named, by Huntingdon, Bafreg and Alden. Their army was very numerous, and, for some time, made a full stop, as if they had been deliberating how to proceed. The result of their deliberation was to intrench themselves, by cutting a communication between the rivers Kennet and Thames; and, in the mean time, to send out strong detachments to plunder. Ethelwulf, a brave eolderman in that country, observing their situation, and that the detachments they had sent out had greatly weakened the main body, resolved to attack them, and, if possible, to anticipate the honour of the victory before the royal brothers, Ethelred and Alfred, could come up. Accordingly, as I understand our historians, he attacked the strongest detachment at a place called Englefield, and a bloody action ensued, in which the English remained masters of the field; while the Danes were obliged to fly to their intrenchment, after leaving one of their principal leaders dead upon the spot: but the English general found them too well posted for him to push his advantage farther.

Alias Bacseg and Halden.

The Danes intrench themselves.

Ethelwulf attacks one of their strongest detachments, and routs it.

This happy omen of victory quickened the march of the two English princes, who coming up upon the third day after, were joined by the brave Ethelwulf and his body, so that, in all, they had a very considerable force. The first thing they did, was to cut off all the scattered detachments of the Danes, which were foraging or plundering the country, and then they shut their main

Ethelwulf joined by the royal brothers.

do no more than appeal, for my own vindication with the public, to the original manner in which our historians have mentioned those facts, desiring the ingenious to compare that with what I have offered to their perusal, and then let them judge. The only excuse Mr. Rapin can have is, the discrepancy between the English and the Danish historians; but how can this consideration have the least weight with a man who knows any thing of letters? The English historians (some of them) wrote at the time, and many of them very soon after those transactions happened. They were present on the spot; they had opportunities of information from the Danes themselves, after they were settled in England; and they were men eminent in letters for that time. The Danes of those days, and some time after, were Pagans, without the use of letters, or at least none which have come to our hands, the professed enemies of learning, Christianity, and the English nation. The best Danish historian we have of those days, is Saxo Grammaticus, whose history was published by Stephanus, in the year 1644. This author was provost of the cathedral church of Roschild in Denmark, and died in the year 1204. He owns, that, for his history, he was obliged, for the most part, to the Icelandic ballads, which were composed by a set of people resembling the ancient bards of the Scots and the Druids. Without impeaching the authority of those fanatical ballad-mongers, we are only to observe, that Saxo is accused, by Arngnim Jonas (vid. Stephani prolegomena ad Saxonem, p. 37.) with not dealing fairly even by those authorities. And another Danish writer complains of the same thing; and intimates, that he aimed at the character rather of a polite, than a faithful, historian. Cotemporary with Saxo was Sweno Aggonius, whose work likewise was published by Stephanus, after being left imperfect by the author. This Sweno, who I believe was a very honest man, has a great many very marvellous stories, as well as Saxo, who was a man of letters for his age; but he informs us fairly, that the whole of his history rests upon the traditions and stories of the vulgar. What credit, therefore, is due to such historians, will be best gathered by the reader's reflecting, that between the time I am now writing of, and their age, above three hundred years intervened. A great gulf of time, and, I may venture to say, impervious to truth, through the palpable darkness that filled it. The Norwegians, indeed, have two historians more early than the Danes; but their credit too entirely rests on the same rotten and uncertain foundation, I mean the rhimes of the bards, and the traditions of the common people. The name of the first of those historians is Theodoric, who was a monk, and lived in the year 1130, which, by the by, was upwards of 130 years after the Norman conquest in Britain. The name of the other, who is later, is Storro Sturlæsonius. Both these authors frankly confess the charge I have already mentioned; and the former very fairly acknowledges, that the northern history of his time was only to be found ab Icelandorum antiquis carminibus, "from the old rhimes of the Icelanders." From what I have said, the reader can easily form a judgment by the historians of which nation a modern writer ought to be determined; by those who confessedly build on frantic rhapsodies, at a great distance of time, or men of learning, reputation in the world, in high stations, and living at the age, and upon the scene, when the transactions happened, or, if not, very soon after; but with all the opportunities of consulting authentic records. Such are Asserius, Ethelwerd, Ingulphus, and the authors of the Saxon chronicles; not to mention Malmesbury, Huntingdon, and others, living near those days, all enjoying great opportunities of information. Those are the authors I have strictly followed, excepting where discrepancy among themselves hath invited conjecture, which then becomes a latter historian's duty; but is ever urged with diffidence. But Mr. Rapin, so far from this, has not been determined even by the northern historians themselves. He seems to have sat down possessed with the rage of writing the history of England; to have got hold of a few general facts, from an index or the contents of a book; and, as Mr. Locke says on another occasion, after seeing a little, he presumed a great deal, and then jumped into the conclusion. I am sorry to be thus severe upon the memory of any gentleman; but the duty I owe to the public, and my own vindication, have extorted it from me. The difference between us rests entirely upon facts, of which every man may make himself a judge. The authorities on which Mr. Rapin wrote were the same to him and to me; by those alone, and by none other, the merits of both histories, with regard to veracity, must be determined, and to them I appeal.

(1) The Saxon chronicles tell us plainly, that there happened only a slight skirmish before Nottingham, and that the peace was concluded by the Mercians. And Asserius tells us much the same thing, that peace was made between the Mercians and the Danes upon this occasion.

A. D. 871. army up in Reading. By what appears, the English of those days were but very awkward besiegers of a place, and took no great precaution, after they had once laid siege, about the security of their army, as if imagining that an enemy's retiring within walls was the same thing as capitulating for safety. This inadvertency has, upon several occasions, as we have already seen, proved fatal to their arms, and upon this occasion more especially; for the Danes, collecting all their force, made so vigorous a sally, that they drove the English from the walls with great slaughter, after a very hot dispute, in which Ethelwulf, the late victorious eolderman, was killed.

They again encounter the Danes at Aston.

The disposition of the two armies.

This early check, perhaps, was of advantage to the Christians, as it put them more upon their guard in their conduct, and, instead of daunting, gave a new edge to their courage. Four days after, the royal brothers again assembled their forces, and a general battle was fought at Æscfudne, now Aston, in Berkshire. The Danes, who had, by this time, received considerable reinforcements, that day had two principal leaders, who were called kings, and several other generals of inferior rank; they therefore divided their army into two bodies, allotting the one to their kings, and the other to their generals. Ethelred made the like disposition, and took the command of that body which was to fight the kings upon himself, allotting that which was to encounter the generals to his brother.

Alfred, eager to wipe out the stain of the late defeat, was early in the field, watching the motions of the Danes; and seeing them drawn up in order of battle, sent a messenger to his brother Ethelred, to hasten him into the field. Ethelred, thinking that appeasing the divine displeasure, which had, a little before, delivered him over to the hands of his enemies, was of more importance towards victory than any human precaution or courage, was then at prayers within his tent; nor could he be prevailed upon, by any alarm or apprehensions of danger, to leave his devotion unfinished. Alfred, in the mean time, unable, of himself, either to withstand his enemies, who were advantageously posted, or to prevail with his brother to take the field, was in the utmost perplexity whether to fight or retreat. The Danes, soon sensible of this, attacked him with great fury, and were received with equal intrepidity by Alfred. Asserius, though agreeing in the main as to the battle, yet has given the honour of the whole day to his young hero Alfred; for he tells us, that Alfred, unable longer to have the enemy in his eye without engaging them, and disdaining a retreat, bravely attacked them in a close body before they came up. He says, that the Pagans had the advantage of a height, and that the Christians attacked them

Alfred engages the Danes,

from below: that the hottest scene of the battle happened round a short thorn-tree, which he himself had seen; but that the Pagans, no longer able to resist the prodigious efforts of Alfred's army, were at last put to flight, with great slaughter. It would appear, by this relation, as if Alfred had been engaged not only with the body of Danes commanded by their generals, but with that commanded by their kings, which ought to have been his brother's charge; for he tells us, that, upon this occasion, one of their kings, Bafreg, was killed, with five of their generals, and several thousand common men, while a great many fell in the pursuit, all over the plains of Æscfudne.

A. D. 871. and routs them.

But as the Saxon chronicle, and another old author, do not intirely go into this manner of relating the battle, I am willing, with them, to believe, that the young Alfred did indeed engage the whole Danish force; but that they must have overpowered him, had it not been for the seasonable interposition of his brother, who, by this time, having finished his devotions, charged the enemy, now almost exulting with victory, so opportunely, that the victory fell to the English. Upon the whole, the event of the day was glorious to the English, who pursued their enemies into Reading, which they still held.

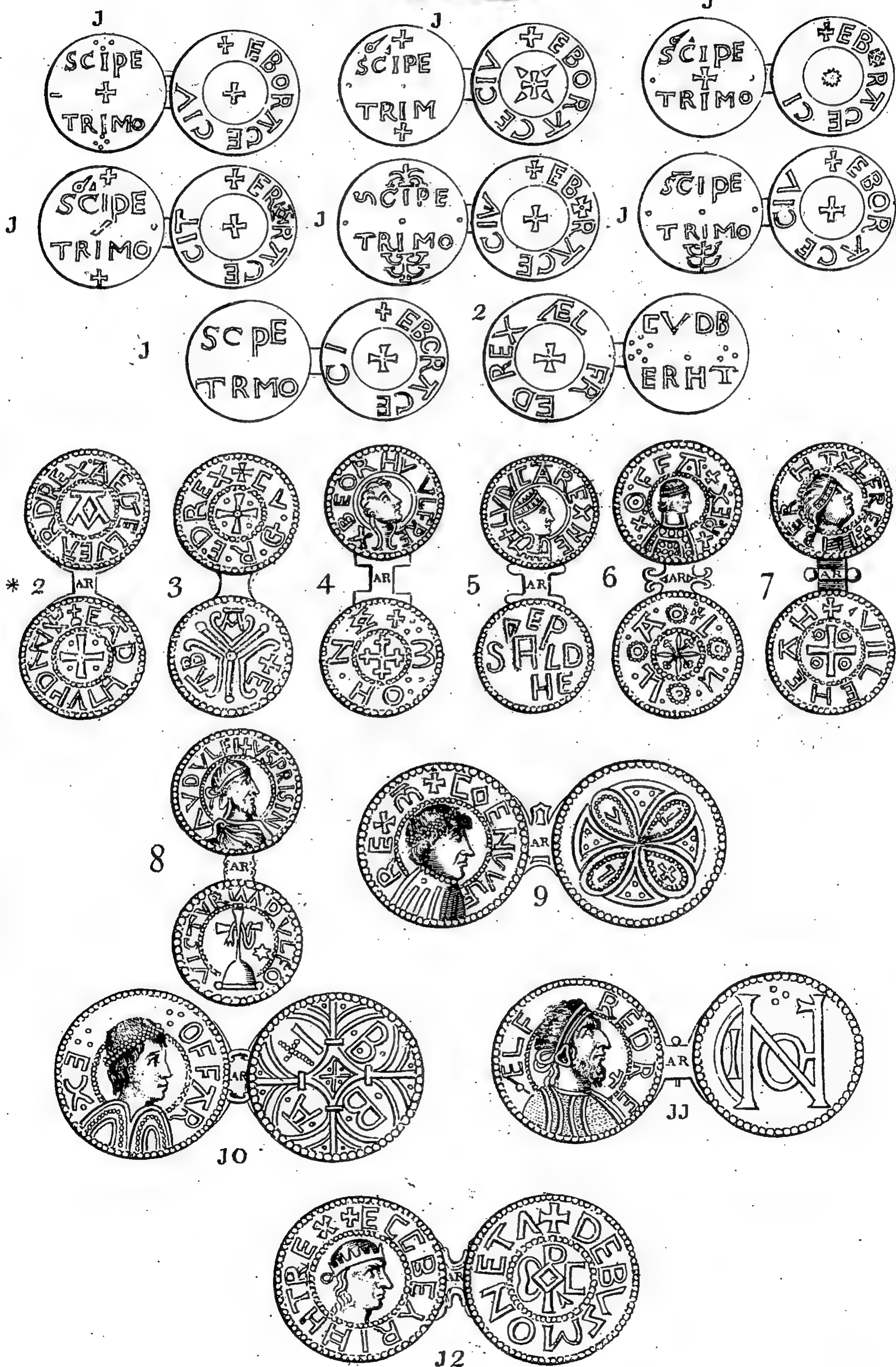
But providence, ever unsearchable in its ways, was resolved to humble the English by a reverse of fortunes; for the royal brothers having encountered the same enemy, about fourteen days after, at Basing in Hampshire, received a defeat. Soon after, at Merton, they had another battle, in which the English, at first, were victorious; but afterwards were defeated by the Danes, leaving a bishop, Heahmund, and several other brave men, dead upon the field: but the greatest loss of all, was the brave Ethelred, who, in this battle, received his death's wound. Those battles were all of them fought within a very short time of one another. The supplies of Danes which were pouring daily into the kingdom, and encreasing their armies, were prodigious; so that, in every battle, the English had to encounter a fresh army. It is, therefore, to the immortal honour of the West Saxons, who were unaided and unsupported by the other princes of England, that they could so long make head against so formidable an enemy.

The royal brothers defeated by the Danes at Basing, and soon after at Merton.

Ethelred's death.

An inscription given us by (1) Mr. Camden, makes Ethelred to have died in the year 872; but, as this inscription is but modern, we are to believe it mistaken. Those authorities likewise make no mention of the wound he received at Merton; nor of his having received it fighting against one Sommerled, a Danish king, who had just destroyed Reading, according to Bromton. But be this as it will, he died at Wittingham, and was buried at Winburn in Dorsetshire, greatly lamented.

(1) In hoc loco quiescit corpus sancti Æthelredi regis West Saxonum, martyris, qui anno Domini dcccclxxii. xxiii die [Mr. Camden, Brit. p. 158. ed. ult. omits die] Aprilis per manus Danorum Paganorum occubuit. But the Saxon annals, Florence of Worcester, &c. tells us, it was ann. 871 that he died in; who are rather to be believed, because the inscription seems to be modern. Hearne.



EXPLANATION of the COINS in Plate I.

THE head, on the top of the plate, is undoubtedly of Alfred the Great, according to Mr. Walker; and, with another, was dug up while the workmen were founding Brazen-nose college in Oxford, upon the spot where one of Alfred's palaces stood.

The first seven coins, marked (1), are different coins, stamped at York, of St. Peter's money; but whether they were struck for Peter's pence, or Romeſcot, is uncertain. Their inscriptions are as follow: The first, SCI PETRI MO, sancti Petri moneta, the money of St. Peter; reverse, EBORACE CIV. The second, SCI PETRI M; reverse, EBORACE CIV. The third, SCI PETRI MO; reverse, EBRACE CI. The fourth, SCI PETRI MO; reverse, ERRACE CIT. The fifth, SCI PETRI MO; reverse, EBRACE CIV. The sixth, the same as the first. The last, SC PETR MO; reverse, EBORACE CI. Upon the fifth and sixth there are figures which our most learned antiquaries, I think, have not attempted to explain; but, if I mistake not, they are designed for the candlesticks of St. Peter's at Rome, the original intention of paying these pence being for providing lamps and candles.

The coin marked (2), is certainly of Alfred the Great, who had a particular devotion for St. Cuthbert. The inscription is, ÆLFRED REX; reverse, CUDBERHT.

The coin marked (* 2), is probably of Ethelward, or Ethelhard (see p. 139) king of Wessex. The inscription, AÆTHELVEARD REX; the reverse, EADMUND, who was the mint-master.

That marked (3), is of Cuthred king of Kent (few coins of that kingdom are extant). The inscription, CUTHRED REX; the reverse, EABA. See p. 131.

That marked (4), is of Beornulf, of whom see p. 162. Inscription, BEORHVVLFR REX; reverse, MOHN, perhaps for (moneta) money.

That marked (5), is of Ludican, or Ludecan, of whom see p. 193. The inscription, LUDICA REX NE; the reverse is unintelligible, and misrepresented by Mr. Thoresby in the late edition of Camden.

That marked (6), is of Offa. See p. 159. The inscription, OFFA REX; the reverse, LULLA.

That marked (7), is of Berhtulf, a tributary king of Mercia. See p. 199. The inscription, BERHTULF REX; the reverse, VIILEHEAH.

That marked (8), is of Adulf king of the East Angles. See p. 156. The inscription, AUDULFIUS PRISIN; reverse, VICTURIA ADULFO. Our antiquaries are silent with regard to the meaning of the reverse, which seems to be the elevation of the brazen serpent.

That marked (9), is of Ceonwulf, or Kenulf, king of the Mercians, for whom see p. 162. The inscription, COENVVLFR REX M; reverse, LUL.

That marked (10), is of Offa, probably the same who was king of the East Saxons. See p. 143. The inscription, OFFA REX; the reverse, IBBA.

That marked (11), is by some thought to be a coin of Alfred the Great, and, if so, is very valuable; but others think it belongs to Alfred king of Northumberland. See p. 151. I shall give my reader Mr. Hearn's reason for ascribing this coin to Alfred the Great. "I believe, says he, that the city of Norwich was either repaired after some devastation, or else, that it had some addition made to it by him: for in one of his coins, published by the ingenious Sir Andrew Fontaine, there is a monogram, which Mr. Edward Thevates, in his notes upon these coins, has ingeniously guessed to be Civitas Northvicum; and I believe it was occasioned by his benefaction to the place; unless we rather think, with others, that it only denotes that it was coined here. I know, indeed, that Mr. Walker and some others, with whom Sir Andrew seems to agree, are of opinion, that this coin belongs to Alfred king of Northumberland; but what overthrows this opinion is, the head itself, which does not much differ from the heads of king Alfred the Great, which Mr. Walker himself has published. Nor indeed was Norwich a place of any note in the time of Alfred king of Northumberland, as Mr. Camden has very well observed in his discourse upon that place: not now to insist upon the wreath which incircles the head, and is more agreeable to the times of Alfred the Great, than those of Alfred king of Northumberland; and for that reason, Mr. Selden, in his titles of honour, mentions it as his, and places it among his other observations concerning coronation in the western parts, after the time of Charles the Great." The inscription, ÆLFRED RE; upon the reverse, a cypher, or monogram, for which see above.

The last coin, marked (12), is of king Egbert. See p. 191. The inscription, ECGBEARIHHT REX; the reverse, DEBLSMONETA; the monogram makes EBORACUM.

6. A L F R E D.

A. D. 871. **I**N introducing my reader to the history of this father of the English constitution, I must point out to him, as an inscription over the porch of Alfred's glory, his character, as drawn by Huntingdon. Rude indeed it is, but drawn with an elegance surpassing that common to the times he lived in, and with such justice to his memory, as the friends of our hero must be pleased to see.

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem
(Armipotens Alfrede) dedit; probitasque laborem:
Perpetuumque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.
Si modo victor eras, ad castina bella pavebas.
Si modo victus eras, ad castina bella parabas.
Cui vestes sudore jugi, cui fida cruore
Tincta jugi, quantum sit onus regnare, probarunt.
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,
Cui tot in adversis vel respirare liceret.
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finisse labores,
Jam post transactos vitæ regnique dolores,
Christus ei sit vera quies, sceptrumque perenne.

This I shall beg leave to attempt in English.

“ Oh thou! whose joys ne'er flow'd unmixt with care,
“ Thy dawning hope still dash'd with gloomy fear.
“ Thou, Alfred, glorious in the fields of blood,
“ By lineage royal, but by nature good.
“ By goodness led to gen'rous toils, where fame,
“ With all her trophies, covers all thy name.
“ When victor, you to-morrow's success fear'd;
“ When vanquish'd, you to-morrow's dangers dar'd.
“ Now from thy sword you wipe the blood of foes,
“ And now the sweat of labour from thy brows.
“ What price of greatness must the monarch pay!
“ What cares, what anguish, load the purple sway!
“ Thy fate, with more than mortal woe, was prest,
“ Alike, by conquest and defeat, distressed,
“ In that, a stranger to the balm of peace;
“ In this, disdainful of inglorious ease;
“ Till death, all humbling, to thy wishes brought
“ The crown you fought for, and the peace you
“ fought.”

Alfred began his reign in the year 871, himself having seen but twenty-two. Great were the advantages and disadvantages with which he mounted the throne. Happy in the love and confidence of his subjects, who, under him, young as he was, thought themselves next to invincible; or, if defeated, yet, he at their head, they never desponded. The example which Alfred, while his father and brothers lived, had set, of filial and fraternal piety, enhanced his character. Ethelwulf had left him an independent fortune, his right to which had been recognized by the late king, in his father's life-time; but his elder brothers, unmindful of this destination, had seized his demesnes; and Ethelred, though more pious than the other

two, thought it impolitic, amidst the public distractions then reigning, to dismember from the crown of Wessex so large a portion of territory. Alfred, either from conviction that the private injustice done him redounded to the public good; or from a generous concern for the peace of his country; or perhaps reflecting, that, as he was next successor, the whole must, at last, come to him; and that it was extremely convenient for him to be near his brother's person, as well to prevent any secret cabals to his prejudice, as to assist him in his wars and government: from some or all of these reasons, I say, he served, unrepining, in a second station, during all the war with the Danes. Succeeding in right of Ethelwulf's appointment, which was confirmed by the late king's nomination, we find no disputes about his right.

But, to counterbalance all these considerations, the Danes were in the heart of his dominions; the heptarchy distracted, or dismembered; the enemy pouring daily in from the continent; their fleets commanding all the sea-ports for their admission. So comfortless a situation must have damped any other spirit than that of Alfred; but as he had but one point in view (I mean the deliverance of his country from the Danish yoke) to that he directed all his efforts.

I shall pass by what some historians mention, as if Alfred, on consideration of the melancholy circumstances of the kingdom, had declined proffered royalty. This, in him, would have been downright affectation, and an injustice to his country. But he had not been a month upon the throne before he was obliged to take the field against the whole power of the Danes, himself at the head of a far inferior force. The enemies rendezvous was at Wilton in Wiltshire, exulting and insolent, from the superiority of their numbers. Their strength, which was hourly growing, and the ravages they were incessantly committing, seems to have determined Alfred, or his generals (for it is uncertain whether he was present) notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, to attack them. This was done with such success, that the Danes were routed, after great slaughter; and the English had compleated their victory, had they not, through meer fatigue of the field, lagged in pursuit. This gave the Danes an opportunity of knowing at once the fewness and lassitude of the English; ashamed to be beaten with such odds on their side, they took advantage of their enemy's weakness, renewed the charge, and made shift to keep the field of battle.

A defeat, attended with such glorious circumstances, was more than conquest; as was said, upon such another occasion, by the king of Epirus, when engaged with the Romans. Such another victory must have undone the conquerors. Alfred's conduct proves this to have been his sense; for
a mutual

A. D. 871.

A. D. 873. a mutual (1) treaty being entered upon, the vanquished insisted and obtained, that the victors should depart the West Saxon dominions.

In consequence of this treaty, they marched from Reading to London, at that time immediately subject to Burhed, king of Mercia, who durst not dispute their progress; but had, before the end of the winter, which the Danes past in London, cause to repent him of his timorous conduct: for, breaking the convention they had entered into with him, the Danes ravaged his country with unspeakable fury; and yet he was forced again to make peace with them, upon condition, probably, that they should leave his dominions.

Next year, which was 873, we find them wintering at Turfige, now Torfwick, in Lindsey, then a part of the Northumbrian dominions, and laying the neighbouring nations under contribution, or harrassing them with devastations. In this year, according to Simeon of Durham, died Egbert, king of Northumberland, and was succeeded by Ricfige (2); while the Pagans, unable, perhaps, to subsist longer where they lay, returned and renewed their ravages in Mercia. Hitherto they seem to have entertained no thoughts of making a settlement here. Their head-quarters appear to have been, for some time, at Reading; but leaving that, they sojourned wherever the plenty of the country, or the weakness of its inhabitants, afforded them means of subsistence. One should think, upon the face of the history, that their migrations offered fair occasion for the English to unite and clear their country of such invaders; but union is a blessing withheld from an infatuated race. Such the English were at this time. For the experienced unsteadiness of Burhed gave Alfred just grounds for jealousy, and rendered him averse from trusting to an alliance, which, if unfaithful, must have proved fatal to his own dominions.

It was at this time the Danes first gave indications that they wanted to change their roving for a settlement in the English dominions. No country was so inviting for that purpose as Mercia, now governed by a weak prince, destitute of credit both with his people and allies. Advancing, therefore, to Rippon, in Derbyshire, they renewed their ravages. It would appear, that Burhed, though ill-beloved by his subjects, could not have been so easily insulted, had it not been for the disunion within his own kingdom; for the Danes, notwithstanding their power and numbers, entered into se-

veral treaties with them, which they as often broke, probably according as Burhed's domestic troubles gave them opportunity. At last, they drove him into exile, and he took refuge at Rome, that hospital of deposed monarchs, where he obscurely ended his days, having reigned two and twenty years. The Danes then took possession of his kingdom, which, not thinking proper to govern in their own name, they gave to one Ceolwulf, an English traitor, who held it upon the infamous condition of restoring it into their hands upon demand.

In the year 875, the Danes divided their army into two bodies. While they lay at Rippon they had received a prodigious supply from the continent, under three leaders, who were called kings, Gothrun, Oscitel, and Amund. This reinforcement, says my author, rendered them invincible; and their being now too numerous to subsist in one place seems to be the reason why they thought fit to separate into two bodies. One of these bodies, under the command of Alden, or Halden, marched into Northumberland, where they took up their winter-quarters, upon the banks of the Tyne, and, soon after, reduced all Northumberland into their own power. The other part of the Danish army, under the command of the three newly-arrived kings, remained at Cambridge.

While Alfred was beholding the desolation or subjection of the other parts of England, he was not insensible that all the favour he was to expect from the Danes, was that which was promised, by the Cyclop, to Ulysses, that he should be the last they were to devour. This put him upon all the means he could think of to avert, or at least to prolong, his fate. Alfred had already experienced the Danish courage and troops by land; but found that new heads still sprung up, and he had still fresh enemies to deal with, as the old were lopped off: he, therefore, with a genius truly great, resolved to try what he could do by sea. He considered, that the prodigious influx of the enemy into England required a great number of vessels to transport them; that those vessels being built for the present service, could but little avail against ships of larger burden, and fitted out for fight; that one ship of this kind was more than match for a score of those slight boats in which the enemy arrived; and that, if ever their convoy of stouter ships should attack his vessels, he could fight at more advantage by sea than he could by land, since an engagement must proportionably disable the enemy,

(1) Mr. Rapin, without any warrant, that I know of, from any of our historians, very wisely makes this to be a treaty of neutrality. "As they offered, says he, to march out of his dominions, on condition he would molest them in no other part of England, he gladly accepted their offer, looking upon it as very advantageous in his present circumstances." Is this writing history, to fix facts upon a name which ought to be so sacred as that of Alfred, without any warrant, without even conjecture, from our old historians to countenance it? To draw consequences from this supposititious fact, to make it, as Mr. Rapin does in this case, affect the whole of the story, is far from being candid; a man who should, in common life, do such a thing, would merit a very hard name.

(2) Mr. Rapin, by what authority I know not, makes the Danes put this Egbert to death; and his translator or annotator, or both, very wisely tells us, that Simeon of Durham says, that "Ricfige reigned three years, and was succeeded by Egbert;" whereas the very reverse is the truth. The words of Simeon, in the page he quotes, are; Egbertus, rex Northanhymbrorum, moriens successorem habuit Ricfig, qui regnavit tribus annis. It is true, that another Egbert did succeed Ricfig, and is called, by Hoveden, Egbert II. but he ought not to be confounded, as this annotator hath done, with Egbert I. nor ought his text, quite from wantonness, to have murdered the same Egbert by the hands of the Danes.

A. D. 876. when they come ashore, from attempting any great enterprize. But these reflections would have been useless, had not his surprising capacity carried speculation into practice. Accordingly he, at first, contrived a kind of gallies, which drawing but little water, were well fitted for guarding the coasts. Those he strongly fitted out with men, arms, and provisions; and this year, viz. 875 (1), we find him, at the head of his own navy, encountering seven of the Danish ships, one of which he took, and the rest put to flight.

Rollo leaves England, and invades Normandy.

In the year 876, the famous Rollo, the leader of the Normans, who, probably, had the same original with the Danes now in England, made a descent, at the head of a body of his countrymen, upon that part of France, which, from his nation, is now called Normandy. Our historians inform us, that his first descent was made upon England; and, after the mode of the time, they impute to a miraculous revelation (2) that departure for France which was but the effect of seasonable policy. England was already too much overburdened with the Danes, and they met, in Alfred, with too brave an opposer, for them to think of any advantageous settlement here. His invasion of France was successful; he not only conquered the excellent country he attacked, but was the first of the Norman lineage which afterwards gave a king to England, in the person of William the Conqueror. But to return to our English affairs.

His success there.

The Danes surprise Werham-castle.

In this year the Danish army, which had wintered at Cambridge, by surprise seized Werham-castle (3). Alfred, looking upon

this as a breach of treaty (though the Danes, perhaps, thought it was just revenge for the defeat he had given them, the year before, at sea) marched up to relieve it; together with a rich nunnery, of the same name, which they had likewise seized. The Danes, finding themselves in no condition to resist Alfred, and Alfred, unwilling to drive to despair an enemy ever finding new resources in their numbers, a treaty was entered upon and concluded. Afferius tells us, that the Danes swore by the holy relics, which, next to heaven, Alfred held in the highest veneration; but, when we consider the words of the original, it appears, that each party took an oath by what both held most dear: for mention is made of a sacred bracelet, which they never could be prevailed upon to swear by before, by which the Danes swore, as well as by the relics; which bracelet I look upon to have been a Danish relic, and not, as has been ignorantly imagined, a Christian. But no sacraments were sufficient to bind the perfidious barbarians; even their regard for the hostages they gave upon this occasion, which was the noblest in their army, could not prevail with them to observe the terms of the treaty, which were, instantly to leave the kingdom. Afferius and Florence of Worcester tell us, that, in the night-time, they killed, by surprise, all the king's horses, which he kept, by way of hussars, to scour the sea-coast, and cut off stragglers; but now, from the faith of the late treaty, lying secure near the enemy's quarters. The Saxon annals make no mention of this circumstance; only they tell us, that their cavalry, by night, seized Exeter. In this year we

A. D. 876. Alfred marches to relieve it.

A treaty concluded;

which the Danes break,

and kill Alfred's horses on the sea-coast.

Their cavalry seize Exeter.

(1) Sir John Spelman has, contrary to the authority of the Saxon chronicle and Afferius, both in his annals and the life of Alfred, placed this engagement in the year 876; in which he is followed by Henry of Huntingdon, Hoveden, and other of our old historians; and Mr. Rapin has very faithfully preserved his mistake. As I have mentioned this great improvement of Alfred in sea-affairs, the reader, undoubtedly, will be well pleased to see an account of the English shipping in the days of Alfred, as we have it from Sir John Spelman.—It was not his military affairs at land only, that found improvement; but his care extended to sea-service, and that was likewise bettered by him. He was the first that put to sea such a navy as was awful to strangers; begun the first mastery of the seas, and in the service of his shipping; and found both quiet and reputation. His navy begun, not only, for number of ships, so great as to keep watch upon all the coasts of the kingdom; but, for the quality of them, such as over-matched any of those that at any time infested the seas. What manner of vessels they were, whether ships or gallies, does not fully appear, nor will I determine; but that they were of divers sorts, and that some of them were nearer ships, and others nearer the form of gallies, that I may safely avow; and that some of them were of an especial building, by his own appointment, we have already shewed; where it is not hard to collect, that they were after the manner of great long gallies; for they were rowed with forty oars apiece and above, and were as long again, as high again, as swift again, and more steady in sail, than the best of the enemy's ships.—How they should be so exceeding high as to double the height of the Danish ships (when they went not with sails but oars) I cannot well imagine; unless that, for the better receipt of soldiers, and their greater advantage in fighting (which in those grappling sea-fights consisted wholly in the superiority of standing) they had a plain level deck above the room that the rowers sat in, and from thence, with great odds of advantage, annoyed those they sat upon; otherwise their height, which so much advantaged them in fight, would as much disadvantage them in speedy rowing. As for their steadiness, that argues their greatness and burthen, whereby they drew the more water; which, though it were a hindrance of their speed (for the greater body, the slower motion) yet that was born out with an answerable number of rowers, which their length afforded. If this apprehension seem difficult, then may we reckon the height spoken of to be meant by the height of their poops only, and not of the height of the whole sides of the ship; and so we may think them to have retained so much of the fashion of those of the Venedi, with whom when Cæsar fought, the height of their poops exceeded the tops of their fighting-turrets that were in Cæsar's ships: but those ships of the Venedi went not with oars, but with sails of leather; and these, either only or chiefly with oars. If, further, we enquire after the form of shipping used by the Saxons, Tacitus tells us, that the Suiones (who were part of the Suevians, as the Saxons were) used a kind of shipping in the Baltic sea, very rude and plain, that was high before and behind, and made indifferent to go with either end forward, but forced only with oars, which they did not use in any constant, fixed seats of rowing, but removed to and fro to any end or part of their ships, as occasion served (as we may see them do in our cock-boats and lighters). Those were slow for any service, though Tacitus counts the Suiones to be somebody in shipping. Whether the Saxons came over in such vessels, and whether they continued the use of them, or found here a better form, I shall leave to the disquisition of others. It is sufficient to our purpose to shew, that, whatsoever they formerly were, the king augmented the use of them, both in number and condition, over what they were before his coming to the crown.

(2) For howsoever Rollo's departure hence is fathered on a dream, whereby he is said to be called into France, yet, questionless, the great and secret motive was, the infinite numbers of his countrymen here in the land, and the universal waste he saw in every part thereof committed by them, whereby he might well reckon he should have but a slender booty among such a multitude of sharers; and, not unlikely, he might judge (and that with good reason) that in some new place, less obvious to the visitation of those rovers, he should find the first and unbroken bulk of plenty more weakly guarded than here the bottoms of their rifled coffers were. Spelman's life of Ælfred, p. 50.

(3) Sir John Spelman is very confused in all his relation of this period; I have restored the order, both of the time and transactions, according to our best and oldest historians.

A. D. 877.

likewise find Halden, who had seized Northumberland, cultivating that country, and laying in it the foundation of a civil settlement.

In the year 877, part of the Danish army, who had remained at Werham, marched from thence to join their cavalry at Exeter, while the rest were put aboard their ships, and set sail to the westward. The latter, meeting with a storm, lost a hundred and twenty of their ships, or rather small craft, at Swanawic, now Swanwic, in Hampshire. Alfred, upon this, raised all the force he could, and marched towards Exeter; but not time enough to prevent the Danes, both such of them as marched on foot from Werham, and those who had escaped from the late shipwreck, from reaching Exeter before him. Laying siege, however, to that city, he ordered all his navy to put to sea, and so to cut off all supplies from the Danes on that hand. Afferius tells us, that Alfred's fleet was lucky enough to meet with one hundred and twenty of their transports, loaded with soldiers. This body had been at sea for upwards of a month; and therefore, unable to resist a fresh well-appointed enemy, the English, in revenge for their countrymen's repeated breach of treaties, sunk their whole force. In the mean time, Alfred vigorously pressed the siege of Exeter; and want of provisions, assisted by the accounts the enemy had of the late great loss by sea, obliged them once more to demand a capitulation. Alfred, rather that he might gain some respite, than in any hopes of their performance, again received hostages, and bound them by an oath to be gone out of his dominions. Accordingly, about autumn, they marched into Mercia, where their English shadow of a king resigned to them part of his dominions, and part he was allowed to retain. Some historians tell us, that this year Alfred fought no less than seven battles with his enemies; and that he obliged them to agree to admit no more of their nation into the island: but this rests upon no good authority. The historian of the times tells us, the increase of the Danish numbers in England, at this time, was such, that if thirty thousand of them had been cut off in one day, as many more could have supplied their room.

It was no wonder if, after a long series of calamities, after so unparalleled an effusion of blood on the part of the West Saxons, the dismal catastrophe we are now to open ensued; even conquest itself was fatal to Alfred, as every victory took from him a few of those few he had left. For, in the year 878, the Danes having entirely evacuated Exeter, surprized Chippenham in Wiltshire. This attack upon one of Alfred's principal towns, in the heart of his country, gave our hero a melancholy presage of what was to happen. Calamity now broke in upon him, not like the sweeping torrent, which depopulates only the tract over which it runs; for he now perceived the fountains of the great deep broke open upon him on all hands, the waters of affliction swelling round him, and every earthly assistance, but his

own manly heart, failing him. The Danes, like the plague of lice, or locusts, filled every quarter of the land; resistance had been madness, nay impiety, since leading to certain death; subjection, to a mind like Alfred's, was worse than death. But the private virtues of the man had attached to the person of the king a chosen band, unconscious yet of dependency, and bravely reserving themselves for better times. This was a magnanimity of a nobler strain than we meet with in the heroes who chose to die, rather than see their country enslaved; Alfred, and his few English, had the courage to live, that they might deliver theirs. To die, nay, and to die nobly, is in the power of every man of courage; but for a brave king, in his prime of life, to resign all the full-blown glories of a throne, to exchange them for want, for penury, and exile, is an object which heaven itself sees with pleasure, as it discovers a fortitude partaking of its own divinity. Of such materials was the soul of Alfred composed. Divesting himself of every badge of royalty, tearing himself from every endearing charm of domestic happiness, from every object of love, affection, or friendship, he bestows his young family as the necessity of the times best gave him leave, and he himself, in the habit of a common soldier, takes service under his own cow-herd, having concerted the proper measures with his friends for a rendezvous, in case of any favourable opportunity.

Alfred found leisure to do all this in a regular, well-digested manner, from the dread the army was under, rather of his virtue than of his power. As we are told of the executioner, who was daunted by the very voice and reputation of Marius, though in chains; so the Danes, those executioners of the divine purposes, were then awed, for some time, into forbearance. Scarcely could they prevail upon themselves to think, that the great Alfred was now rather their prey than their enemy; such commanding power has superior virtue over the most barbarous minds! But a little time soon awakened them to all the sense of their own force, and the English weakness; pouring in on all hands, they laid the face of the land desert, its inhabitants seeking safety either in exile or subjection. In the mean time, Alfred, submitting to all the inconveniencies of his fallen estate, lived with his homely host, who, probably, knew nothing of his quality. His contemporary author informs us, that being one day intent on fitting his arms, the cow-herd's wife fell a scolding him, for suffering a cake to be burnt before the fire: "Pray, fellow, says she, since thou canst eat those cakes very heartily, why shouldst thou disdain to turn them?" Alfred, with patience, nay, with cheerfulness, putting up with this and every other indignity, was still meditating on the means of delivering his country. The chosen band, which he had dismissed, as opportunity offered, met him among the woody and boggy parts of Somersetshire, where it appears they lay concealed.

Ever

A. D. 878.

Alfred takes service under his cow-herd.

The Danes overspread the land.

A. D. 878. Ever active, and never despairing, they frequently issued from their fastnesses, with the king at their head, and indiscriminately plundering the Danes and the submitting English, for some time, they made shift for penurious subsistence. Success in those excursions emboldening their minds, and somewhat encreasing their numbers, they retired, in a body, to the little peninsula of Athelney, in Somersetshire, which is formed by the rivers Thone and Parret. The description we have of this island (which is of importance to us, because dignified by sheltering the guardian of the English name and liberty) is; That having not above two acres of solid ground in it, it contained a vast quantity of alderkarre, that nourished great store of deer, and other game; and all enclosed every way with water, was no way to be entered but by boat or wading; save that, in height of

Alfred's party plunder the Danes.

They retire to the peninsula of Athelney.

Description of it.

Spelman.

summer, on the side, it afforded some difficult access unto a footman. Upon this peninsula was a small fort, in which Alfred took his humble refuge, with the chosen attendants of his fortune, and his royal consort (1), the faithful companion of his afflictions, as well as happiness (2). The smallness of the place not affording subsistence, Alfred was obliged to employ his followers in fishing and fowling, to supply even the necessary calls of nature. The winter being severe, the waters were frozen up, so that even this relief was uncertain; though it appears, that all Alfred's attendants were dispatched abroad, to try what they could catch or kill. The two royal personages alone were left at home; and though famine, in its ugliest shape, was staring them full in the face; yet such was the composure of Alfred's mind, that he could be entertained by reading, his constant

A. D. 878.

(1) Our historians say, that it was Alfred's mother who was his companion in this retreat; but "I cannot see (says the annotator upon Spelman's life of Alfred) how this can be true, because his mother had been dead long since; and though his mother-in-law, Judith, out-lived Æthelwolf, and was married to Æthelbald, brother of Ælfred, yet she returned again soon after into France: for which reason it is most likely, that king Ælfred's wife was now present with him in Æthelney."

(2) It may be worth while, from the annotator upon Spelman's life of Alfred, to observe here, that Ethelwulf broke through the indignity done to the queen-consort of Wessex: for so, says Asser Menevensis [de Gestis Ælfredi regis, p. 3. ed. Franc. MDCII.] Matthew of Westminster [sub an. DCCCLIV.] and Florence of Worcester [sub an. DCCCLV.] But though [Selden's titles of honour, part i. c. vi. p. 116, ed. fol.] Æthelwolf broke this custom, and the law against the king's wife did not continue long in force; yet, in the times of some of his successors, there was often a respect had unto it: for, in some memoirs of the reign of king Edgar, the queen is stiled only his wife, or legitima regis CONJUX, or Lyncinger GEMÆLLÆ; that is, the king's wife, and not queen. In the subscriptions of king Edgar's charter of privileges to Hide-abbey by Winchester, yet remaining in Sir Robert Cotton's library [sub effigie Vespasiani A. VIII. see the learned Dr. Smith's catalogue thereof, p. 106.] and written in letters of gold, in a hand of the same age, his wife Elfrith subscribes thus:—Ego Elfrith [or Elfrid, see Monastic. Anglic. vol. I. p. 211.] legitima præfati regis CONJUX, mea legatione [or concessione, as in the Monast. Angl.] monachos eodem loco, rege annuente, constituens crucem impressi [or, as in the Mon. eodem loco,—donum regis crucem impressi]. And also,—Ego Edgisa, prædicti regis AVA, hoc opus egregium crucis taumate consolidavi [or, as in the Mon. Ego Ediva, prædicti regis AVA,—hoc donum regis crucis taumate consolidavi]. And there are others of that nature of the same time, as will appear by consulting the Monasticon. This Elfrith is the same (that our historians commonly call Elfrida, or Elfrida, daughter to Orgar, then earl or duke (for those titles were not then distinguished) of Cornwall. And Edgisa was the third and last wife of king Edward, son to king Ælfred, and grandfather to Edgar; yet perhaps, by reason of this severe law, she durst not stile herself otherwise than the king's grandmother; for so Ava, as well as Avia, in those times denoted. In the same library is also extant a reformation of the monastic life of both sexes, entituled, Regularis concordia Anglicæ nationis monachorum sanctimonialiumque, [Dr. Smith, who tells us it is a very fair MS. gives us another title, in his Cat. p. 151. sub Faustina B. III.] and written in Edgar's time, wherein he takes care of the monks, and his wife of the nuns; that is, hī GEMÆLLÆAN Ælfrithæ, or his wife Elfrith. And perhaps hence it was, that the wives of great dukes or earls of that time, in the West-Saxon kingdom, which, after Egbert, quickly swallowed up the rest, subscribed by the name also of conjux, and not by any name of dignity; as if they would abstain from receiving any communication of title from their lords, as well as the kings wives did from the kings. For, an. DCCCLXXX. when Ethelred or Ethered, duke or earl of Mercia, under king Ælfred, by his charters [Regist. MS. vetustiss. eccles. Wiggorn. fol. 7, 29, 31, 211, &c. in Bibl. Cotton.] gave lands to the church of Worcester, he subscribed by the name of dux and patricius; but his wife, being otherwise a princess, and daughter to king Ælfred, expresses herself in them only thus; Ego Æthelfled CONJUX subscribens confirmavi: and, in other charters, Ego Æthelfled consensit. Yet they are both together stiled, Ælfræd aldorman, 7 Æthelfled Mercna hlaford; that is, Æthred the alderman or duke, and Æthelfled the lords of Mercia; in an instrument of Werfrid, bishop of Worcester, in the year DCCCIV. made to the same church. However, notwithstanding, in expressing the title of the king's wife, such respect were, some time after Æthelwolf, had to that old law; yet it also appears, that, under the same king Edgar, the wife was likewise stiled queen or regina; which shews, that the use of regina was grown, by this time, promiscuous in the West-Saxon kingdom. For the same queen, in a charter to the church of Worcester, subscribes [in Pat. I. Ed. IV. part vi. memb. 23.] Ego Elfyred, or Alfrith [as in the Monasticon, vol. I. p. 141.] REGINA consensit et signo crucis confirmavi; which was in DCCCLXIV. And in another to the church of Ely, occurs, Alfrith REGINA. [Cart. antiq. in arce Lond. B. num. 11.] In other kingdoms of the heptarchy of that age, the title of regina was still given to the kings wives. Ego Alfrith REGINA, is subscribed with Kenulph, king of Mercia, in the subscriptions [Regist. Wigorn. MS. in Bibl. Cott. and Mon. Angl. tom. i. p. 122, &c.] of his charters to the church of Worcester; and Sæthryth, or Sæthryth, REGINA, often subscribes with king Bertulph to the same church. So, Ego Cynethryth Dei gratia REGINA Merciorum, in some other, with king Offa. And among the coins of that age, in Sir Rob. Cotton's library, [see the excellent dissertation upon the Saxon coins, written and published by the very curious and learned Sir Andrew Fountaine, at the end of Dr. Hicks's Thesaurus linguarum septentrionalium, tab. 3.] is one subscribed with LYNEDRYD (not LENEDRYD, as Mr. Selden reads it) REGIN. and with EOBA (not EOPA, with Selden) on the other side. And Æthelwith, daughter to king Æthelwolf, frequently subscribes, Æthelwith REGINA, with Burrhed, king of Mercia or Mercland, in the old registers of Worcester; and, at her marriage, saith Matthew of Westminster, [sub an. DCCCLII.] Reginæ nomen promeruit. There is also a singular example of her in the chartularie of the abbey [Bibl. Cotton. fol. 4. and in Coll. Æd. Christi Oxon] of Abingdon; where she alone, by charter, gives to one Cuthwulf, her servant, lands in Lacing, in these words; Ego Æthelwith REGINA, Deo largiente, Merciorum cum consensu meorum seniorum concedens donabo Cuthwulfo, &c. which is very properly used by some [Sir Ed. Coke in præfat. ad lib. iv.] to shew, that the law of England then was, that the queen in this island might, as at this day, give or contract as a femme sole. After king Edgar, it seems, the law of the West-Saxons also utterly vanished, and the wives of the Saxon kings were always stiled queens or reginæ. In an instrument [Regist. Wiggorn. eccles. vetust. fol. 166. MS. in Bibl. Cotton.] that testifies how Agelwin, dean of Worcester, (Decanus Wigornienis ecclesiæ, so is his title of that time; but a prior and convent then supplied what now the dean and chapter do) and his brother Ordric, gave three cassats of land in Cundicotan, to the monks there; Edward the Confessor, ad confirmationem sermonum istorum subscribes; and then his queen, Edgith, thus,—Ego Edgith REGINA consensio. So, in a charter of king Cnut, to the abbey of [Cart. 4. Ed. III. num. 58.] St. Edmondbury, his wife, Alfgisa, calls herself, Ego Alfgisa [or Elfgiva, as in Monast. Angl. tom. i. p. 287.] REGINA: and, in a Saxon charter of his to the same church, he stiles her [see Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 288.] myne QUEEN ALFGE; and REGINA mea Alfgisa, in the Latin of it, where he speaks of her giving to the church a revenue of four thousand eels in Lakinghith. It appears also clearly, that the Saxon queens were always, in the latter times of that kingdom, crowned, anointed, and set with the kings in their seats of state, as other queens; and so that law or custom which proceeded from queen Eadburg, was soon abrogated,

exercise,

A. D. 878.

A remarkable instance of Alfred's charity.

exercise, the important concerns of his life and station not requiring his attendance. When he was thus passing his time, a beggar knocked at the door, craving alms. Alfred, who could sooner forget that he was a man, than that he was a king, unmindful of his own wants, called to the queen to supply the beggar. She informing him, that but one loaf was left, to supply both himself and all his attendants, the king, blessing God for all his gifts, desired she would bestow half of it upon the beggar; and told her, that he who fed the five thousand with five loaves and two small fishes, could also make the remaining half loaf supply all their necessities; and the queen obeying, the beggar departed. This action, which partakes of that noble enthusiasm inseparable from great minds, is, perhaps inconsistent with worldly providence; but the reflection of having so meritoriously relieved the necessities of a fellow-creature, had the best effect upon the spirits of Alfred: for being now tired with reading, he indulged nature in needful rest; while his mind, in dreams, enjoyed all the comfort and satisfaction which his charity had deserved while he was awake (1). Soon after, his attendants return home, with great plenty of provision, the reward of his charity, and a happy omen to the completion of his dreams. Our elegant historian tells us, that, while Alfred was in this retreat, when conquered, when even humbled, yet he still wrestled with his fate. "As the slippery snake, continues he, slides from the hands of him who holds her, even when he thinks he has irrecoverably bruised her; so Alfred, emerged out of his lurking-places, suddenly attacked his triumphant enemies, himself receiving fresh fury from a defeat." Inexhaustible in courage, as they in numbers, with his small band, he attacked them, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; he soon convinced them, that misfortune had but added to his spirit, and humiliation given an edge to his revenge.

But as those exploits were generally performed upon his out-lying enemies, and as he had some reason for believing he might again have an opportunity of attacking their main body, he determined, in person, to survey their strength and situation. This resolution was encouraged by an information, which he received at this time from his Devonshire friends, who had cut to pieces twelve hundred Danes, in a sally from

The Devonshire men cut in pieces 1200 Danes.

the castle of Kenwith. The royalists were commanded by Odun, earl of Devonshire, and had been driven and shut up in this castle, by Inguar and Hubba, the two Danish generals, in their return from a victorious, though bloody, expedition into Wales. Despair giving both courage and success, the English, early in the morning, sallying out upon that division which was commanded by Hubba, and secure through the supposed weakness of the enemy, made the slaughter I have already mentioned; and those who escaped, leaving their general dead in the field, fled towards their ships (2). Thus this ray of success cheered the gloom of Alfred's fortune; but what added to the happy presage of an approaching reverse of fate, was the Christians seizing the fatidical standard of the Danes, called the Reafan, from a raven depicted upon it, or rather wrought into it, by the sisters of the Danish princes, and was esteemed, by the pagans, the palladium of their preservation. All those circumstances of success determined Alfred to put in execution his project of reviewing, in person, the Danish camp. No habit was so fit for this purpose as that of a musician, a profession in high esteem, and almost sacred even with the most barbarous of the northern nations. Alfred's education in all the liberal arts gave him great opportunities of personating this character to advantage; so that he staid two or three days in the heart of the enemy's camp, and made himself fully master of their strength, situation, and whatever he wanted to know. Returning from thence to the rendezvous he had appointed with his friends, he immediately dispatched messengers through all places where the Saxons, disdaining servitude, resided. The east-side of Selwood forest, in Wiltshire, was appointed the place of their general rendezvous; and such was the affection of his faithful subjects, that, at the appointed day, all the Saxon inhabitants of Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire appeared in arms, at the place, and on the day appointed; and from thence they marched immediately to Bricstone, which was hard by. The joy of the faithful English, at the sight of their monarch, now, as it were, recovered from the dead, can be better conceived than expressed. Even they who, by their submission to the Danes, had failed with the stream of conquest, were ashamed of their despondency; and the glorious proof of virtue, which the monarch

A. D. 878.

Alfred, personating a musician, reviews the enemy's camp.

The English rendezvous, and march to Bricstone.

(1) The king, says Mr. Tyrrel, having read till he was tired, happened to fall asleep, and dreamed that he saw St. Cuthbert (formerly bishop of Lindisfarne) coming to him, and telling him, that he was sent from God to let him know, that he was now resolved to put an end to the long and grievous punishments which the English had hitherto suffered for their sins; and that the alms which he had just now bestowed, was so acceptable in his sight, that he would restore him to his kingdom; and said, as a sign of this, his servants, who were then gone out a fishing, though with very small hopes of catching any thing, should return home so loaded, that he should look upon it with wonder. But that which is more strange, his mother fell also asleep, and dreamed the like dream at the same time, as she told the king, her son, when he awaked her. But whilst they, with great astonishment, discoursed of this miracle, his followers returned home, bringing fish enough with them to have served a little army, if there had been occasion.

(2) John Bromton [col. 809. a.] and most of our other historians (says the annotator on Spelman's life of Alfred) tell us, that Hubba was slain at Chippenham, and yet they say his body was buried in Devonshire. *Dani vero cadaver Hubbae inter occisos invenientes, illud cum clamore maximo sepelierunt, cumulum apponentes, quem Hubbelowe vocaverunt, unde sic usque in hodiernum diem locus ille appellatus est, et est in comitatu Devoniae.* Agreeably to which, abating only that it mentioneth Hinguar also among the slain, an old chronicle in English, called Brute of England, [MS. in Bibl. Bodl. inter codd. Digb. num. 185.] thus expresseth it: "And when the Danes found Hinguar and Hubba dead, they bare them to a mountayn ther bysyde, and made upon hym a logge, and lete call it Hubbslugh; and so itt is to thys day in Devonshire."

A. D. 878. and his associated few had given, determined them rather to die with him, than to live under their oppressors.

Alfred
marches to
Eddington,

harangues his
followers,

charges the
Danes,

rouths them,

gives them
terms.

Alfred, resolving to make the best use of their first flow of spirits, marched from Brixton to Okeley, and the next morning to Eddington, where the Danish army lay; for the Danes, imagining that Alfred had perished in the wrecks of his fortune, thought that, in his name, both the glory and the power of England were buried. In proportion as this confidence rose, their consternation, at the news of his revival, appeared. Thinking they had now no safety but in superiority of numbers, they had drawn together a great army at Eddington. Confusion being often the attendant of multitudes, Alfred immediately bethought him how to improve it among his enemies. For this purpose he made a short speech to his own followers, in which he laid before them their former demerits, which had drawn such a weight of affliction upon themselves and their country, with every pious motive which could awaken them to amendment, inspire them with hope, or confirm them in courage. He then furiously charged his enemies, and found more resistance from the impenetrability of their numbers, than the keenness of their arms. Nothing, however, was able to resist the English, doubly animated by hope and revenge. What followed was a total rout. The sword was let loose upon the barbarians, and amply that day did they compensate the miseries they had inflicted before. They who escaped the thirsty arms of the English fled to a castle, to which Alfred laid siege, and cutting off their provisions reduced them to hunger, humiliation, and, at last, to submission. Alfred, politically, as well as compassionately, gave them terms, which were, that their leader Guthrun, the chiefs of their army, and the main body of their people, should receive Christianity, at his pleasure depart his kingdom, and give hostages for the performance of

the convention. Guthrun accordingly came to Alfred, at Athelney, upon the day appointed, where he was baptized; Alfred standing his godfather, by the name of Ethelstan, with thirty of his principal noblemen. The new converts were then entertained in the most polite manner by Alfred; and, at their departure, had several presents from the conqueror.

A. D. 879.
Guthrun bap-
tized.

In the year 879, according to the Saxon annals, the Danish army, in consequence of their agreement, marched from Chippenham to Cirencester; but, the same year, a great multitude of their countrymen came from foreign parts up the Thames, and took possession of Fulham, being joined by great numbers of other Danes then in England. Alfred wisely resolved to make Guthrun his friend, by doing him all the good offices that were in his power. This was the more seasonable, because the late reinforcement of the Danes, when joined to the rest of their countrymen, might have renewed all the troubles of England. To avert this, he entered into a treaty, by which, as lord paramount of England, Alfred granted him East-Anglia (1) and Essex, to be held in the same manner (as appears from the words of the treaty, yet extant) by the Danes, as the Saxon princes had before held it under Egbert. It is very probable, that Alfred had been sensible of the necessity of making such a settlement, from the depopulated state of those countries; for, in another article of the same treaty (which, by the by, was made by the consent of the English states, under Alfred, as well as the East-Anglian, under Guthrun) the same price is put upon the death of a Dane as upon that of an Englishman. As to the rest of the treaty, the reader may consult the notes (2).

The Danes
march to Ci-
rencester.

Alfred enters
into a treaty
with Guthrun;

It was in this year that Alfred built the town of Shaftsbury, as appears from the copy of an inscription inserted in a MS. of Malmesbury's history, belonging to the earl of Burleigh, and mentioned by Camden.

builds Shaft-
bury.

(1) Mr. Rapin has given us here another specimen of his accuracy, when speaking of this treaty he tells us, that "some, particularly Asserius, add, that Alfred gave Guthrun the kingdom of Northumberland also." Had Asserius said so, the authority had been good; nor would all the reasoning he has been able to advance, have destroyed it, as it was next to impossible for that author to have mistaken such a fact. But Asserius does not speak one word of the matter. I have been at some pains to discover through what means this mistake has happened to creep into most of our modern histories: even Sir John Spelman has told us the same thing; and in him it was inexcusable, he having had great opportunities of information. But, after the best enquiry, I can make no farther discovery than that it rests entirely upon the authority of Malmesbury, who says, *datæ sunt ei (meaning Guthrun) provinciæ orientaliū Anglorum et Northanymbrorum*. But an enquiring reader will, at first sight, see that this great historian was mistaken by a similitude of names; for one Guthred had, for some time before, got part of Northumberland, as we shall see hereafter. Now, as there are great variety of spelling in these words, Malmesbury was certainly imposed upon by some old record or history, where the two names of Guthrun and Guthred were spelled alike.

(2) The first article is, "That it is agreed, that the limits of king Alfred's land are first upon the Thames, then proceed they to the river Lee as far as his fountain, then straight to Bedford, and then along the river Ouze as far as Watling-street;" which, I suppose, is thus to be understood: That king Alfred did hereby grant him East-Anglia and Essex; so that the bounds of these kings dominions were first the Thames; then the river Lee as far as Hertford, whereabouts it rises; then from Hertford to Bedford, all along Watling-street; and then from Bedford, all along the Ouze, to the sea.

The second article appoints the value of a man slain, whether English or Dane, to be four marks of pure gold; and the redemption of each, four hundred shillings.

But if the king's servant, or thane, was accused of manslaughter, the third article proceeds; "That he then should be tried by twelve other of the king's servants; or, in case he was not the king's servant, but belonged to some inferior lord, he should be tried by eleven of his equals, and by one of the king's servants. The same order was taken in all suits which exceeded four marks; but in case he refused to undergo this trial, his fine was to be increased three-fold."

The fourth appoints vouchers for the sale of men, horses, or oxen.

The fifth and last ordains, "That none from either army should pass to the other without leave; and in case it be by way of traffic, such shall find sureties for their good behaviour, that the peace may not be broken."

This was the league itself, with some other articles needless to be here recited; the preface to which declares, "That it was made between the two kings, Ælfred and Gythrum, (so the Saxon original) by consent of all the wise men of the English, and of all those that inhabited East-Anglia; and that not only in behalf of themselves, but of their posterity."

A. D. 882.

The Danes
take possession
of Ghent.

Alfred en-
gages the
Danes at sea,

and is victori-
ous.

The Danes
possessed of
London.

A body of
Danes from
the continent
besiege Ro-
chester,

which is re-
lieved by Al-
fred,
and the Danes
forced to re-
tire to their
ships.

While Alfred, with one hand, was extending the olive to the Danes, with the other, he grasped the sword; which the lately arrived Danes perceiving, again put to sea, and sailing over to Flanders, took possession of Ghent. This city appears to have been, for some time after, the common receptacle of the Danes who removed from England; for such of them as refused to comply with the terms of the league between Guthrun and Alfred, embarked, next year, for the same place, under the command of one Hastings. This evacuation, together with Guthrun's observance of the peace with Alfred, giving the latter some respite, he pursued his great work of increasing the naval power of the English by sea. Accordingly, in the year 882, according to the Saxon annals, we find his fleet engaging with that of the Danes. Alfred's peace with the Danes expressly stipulating, that no more of that nation should arrive in England, such of them, therefore, as attempted a descent here, were to be looked upon as pirates, and Alfred, treating them as such, ordered his sea-men to give them no quarter. This order producing an ordinance of the like kind on the part of the Danes, the reader may easily suppose, that the fight on both sides was very desperate. Victory, however declared for Alfred. Some of the Danish ships were taken, and their crews put to the sword; some threw themselves on the mercy of the conqueror, while the rest fled in pursuit of new adventures. It appears, from the words of the Saxon chronicle, that Alfred was present in person at this fight.

The next year we find the Danes in possession of London, possibly claimed by them in virtue of the late treaty, as once belonging to the kingdom of Essex, now possessed by Guthrun. The Saxon chronicle tells us, that the English watched them here, and that every thing succeeded according to Alfred's wishes; but still the Danes in England seem not to have alarmed him so much as a fresh invasion of their countrymen, which was every day threatening the island. This produced daily skirmishes between Alfred's fleet and that of the enemy; though it was impossible for the English to guard so great an extent of coast, as that some of the enemy did not arrive, and insensibly increase the Danish power here: for, next year, some of the Danes, who had been ravaging France, landing in Kent, besieged Rochester, by raising a huge wooden machine of a height equal to the walls, from whence they distressed the town. The citizens, however, making a brave resistance, were relieved by Alfred, whose very name carried such terror along with it, that the Danes precipitately raising the siege, retired to their ships, leaving their horses and booty of all kind a prey to the English.

The settlement of the Danes in England was attended with great inconveniences. Guthrun, their king, found his power too weak to prevent several infractions, on the part of his subjects, of his treaty with Alfred; nor do we find that his late treaty was looked upon, by him, as other than a temporary expedient for safety and a settlement. Hence it was that the Danish pirates found a secure harbour in his dominions; so that Alfred was determined, if possible, to extirpate them. For this purpose he fitted out a strong fleet in Kent, which he dispatched to East-Anglia, with orders to fall indiscriminately upon all their shipping, which, according to the late treaties, were to be looked upon in no other light than that of pirates; and then to destroy their harbours and habitations. This expedition was not so secretly managed by Alfred, but that the Danes had knowledge of it; and fitting out a well-appointed strong navy, sixteen of their ships fell in with Alfred's fleet off of Harwich-haven (1), as is most probable. Alfred's orders to his admiral was only to destroy the pirates in the harbours; but this officer, using a discretionary power, as having to do with the same enemy, and meeting them within the limits which the law of nations marked as belonging to the neighbouring coast, he bravely engaged them. The pirates made a bold and a desperate resistance; but, at last, all their ships were taken, and their crews put to the sword. The sixteen Danish ships, thus destroyed, seem to have been detached from the grand fleet, which was behind about a day's sail; for Alfred's victorious navy, when it was returning home, laden with the spoils of the barbarians, fell in with a much stronger squadron. An engagement ensued, the particulars of which have not come to our knowledge; but we are told, that the Danes had the victory.

All those warlike incidents determined the East-Anglians to shake off their allegiance, and break their league with Alfred, whose ships seem not to have suffered a great deal by the late encounter; for Alfred still possessed the dominion of the sea, and, in that, he thought himself secure, while he pursued the favourite purpose of his heart, which was, the propagation of civil arts and polite learning, and establishing the plan of a civil constitution in England. But, considering how averse the arts of peace are to the tumults of war, and how impracticable it is to digest in the field schemes of polity, he resolved to repair the seats both of the monarch and the muses. Accordingly, next year, he set about rebuilding the city of London; the workmen, like the Jews at the reparation of Jerusalem, holding in one hand the trowel, and in the other the sword. We have no particulars of the manner in which this queen of cities again

(1) Sir John Spelman is mistaken in supposing it to be the mouth of the river Stoure in Kent; for he that attentively reads the story, as related by Asser and the Saxon annals, will conclude, that it was in East-Anglia, which contained Norfolk, Suffolk, &c. Therefore Mr. Lambard [Perambulation of Kent, p. 262] thinks it happened at the same place, now called Harwich-haven: for that river, which is of the same name with this in Kent, divideth Essex from Suffolk; and not far from the head thereof, in Essex, standeth a town yet called Sturmere.

A. D. 886. fell into the hands of Alfred; but his own sagacity directed him to make it the bulwark of his government, since the invitation of so fair a river as the Thames had brought the Danes into the heart of his dominions. Having restored it to more than its ancient beauty, and strongly fortified it, he put it into the hands of Ethered, who had married his daughter, and whom he invested with the dignity of the earl of Mercia, now no longer a tributary kingdom, but an annexed province to Wessex. The reparation of this august city was of infinite advantage to Alfred's designs. His subjects, now no longer exposed, in open fields, or untenable places, to the fury of the barbarians, were assured of a safe retreat, and daily repaired, in great numbers, to renew their allegiance.

and puts it in the hands of Ethered.

The advantages of its reparation.

It is pity the historians of those days have not been more particular in mentioning the progress of Alfred's arms; but actions which, in another reign, must have dignified the monarch with immortal honour, were darkened, in Alfred's, amidst others of brighter splendor: for notwithstanding that this very year is, in general, marked out as full of blood and commotion; yet we find Alfred not only in full possession of Mercia, but able to repair his capital in the very neighbourhood of his strongest enemies, and awing Northumberland itself, though then inhabited by Danes, into submission and respect. All this must have required many labours, and the exertion of many royal virtues, to effect; but, particulars omitted, the sum of what we know is, that all the English, this year, took an oath of fidelity to Alfred; and that he was now looked upon as their immediate sovereign.

Alfred looked upon as sovereign of England.

This happy revolution in his favour, gave him leisure for farther regulations; he, therefore, now repaired all the towns of his frontiers, both by sea and land, and rearing others from the ground, he formed a strong barrier against the enemy. Having perceived the disadvantages he was formerly under, from the uncertainty and irregularity of levies, he divided the country into counties, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. The proportion of militia which every division was to furnish was so contrived, that, when one part was acting against the enemy in the field, another was guarding their concerns at home, and ready to relieve their fellows at the expiration of their time of service. At the same time, to inspire his subjects with courage, by giving them a confidence in their own abilities, he renewed the policy of his predecessor Egbert, by appointing certain times for their exercises in arms.

He repairs his frontier-towns;

divides the country into counties, hundreds, and tythings.

Having thus provided for the security, he next took care for the dignity, of his government. He was himself the finest scholar, and the politest gentleman, of his age; by nature endued with every advantage of person and genius, and by study he improved those endowments to their utmost perfection. In civil matters, and the knowledge of mankind, he proposed to himself the best of models, that of the wisest of

Alfred's great endowments.

Solomon.

men. He knew his people to be, as yet, rude, unprincipled, and uninformed; just recovered from barbarous oppression, and scarce awakened to a sense of their being men, and members of a free state. A people of such a character are unsusceptible of dialectic learning, and incapable of following any chain of propositions or reasoning. Alfred's knowledge of ancient erudition, and his observation of Solomon's manner, who, of all princes, reigned over the most cloudy race of mortals, led him to instruct his subjects upon a proverbial, short, pithy, mythological plan. From some remains of Alfred's proverbs, which generally began with the words, "Thus quath Aluerd," we perceive that he was fully master of that eastern simplicity, which dignifies the finest works of the human genius; and it is remarkable, that the last of his precepts to his son is, That he should govern by law; "for then," says he, my child, God will love thee."

A. D. 886. The state of his subjects at this time.

His plan of instructing them.

As I write a general, and not a personal, history, the reader, for farther information, may have recourse to that excellent piece of biography left us by Sir John Spelman, which, however faulty in some particulars, is excellent upon the whole.

But I must not here omit to acquaint the reader of a curious particular concerning this great prince. It appears, from the introduction to the sayings or proverbs I have already mentioned, that there was a convention at Sifford, or Shifford, in Oxfordshire, of all the estates, both spiritual and temporal, in Alfred's dominions, in which those matters of reformation and instruction appear to have been laid before them in person by the king; and that he actually pronounced those sayings, to give them the greater weight and efficacy to the assembly, who, by his example, imparted them to the inferior ranks of people.

A convention of the estates of the kingdom.

To them Alfred pronounced his sayings.

Let us now survey Alfred in his legislative capacity, in which he will be found the worthiest disciple of his great master. The bodies of laws extant in his time were of three sorts: the first, those contained in the scripture; the second, those that were to be learned from the histories of ancient nations; and lastly, those of his predecessors the Saxons, as they had been digested by Ethelbert, Ina, and Offa. The manners of his people were such as could not admit of any perfect model of government; Alfred, therefore, was obliged to form, from the whole of those laws, such a system as might best gradually lead them, under his successors, to that perfection, which is, at once, the glory and security of a free state. Besides, we are to consider he now reigned over a people who had been used to live under separate governments and laws, and this rendered his undertaking still more difficult. It appears, that, before his fortunes were clouded, and while he was considered only as the king of Wessex, he formed that body of Laws which now passes under his name, and was printed by Mr. Lambart; but that the great work, for which he was so much celebrated, was after he had recovered his dominion,

An account of his laws and political regulations.